

CRITICAL
INDIGENOUS AND
AMERICAN INDIAN
STUDIES

American Indian Women of Proud Nations

Essays on History,
Language,
and Education



EDITED BY **Cherry Maynor Beasley, Mary Ann Jacobs, AND Ulrike Wiethaus**

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of Proud Nations

CRITICAL INDIGENOUS AND AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES

Andrew Jolivet
General Editor

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Together, we can preserve the history, understanding, and culture of American Indians.



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Foreword AS Story

I Am Not the Problem

CHERRY MAYNOR BEASLEY

I was born in the lap of luxury—that is, the luxury of a large family. My parents were young high school graduates who farmed my grandparents' farm. This set of grandparents were not landowners, but mortgage payers who had been forced to start over a year or two before I was born. There was “debt to work off the place.” My other set of grandparents, a skilled but uneducated carpenter and homemaker, owned a small farm and a house in town. I had family who allowed me to grow. My family believed in hard work, education and family ties. Everyone, even my elderly great-grandfather had a job in the household and embraced his or her purpose. He would pray for us and rock me during the night. As the first grandchild for one side of my family, I was the gift of the future, adored and loved by many.

Life was rough from the beginning. I was born too early (they always did say that I was driven), weighing every ounce of four pounds eight ounces. My survival was doubtful. My mother was not allowed to see me until I was two days old, because my dad, on the advice of the doctor, didn't want to upset my mom. (It was a nurse who brought my mother to see me late one night.) I grew, and at six weeks old, I weighed five pounds and got to come home. My family was so excited that they “set out” walking the twenty-five miles to bring me home. I was in the lap of luxury. I was wanted, loved and represented the future: a mother of the people.

My home was on a farm. The house had electricity but no running water. But I have great-grandparents, great-aunts and uncles, grandparents, parents, aunts and uncles. Our farm was across the river—the major landmark for the Lumbee

people is the river—, among other Indian farms. We rarely went to town, and when we did we usually went to Pembroke where the population was primarily Indian. It was a rarity to go outside the Indian community. I was embraced, cared for, the first grandchild, with lots of love. I was not a problem. I was a blessing. I have only three early memories that required me to leave the Indian communities. One when I was very sick, one when we were traveling, and one at a garden party. When I was sick, my grandfather and father had taken me to the doctor (not an Indian) and it was determined that I needed to be hospitalized. At the hospital, my family was told I would need to be put in the “hallway because there were no Indian rooms left.” I remember my grandfather saying he had money and that he could see empty beds in other rooms. But he was told that those were not for Indians. He decided to take me home instead of putting me in the hall. I know now that degradation was understood to be a worse illness, one of the spirit. The second memory also involved one of my grandmothers. We were traveling to Maryland to visit an aunt when we stopped for gas. I needed to go to the restroom. But I quickly returned to the car and told my grandmother I couldn’t use the restroom here. She asked why, thinking someone had said something to me. I told her that there were restrooms for whites and colored but not Indians. You must understand that in those days, everything in my county required separation of the races. My grandmother’s response was that “You are so special, you can choose.” What a vision of who I was in the world! The last memory is one my sister loves to tell. We were at a garden party at the college president’s home. When his daughter decided to inform me that her dad was the president of that college, I informed her that was okay, but that my Dad was the president of his class! I wanted to make sure that the pecking field was in order. A problem? No, I am a blessing! Well, maybe this was the beginning of me being a problem.

Then my world changed. I began to live outside the closed, supportive Lumbee community. We moved to a nationally renowned college town when I was in the fourth grade and then outside of Washington, DC when I was in the fifth grade. In both of these settings, I heard the phrase “the Indian problem.” I clearly recall the first time I heard it. I was in the fourth grade and the teacher started discussing “the Indian problem”. I remember looking around the room, seeing who else was an Indian and wondering what kind of problem he or she was causing! I knew I wasn’t doing anything wrong. Imagine my disbelief when I understood that she meant all Indians were problems and have been for our entire history! A similar situation happened when I was in the fifth grade. Here, the references were more in the negative and in the present, because in the early 1960s, all so-called minorities were problems. Not only did I hear these words. My siblings and I were treated differently. Yes, we spoke a Lumbee dialect and we had not visited some of the places that others had seen. I remember my teacher’s shock that I had never been west of the Mississippi. I didn’t know where or what it was. I was assigned to

the lowest reading group, the lowest math group, and required to do extra work in history and science “to catch me up.” They even thought that my sister, who is very bright and more outspoken than me, was mentally challenged. I began to see that I wasn’t equal in the “real world”. And, even though we eventually went back to the Lumbee community to live, I had learned that the majority group was smarter than us. Even our textbooks had been discarded from their schools; a fact that I hadn’t noticed or understood before living outside the community. The Indian problem was that we were not a blessing.

In high school I became the Indian problem. I was bussed to an all-white high school for the purpose of integration. As the first non-white to attend, my classmates sneered when I walked by, ostracized me from meetings, and seemed surprised that I could think. I became ashamed of who I was and wanted desperately not to be me. At a time when one’s peer group is important, I found that I no longer fit into either community—Indian or white. I didn’t date, go to games or dances. It was a hard time for me. I wasn’t pretty, I couldn’t play a sport or music, I had no special talent, I was not extremely smart, but I could work hard and learn. During this traumatic time, the grandmother who was part of my multigenerational household died and my parents divorced. So, I not only didn’t have a supportive peer group but the extended family that had sustained me was disappearing. I learned that the only one I could depend upon was myself. I survived only because I had been given a purpose: “opening the doors for others”. This was what I was told by my family. I later understood the value of an open door from reading civil rights speeches and literature. At that time in my life, being an Indian was a problem for me and for others. By the end of my junior year, I was at last recognized as being smart, not as smart as the Lumbee males or the whites, but smart.

I wanted to pursue a degree in nursing and wrote to the admissions department of a flagship nursing school. I was no longer ashamed of who I was and declared my race in the letter. Even though my grades and test scores were acceptable, the response I received was one of discouragement because “... they didn’t have a nursing program for Indians.” The program recommended I get a diploma in nursing and not try to go to college. So, even being accomplished in learning wasn’t good enough, my efforts were thwarted because of being an Indian. I was outraged and hurt, but redoubled my efforts. With the help of family, I moved out of state to finish high school and attend one of the most prestigious nursing programs in the country. I was one of three “minorities” in a class of two hundred, and the only Indian. My right to be there was questioned by my classmates. But on this radical university campus in the early 1970s, I learned that I could be successful and that embracing my difference and the causes of others was important to me. I learned that it was good work to be the Indian problem along with the female problem, the Southern problem, the anti-war problem, and the poverty problem. After all, I had had lots of experience and was not afraid or ashamed any longer.

The attitude I developed in high school and college—depending only on oneself, embracing hard work and a willingness to embrace my difference—has allowed me to continue to become me over the years. I have had to learn to embrace my spirit and love myself. And I have learned the value of insisting that you do the same. I am a problem only if you choose to look at me as different, if you are afraid of me because I see the world differently. “I am a problem” is your decision to be the only keeper of truth.

Along the way, I have learned another valuable lesson. I can’t just depend upon myself. There is not a separate world or mind. We are in a world together, even though we may not know each other’s truth as yet. Look upon me as a being like yourself, who is a complex person, who is experiencing freedom, choice and responsibility just as you do. Look upon me and encourage me to become who I am and to connect with you as we cocreate a better world for us all. This way does come with a cost. We will all have to change. I am not the problem. The problem is our fears, our lack of courage or unwillingness to grow. Let my difference blend with yours and let’s create a world for all of us. Our grandparents, aunts and uncles, children, and the spirit that binds us are blessings, not problems. May we be willing to walk together to create paths so that others can come home.



Introduction

ULRIKE WIETHAUS

This multi-disciplinary collection of eight previously unpublished essays by scholars well-established in their fields presents new research in three intersecting domains: tribal history with an emphasis on Native women in the Southeast, language revitalization efforts and the narrative knowledge inherent in indigenous oral culture, and traditional educational systems in the context of the on-going colonization of American Indian educational practices and values. Southeastern Indian issues are still all too often overlooked in current research, and the collection invites comparison of similarities and differences with other tribal nations. However, literature about Native women's lives and issues is growing steadily, and the volume situates itself comfortably in the emerging canon of Native women's distinct methodologies, values, and voices (Yarbrough 2014). Readers will note that the term feminism is speaking loudly through its absence. Indigenous women and women of color have articulated clearly in what ways feminist thinking and practice has been emic to European-American societies by problematizing patrilineal and patriarchal thought and practices characteristic of these societies. In contrast, the majority of American Indian and Indigenous societies encountered sexist systems through colonialism and as colonialism (Talamantez, Jaimes Guerrero, and Waters, 2003). Native women's project since original contact with settler societies has been to safeguard Native nations and land, and as integral part of it, women's traditional authority and leadership within matrilineal social systems, practices, values, and philosophies (Purdue 2001). Whereas European-American women conceive of gender justice as a future-oriented goal with hardly any tangible past, Native

women derive their many strengths from a still knowable and culturally palpable past that celebrated American Indian women of proud nations. Native women's project can rely on such a past with its well-tested, solid, and trustworthy complementary gender roles that afforded respect and leadership to women and that honored and protected life cycle changes as empowering and powerful. Secondly, Native women's project is inseparable from regaining and defending Native nations' sovereignty, here defined as the inherent right to culturally congruent self-government, right to home-lands, and right to practice and pass on traditional life ways in all domains of life. Thirdly, Native women's project is grounded in and accountable to culturally congruent knowledge systems, philosophical, ethical and metaphysical systems, and systems of teaching and learning. Hence the importance of oral knowledge and orality, of a harmony ethics that implants respectful relational ways in all facets of human communication with the world, and the dependency on elders to ensure cultural continuity, the accurate understanding and practice of cultural protocols, of Indigenous languages, and one's place and name in the world.

In different ways, the articles collected in this volume highlight these three foundational characteristics of Native women's project in the context of colonialist occupation. The collection spans the gamut from naming women's collective experiences of historical trauma to their on-going efforts at preserving and re-building their Native nations and societies. The approach of the editors mirrors their own scholarly backgrounds and is multi-disciplinary. Read together, the essays thus reward a reader with a more nuanced scholar-activist understanding of the interlocking systems of European-American colonialism and Native women's culturally distinct multi-generational strategies of resistance, healing, and re-creation.

The focus on the three domains of education, history, and language evolved organically as it reflects the research and scholarship presented at a national annual conference held in North Carolina from 2007 to 2014. The book title is identical with the name of the conference, American Indian Women of Proud Nations. The activist-pragmatist mission of the conference states that "The American Indian Women of Proud Nations support American Indian women's efforts to build healthier lives for themselves, their families, and their communities in a spirit of holistic inquiry and empowerment" (<https://www.facebook.com/aiwpn>).

The majority of this volume's authors were keynote or session speakers. Given the many rich community contributions in talking circles, honoring ceremonies, and sharing sessions at the conference, the editors are also preparing a companion volume of oral histories, tentatively entitled *Healing through Story: American Indian Women's Voices on Education, Community, Health, and Spirituality*.

A fourth characteristic complements the three features of Native women's reconstructive project described above. The volume's essays are distinctive in their Indigenous hermeneutics in that they insist on a holistic rather than linear view of time and place-based knowledge. By this we mean a probing discernment of the

insight that the past still fully affects the present and that it therefore endows the present with depth and meaning beyond a linear, irreversible, staccato view of temporality. For example, the chapters by Jacobs, Maynor Lowery, Oxendine, Stremlau and Haladay, though spanning in analysis from the eighteenth to the twenty-first century, are united by a deep embodied knowledge of place—Robeson County—and an acknowledgment of multi-generational female leadership and kinship pattern woven into every aspect of the authors' work. Relationships consistently trump time as organizing experiential principle. As Maynor Beasley demonstrates, even the threat of mortality in the face of cancer is second to maintaining connection to the community, and the community's faith that such connection is healing.

Such a hermeneutics of “finding promise in the past”, to cite Olivia Oxendine's chapter title, also shapes Native women's efforts at overcoming historical trauma. As Rosemary White Shield's extensive literature review and field work demonstrates, the most successful strategies to heal such trauma lie in a return and revitalization of tradition, language, and spiritual practices that have evolved over millennia and withstood the test of time for centuries. In terms of the importance of language, Garoutte, Rounds, and Maynor Beasley demonstrate that languages express cultural practices, teach spiritual knowledge, and sharpen gendered skill sets far beyond proficiency in grammar and vocabularies. These chapters complement essays by White Shield, Buchanan and Bobbitt in stimulating questions about the urgent need to develop Native curricula embedded in language revitalization, the vast “oral libraries of knowledge” evoked by White Shield, and the privileging of orality and experiential learning over literacy (Benham and Stein, 2003; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012; Jones Brayboy 2014).

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PART ONE

Women's History AND Language



Introduction to Part One

ULRIKE WIETHAUS

The five essays collected in this section provide a window into Native women's work as significant contributions to past, present, and future tribal well-being and survival. The tools to accomplish such work include teaching, speaking, and shaping the living relational web of tribally specific linguistic practice. Renée T. Grounds and Eva Marie Garrouette raise the intriguing question whether women's verbal leadership and community shaping across generations is supported by Native languages themselves, whether indigenous or finely-tuned tribally specific English dialects. Cherry Maynor Beasley painstakingly maps women's world-making work in the face of life-threatening cancer diagnoses and treatment. Time-tested cultural ways to move through and move out into an ever expanding sense of self and community, in which each lived experience, when turned into story, adds another layer of knowledge and knowing to the reservoir of tribal wisdom and the arts of survivance. A second set of tools is embedded in cultural frameworks that enable a pragmatic systems approach to problem solving. Malinda Maynor Lowery retrieves the contributions of three historical women. Each woman in her own way employs and leverages cultural systems such as kinship and economic networks to advance her and her people's cause. Women's healing circles as described by Rosemary White Shield draw from ceremonial knowledge and ritual practices to reconstruct their lives and selves. Indeed, the only effective means to regain fully lived lives, White Shield observes, are these frameworks, and precisely so because they connect every element of life, whether human or non-human. In her analysis of Jim Crow in Indian Country, Mary Ann Jacobs brings together both sets of tools, language and holistic pragmatics, to explain Native people's strategies of retaining their dignity and autonomy under duress.



Lumbee Indian Women

Historical Change and Cultural Adaptation

MALINDA MAYNOR LOWERY

American Indian women confront the inevitable winds of change with a steady fire, the fire of cultural stability. As the roles of men and women changed, as outsiders invaded our territory and we adopted new tools of survival, women used family attachments, religion, and their economic influence to moderate these changes and keep the community intact. As we know with the controlled forest fires our ancestors practiced in our vast pine forests, wind can often make fire more powerful, and the fire maker can adapt and control the fire to meet the forest's—or in our case, the community's—needs. The story of Lumbee women is like managing a forest fire in this way. That story is best represented through the lives of three women and their generations, who moderated change by adapting their fires, their tools, of continuity.

Historians yearn for a fuller documentary record about the Lumbee people, and the written record of Lumbee women is especially sparse. Few documents mention them by name, yet women have played an extraordinary role in the historical narrative of this unique group. The Lumbees consider Sally Kearsy to be one of their founding mothers, an ancestor of many of the tribe's present-day citizens.¹ Sally was a member of the Tuscarora group that remained in what is now North Carolina, following the Tuscarora War of 1711–1713. Many other Tuscaroras moved north to New York state. Facing exile from their homelands in northeastern North Carolina, Sally and her family migrated to the safety of the dense swamplands of southeastern North Carolina, where the Lumbee Tribe is located today. Few whites wanted that land and so our Indian ancestors found

a safe haven there out of the chaos of colonial warfare, disease, and slavery. Sally married the entrepreneurial James Lowry. James Lowry had the business acumen to acquire land and resources to enable his and other Lumbee families to stay in our homeland during the Removal crisis that affected so many other tribes in the Southeastern United States. Yet Sally had the family that gave James influence and kinship status in the Indian community. Without kinship status, one cannot belong to an Indian community. Sally's story is where we begin to understand the importance of kinship in tempering changes to the Lumbee community. Sally's era was also a time when Lumbee Christianity began to take shape, and when women began to exert influence over Lumbee Christian ideologies about gender roles.

Three generations later, another remarkable woman, Rhoda Strong Lowry, took her place as a woman on history's stage to both push change and to protect community. In 1865, Rhoda married Sally's great-grandson, Henry Berry Lowry, who was then engaged in a large-scale, Reconstruction-era resistance to Conservative Democrat control and white supremacy in the Lumbee homeland of Robeson County. What we call the "Lowry War" lasted from 1865 to 1872. In 1872, Henry Berry disappeared and left Rhoda to raise their three children. Rhoda was one of Henry's first collaborators, and his most loyal, often putting herself at great personal risk for the cause of justice. Today, Lumbees remember her as a seminal figure in this momentous time in our history, particularly for the values we attach to the ideal Lumbee woman: her personal fortitude, her remarkable intelligence, her devotion to her family, and her strength of faith. Even today, Lumbees report seeing the ghost of Henry Berry emerge from the swamp to visit Rhoda's grave.

A third woman seminal to Lumbee history is Clarissa Sweat/Lowry Chavis, Sally Kearsley's granddaughter. Though older than Rhoda, she did not make her mark on Lumbee history until the 1870s, when her position as a political leader emerged. In the oral tradition, Clarissa's kinship connections stretched back to two of the community's founding families. They represent the longstanding, though not unchanging, practice of matriarchal authority and matrilineal kinship in the Lumbee community. Those kinship connections, and Clarissa's authority as a woman, helped determine a significant moment in the Lumbee struggle for federal recognition.

In the Lumbee community, as in most Native communities, complementary, not hierarchical, gender roles were the ideal. Men and women tended to identify positively with their respective duties, each accepting responsibility for distinct areas of family and community life. A father claimed his role as the person most responsible for negotiating with outside institutions. These duties corresponded with whites' recognition of an Indian man's status as a landowner, but they also co-existed with an Indian mother's position as the decision-maker within the home. In addition to providing for the family through her work in the fields and in the garden, mothers made the decisions regarding children's discipline and

socialization; women also transmitted the oral tradition and kept kinship connections intact by caring for in-laws and by keeping the family in church.²

Kinship and religion are two fundamental Lumbee institutions that deserve brief introduction to place the lives of Lumbee women in context. In the Southeast at the time of sustained European contact, a matrilineal kinship system shaped the lives of men and women. Women were the primary farmers who controlled the production and distribution of the staple food crop, corn, while men provided game and protection. Individuals belonged to their mother's clan, and clan affiliation, not race or other markers determined tribal membership. By virtue of their age and wisdom, the eldest women of a clan played roles in economic, social, religious, political, and even military affairs. As life-givers who produced both children and crops, Indian women had considerable authority. Sometime in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, after over a century of contact with Europeans, matrilineal kinship gave way to a bilateral system, in which a child belonged to both parents' families. Nevertheless, complementarity in gender roles—and the world as a whole—remained the ideal. The corollary principle of reciprocity shaped Lumbees' spiritual world. Humankind and the spirit world joined in a reciprocal relationship that Lumbees ritualized through events as grand as the eighteenth-century Green Corn ceremony or a twentieth-century Pentecostal tent revival, or as humble as the contemporary Lumbee practice of placing a dead snake in a tree to ask for rain.³

As Lumbees began to construct their kin ties in new ways, kinship continued to bind them together in turbulent times. Lumbees descend from a number of different tribes in the Carolinas and Virginia and trace their kin relations from approximately eight families that lived in Robeson County prior to the formation of the United States.⁴ Extended families continued the significant decision-making power of mothers, grandmothers, and aunts, even in realms outside the home. Evidence of matrilineality comes from the identity of one of our "founding mothers," Sally Kearsy, who was born about 1730 in Bertie County, North Carolina, the location of a Tuscarora reservation. Sally's father was probably a Weyanoke Indian and her mother a Tuscarora. Nineteenth-century white authors called Sally a "half-breed Tuscarora," an ethnocentric label that ignored the Tuscarora's matrilineal kinship system in which Sally was Tuscarora because her mother was Tuscarora. Whites might have thought of her as a "half-breed," but her own community almost certainly did not—she was a full-fledged member of an Indian community as were her children.

Sally married James Lowry between 1750 and 1776, and during that time, Sally's family had relocated to Robeson County.⁵ James possessed an entrepreneurial spirit and acquired vast tracts of land, possibly through connections he made as an Indian trader.⁶ If James Lowry was indeed an Indian trader working for the British to exchange European trade goods for Indian-manufactured

deerskins, then Sally Kearsy made a strategic choice in marrying him. Typically in order to trade with a matrilineal Indian group, the trader consented to an adoption, most often through marrying the sister or niece (the sister's daughter) of a chief. This form of alliance meant that the chief had ready access to the trader's goods for redistribution among his community and that the trader and his children had a place in the group's matrilineal kinship network. He may have been English, or he may have been Native; it is possible that his mother was Indian if his father was also a trader.⁷

The major footpath in Robeson County became known as the Lowry Road, probably because it ended at James Lowry's ferry, which he operated on the Lumber River at a place known as Harper's Ferry after the mouth harp Lowry played. With his business acumen and apparent connections to whites, James Lowry might have chosen to settle in a more well-traveled, populous place, but he probably preferred the relative backwater of Robeson County because his wife's people lived there. James and Sally had a large family, and their children married into Indian families who already resided there. Like Sally's Kearsy family branch, these other Indians had come from the Roanoke River in North Carolina and the James River in Virginia to find refuge in Robeson County. For several decades, the community cohered around kin ties that reached back in time. Perhaps because of the small number of founding families, reliance solely on matrilineal kinship to establish belonging in the Lumbee community gave way to the inclusion of descendants of both men and women who remained in the growing community. Sally thus represents a generation of Indian women who established what makes the Lumbees a People today—their family networks.

Living in an extended rather than nuclear family considerably reduced a man's authority, so Lumbee men turned to the church as a source of influence. As kinship patterns changed from matrilineal to bilateral, Christianity became increasingly influential in the Indian community. The earliest recorded deed for a Lumbee Christian place of worship was the Hammonds meeting house in 1792, but Indians in Robeson County had been practicing some mix of Christian and indigenous religions for some time.⁸ Between the American Revolution and Reconstruction, Lumbees generally worshipped in racially mixed congregations. They gathered in brush arbors, on riverbanks, and in homes. After Reconstruction, a wave of racial segregation struck churches across the South. Lumbees began building their own churches, mostly Baptist and Methodist.⁹ Lumbee Baptists and Methodists have never approved of women preaching or serving as deacons because literal readings of Paul's New Testament letters require that women subordinate themselves. Nevertheless, women have retained power in church affairs by testifying openly about their faith, by leading songs during services, and by influencing their husband's opinions. Churches have served as important community organizing platforms for Lumbee women. Lumbee women rarely saw their family or church engagement as

explicitly political—instead, they were simply adapting their traditional power to a different institution. These efforts, however, often resulted in political changes in the Lumbee community.

Clarissa Sweat/Lowry Chavis, the granddaughter of James Lowry and Sally Kearsy, demonstrates the political power at least some women possessed. Born in 1814, Clarissa descended from two “founding families” of the Lumbee community. Her mother was Mary Sweat and her father was Jimmie Lowry, son of James and Sally. The Lowry family’s Indian identity on Clarissa’s paternal side was clearly established, but Clarissa’s maternal family connections were distinctive in their own right. Her mother’s family had perhaps lived in Robeson County longer than the Lowry family.¹⁰ The Sweat family probably was Pamunkey, Indians from New Kent County in Virginia, who might have also practiced some form of matrilineal kinship. They migrated to what is now Robeson County in the mid-18th century. By allying himself with the Sweat family (his third wife was also a Sweat), Jimmie Lowry attached himself to a family of strong women who sometimes defied the conventions of white society.¹¹

Clarissa is remembered sometimes as Clarissa Sweat and other times as Clarissa Lowry, perhaps because she was an illegitimate child. Christian influence had circumscribed, at least rhetorically, the freedom of women to make choices in romantic and sexual relationships, imposing Christian notions of purity akin to the idealized image of the Virgin Mary. Although the church preached this vision of womanhood, Lumbee women maintained sexual relationships outside the bounds of marriage, had children out of wedlock, and generally exercised what social and sexual freedom their female family members allowed. Part of the support for this alternative to Christian morality has come from the continued strength of the extended family and the considerable power that female elders have in those families. An illegitimate child, for example, would nearly always be raised in a loving, supportive home full of relatives, whether the child’s father was present or not. Most Lumbees attached little stigma to children born out of wedlock.

Taking a wife or mother’s surname was not unheard of, even if illegitimacy was not a factor in a relationship. Furthermore, Lumbees might not have adhered to state marriage laws or white conventions. As late as the 1870s, men who moved into the community sometimes took their wives’ surnames as a marker of belonging and deference to the woman’s family. Two such men, Cade and Jordin, were father and son who moved to Robeson County from Oklahoma and both married Chavis women. Any affiliation with tribes in Indian Territory is unknown, but when they married, they assumed the surname as well as tribal connections of their wives.¹²

Lumbees have remembered Clarissa’s kinship connections as particularly important, because they played a key role in the group’s federal recognition quest. In 1886, the Indian community wanted a representative to travel to Indian Territory “for the purpose of finding out how to proceed in getting recognition

from the Congress of the United States.”¹³ According to her grandson Hugh Brayboy, Clarissa made the decision about who would go. She was about seventy-two years old, undoubtedly one of the oldest members of the community and obviously considered an authority figure. Each candidate’s kin factored into the decision. They were George Washington Lowry, called “Uncle Wash” out of respect, and “Big Jim” Oxendine, the first Indian elected County Commissioner during Reconstruction. She chose Wash Lowry to travel to Indian Territory. She was Wash’s paternal aunt (Wash’s father was Clarissa’s half-brother), and they connected on her father’s side, but Clarissa had no known kinship connection to “Big Jim” Oxendine. There were other reasons for her decision, however. Indians regarded Uncle Wash highly for his personality and character, and his knowledge of the people’s history. In contrast, Jim Oxendine was more widely known for his political connections to whites outside the Indian community. Both men advanced the cause of Indian education in the nineteenth century, but Wash’s authority derived from identity markers Indians held about themselves while Jim’s derived from his power in negotiating with outsiders. Clarissa undoubtedly recognized this difference in the styles of male authority and perhaps chose someone whose style resonated with that of women.¹⁴ Women’s authority derived from how the Indian community regarded them; to outsiders, they remained unknown.

The one nineteenth-century Lumbee woman who became well known to non-Indians was Rhoda Strong Lowry. In the twenty-first century, she has become representative of Lumbee womanhood and the implicitly and explicitly political activities in which they engaged. Rhoda was born in 1849 to a Scottish renegade, John Strong (probably not his real name), and Celia Sweat (sometimes called Lowry), a Lumbee woman who possessed considerable personal fortitude in her own right. John and Celia worked irregularly as turpentine laborers and farm laborers, probably for Celia’s family members who owned their own farms and small turpentine plantations.

Rhoda’s earliest experiences conformed to those of any Lumbee girl in the mid-nineteenth century. She learned to farm, to care for her sick neighbors, and to fulfill household duties. When Rhoda was ten or eleven years old, the Civil War erupted, and by the end of the war, at age fifteen or sixteen, she had become a legendary beauty in the eyes of both whites and Indians. Rhoda’s somewhat typical upbringing took a decided turn when she married Henry Berry Lowry. Her marriage took place at the very end of the Civil War and the beginning of the so-called Lowry War, in which Henry Berry, his maternal relatives (including brothers, his maternal cousins, and Rhoda’s brothers), and some of his African-American and Caucasian neighbors took up armed resistance against Conservative Democrats trying to regain power after the Civil War.¹⁵

Indians have promoted Rhoda’s exploits right beside Henry Berry’s. She joined him in his fight. The day of their wedding, December 7, 1865, authorities

arrested Henry Berry and put him in jail in the town of Whiteville, thirty miles away. The police believed that the jail was impenetrable, but Lumbee oral tradition recounts how Rhoda penetrated it by baking a cake with a file (or a knife—stories differ) in it, and taking it to the jail herself. Henry Berry quickly escaped. On another occasion, she walked eighty miles to help him escape from prison in Wilmington, where he had been tried and sentenced to death. As he awaited his execution, Rhoda arrived. The legend here differs between that told by Indians and that told by outsiders. Lumbees remember that she used her old cake trick—the jailers allowed Henry Berry to have the cake and the pistol that was concealed inside of it. Outsiders, however, tell an elaborate tale of Rhoda arriving in Wilmington, securing intelligence about the whereabouts of her husband by working as a maid at a local inn, and then pretending to seduce the jailer and beat him over the head with a lead pipe; she then stole his keys and simply unlocked Henry’s cell. The Lumbee story is a straightforward tale of a woman using her domestic arts to help her husband, while the outsider version has Rhoda using seductive arts to assist; each reflects what the storytellers valued about Lumbee women.

Another episode places Rhoda at the center of a crisis for Henry. In 1871, increasingly desperate at their inability to capture and hold the Lowry gang, the militia decided to kidnap the wives of gang members, believing that such action would draw them into open confrontation. It did, but the militia lost three soldiers and none of the gang members, nor their wives, were harmed. Yet the militia dragged the women through the gun battle to confine them in the Lumberton jail. Henry might have tried to break them out, as Rhoda had done for him, but he chose a different path, one much more in accordance with his own character. He simply spoke, quietly dictating a threat. According to William McKee Evans, Henry Berry Lowry gave a note to a white neighbor, John McNair, which said, “We make a special request, that our wives who were arrested a few days ago and placed in Jail, be released to come home to their families by Monday Morning, and if not, the Bloodiest times will be here that ever was before- the life of every man will be in jeopardy.”¹⁶ Knowing that Lowry was a man of his word sent the county’s elite residents into a panic. Four days later, the women were released. While it is impossible to determine anything in particular about Rhoda’s own character from this incident, it does reveal how white elite men and military attachments willingly used Lumbee women as pawns in the Lowry War, not realizing that Lumbee society placed much greater value on them.

Rhoda also bore three children during her six-year marriage to Henry, harbored gang members, and supplied them with provisions. In 1872, Henry Berry disappeared—whether by accidentally shooting himself while cleaning his guns or by actually escaping, we are not sure—and from that point Rhoda lived on her own and provided for her children single-handedly.

Like most women of her day, particularly widows or single women, Rhoda Lowry traded with local merchants for what she needed. Her name appears on a page in a ledger book, a tiny notebook kept by a white man who apparently worked collecting debts for another business. Sometimes Rhoda paid for the goods in cash, such as her payment of ten dollars in 1872 and two dollars in 1873, less than a year after Henry Berry's disappearance. All of the other Indian women in the book, including another Lowry gang member's widow, paid cash for food, clothes, or other necessities. Based on the other entries, she might have received a hat and shirt for two dollars, or lye, "fly poison," molasses, and pork for ten dollars.¹⁷ In the economy of the time, bartering was preferable to paying with cash, because it meant that one was producing goods a local merchant wanted, and was therefore more self-sufficient. The fact that Rhoda could not barter for these items is significant. She was not self-sufficient immediately following Henry Berry's disappearance, and apparently few members of his family or her own could provide for her or her three children. Her sense of deprivation and economic uncertainty in these years must have been great—not simply because there was no man to provide for her, but because everyone who was close to her had, in one way or another, perished in the aftermath of the Lowry War. She was alone and had to find a way to produce goods that she could trade or sell.

By 1897, twenty-four years later, she had hit upon a successful trade: bootlegging. In fact, she was so successful that she got caught. Federal agents arrested forty-eight year-old Rhoda for selling liquor without a license and the U.S. District Court tried and convicted her. She spent sixty days in the Robeson County jail for this crime, possibly the same jail from which she had helped Henry escape. One of her daughters had also been arrested for illegal liquor trade, indicating that perhaps Rhoda had developed a reciprocal bond with her daughter based not only on their family relationship, but on mutual economic support as well.¹⁸ Although Rhoda no doubt struggled severely when her children were small, she was able to depend on them more as they grew. Perhaps she and her daughter were in business together.

Selling liquor without a license was not sanctioned by the law, but as Henry Berry's story shows, Lumbees carried out unsanctioned activities if necessary. In fact, Lumbee women readily adapted what was "legal" and "moral" to their own economic circumstances, despite many women's strong adherence to Christianity. As with sexuality and marriage, Lumbee women did not bow to Christian ideologies that banned liquor consumption. In fact, for Indian women, trade, marriage, and sex were often historically tied together in unexpected ways and represent the continuation of a long tradition of Indian women's involvement in trade, one that has a longer history than their adherence to Christian norms or to outsiders' constructions of female propriety.

Distinguishing fiction from fact is difficult with Rhoda's story. The more one tries to uncover a truth, the more truth itself recedes into ambiguities that figure

Rhoda as an example of Lumbee womanhood, but not a positive one, at least not according to the standards held by white men and women. Henderson reported that whites called Rhoda the “queen of Scuffletown”. Scuffletown was a white name for the Indian settlement in Robeson County, a name that implied a rough-and-tumble, violent place. In using the word “queen”, they employed the lowest form of insult by openly mocking her with a title she clearly could never possess; by making her “queen” of a place they feared and detested added injury to the insult. Furthermore, some whites attested that Rhoda was not a “constant wife, but to follow the current example of Scuffletown”, meaning that neither she, nor many Indian women, remained faithful to their husbands. The journalist followed this statement by saying “Other persons, the negroes, deny this.”¹⁹

Henderson also commented that Rhoda was “the most beautiful mulatto of Scuffletown.” He wrote that “she appeared to be a meek, pretty-eyed rather shrinking girl, of a very light color, poorly dressed.”²⁰ Hardly someone who carried herself as a “queen,” he might have continued, though he knew that moniker to be a jest at her expense. Instead, he offered her as a commoner, “meek,” “shrinking,” but “pretty-eyed” and “of light color,” no doubt pleasing attributes to many men.

Read through the historiography of Native women’s sexuality, Henderson’s charge of infidelity can appear quite differently. Though neither he nor the whites who coined “the queen of Scuffletown” epithet intended such a meaning, we might see in the rumors about Rhoda’s infidelity a reflection of a different kind of memory—and perhaps fact—of Native female sexuality. For example, Theda Perdue describes the considerable sexual autonomy of unmarried and married women in Cherokee society, where women chose partners freely so long as they observed incest taboos. Those taboos—as well as proscriptions against sex in certain places such as crop fields and in times of war, menstruation, or pregnancy—were designed to maintain spiritual, ecological, and interpersonal harmony within close-knit communities. Cherokees considered male semen, not female blood, polluting, and so drew these boundaries to restrict male sexual activity, not female sexuality.²¹ We cannot assume that these attitudes were exactly the same in the Lumbee community, and we have no written evidence of Lumbee female sexual behavior other than the rumors that white men like Henderson reported. But if we allow ourselves to consider the possibility, given the scant and heavily biased documentary record, that Lumbee attitudes about sex may have been quite different than white attitudes, then the charge of marital infidelity in the Indian community hardly seems like a moral offense at all. Rather, it was a way to maintain female authority, and male-female harmony, in a world in which racial attitudes were confusing and shifting. Rhoda herself may have reclaimed the title of “queen” in a very different sense than those who made fun of her and other Lumbee women. A Lumbee “queen” indeed possessed control over her body and bowed to no expectations from outsiders about what she should look like, what her identity should be, or how she should behave.

This analysis shows how little we know about Rhoda, but it also reveals how both historical actors and contemporary readers of the past can collect memories and shape them to suit specific purposes. Knowing Lumbee culture over time and paying attention to gender even when not discussed or misrepresented in the documentary record balances Lumbee history by appreciating female power and authority. Rhoda Lowry is an example of the uses of Lumbee womanhood, but what we know of her life does point toward a gendered Lumbee history that is distinct from whites' memory and prejudices, and to a certain degree, even from Lumbee memory. We see how Lumbee identity has been influenced by Lumbee women's willingness to adapt or remain conservative, depending on the circumstances. It is this identity formation process, and the way Lumbee women directed it, that we remember and therefore value. The stories of Rhoda and other women make the past our present and these ancestors ever more dear to us. My relationship as a descendant of some of the women I write about does not pollute this truth, any more than memory contaminates history; indeed, memory is the search for meaning in the past, a cultural enterprise that reveals the adaptive strategies through which Lumbee women acted and preserved their ways for us to inherit today.

NOTES

1. "Lumbee" was the name agreed upon by a segment of the community in the 1940s and 1950s, after a protracted struggle with the federal government over recognition that involved a number of different tribal names, including "Croatan," "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County," and "Siouan." It seems clear that these various markers were inadequate attempts to describe the multiple linguistic and cultural origins of the Lumbee, which are indicated by Sally Kearsley's ancestry. Many Indian people, especially those that today identify as "Tuscarora," also consider Lumbee to be inadequate, but I use it here because it is the name most commonly recognized by non-Indians and under which our relationships with federal and state governments continue. See Malinda Maynor Lowery, *Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South: Race, Identity, and the Making of a Nation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), chp. 7, for the controversial origins of the Lumbee name.
2. Christopher Arris Oakley, "The Reshaping of Indian Identity in Twentieth Century North Carolina" (Ph.D. diss., University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 2002), 54; John G. Peck, "Urban Station—Migration of the Lumbee Indians" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1972), 67–68, quoted in Vernon Ray Thompson, "A History of the Education of the Lumbee Indians of Robeson County, North Carolina From 1885 to 1970" (Ed.D. diss., University of Miami, 1973), 24–5.
3. In pre-Columbian southeastern tradition, snakes were closely associated with thunder, which of course brought rain. Placing a snake closer to the source of rain would, in the Lumbee worldview, likely cause it to rain, because of the relationship that snakes and thunder share. Mary Ann Jacobs, email communication with author, 15 August 2010.
4. These eight families are Locklear, Hunt, Chavis, Oxendine, Brooks, Brayboy, Lowry, Sweat. Possibilities for inclusion based on further research are Revels, Jacobs, and Deese. See Malinda Maynor Lowery, *Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South*, Appendix.


5. The date of their marriage seems unknown at this time, but we can date the Kearsley's relocation to Robeson County in the early 1760s, when Sally would have been about thirty years old. It therefore seems likely that either she and James married before moving to Robeson, or that James was not her first husband. If the latter, we cannot presume that all of the children who carried the Lowry name were indeed James's. I date James Lowry's relocation to Robeson County from the time of his first recorded land deed on Drowning Creek in what is now Robeson County, in 1770. See Rebecca S. Seib, *Settlement Pattern Study of the Indians of Robeson County, NC, 1735–1787* (Pembroke, NC: Lumbee Regional Development Association, 1983), 68.
6. Josephine Humphreys, personal correspondence with the author, April 15, 2000. Humphreys' hunch that James Lowry was an Indian trader employed by the British comes from Archibald Henderson, *The Conquest of the Old Southwest: The Romantic Story of the Early Pioneers into Virginia, the Carolinas, Tennessee, and Kentucky 1740–1790* (New York: The Century Co., 1920), chapter 8, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2390/2390-h/2390-h.htm>. This account mentions James Lowry, an Indian trader among the Catawbias who happened to be in Kentucky in 1753 with another Irish trader, John Findlay, when they were attacked by a group of Kahnawake Mohawks over a trade deal gone bad. Findlay and Lowry survived and, according to the account, returned to Pennsylvania. See also Israel Smith Clare, *A Brief History of Lancaster County*, ed. Anna Lyle (Lancaster, PA: Argyle Publishing Company, 1892), 37–41. http://openlibrary.org/books/OL23282865M/A_brief_history_of_Lancaster_County.
7. Theda Perdue, *"Mixed Blood" Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005), 21ff.
8. See Michael and Lula Jane Smith, *The Lumbee Methodists: Getting to Know Them* (Raleigh: Commission of Archives and History, North Carolina Methodist Conference, 1990), 11–12, 62. More research needs to be conducted to uncover any extant missionary records that speak to the conversion of Indians in Robeson County.
9. Lowery, *Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South*, 43–48.
10. In 1773, the British crown identified Benjamin, Ephraim, William, and George Sweat, along with thirteen other men, as "rogues of all free Negroes and Mullatos living in the King's Land." One of these men may have been Mary Sweat's father, and Ester Kearsley was a "harborer" of these "rogues" who were likely harassing European settlers and causing trouble for the North Carolina colonial government. Seib, *Settlement Pattern*, 15–24, 142–43; the suggestion that Benjamin was Mary's father was found at <http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/26028185/family> (accessed June 8, 2011), but Rebecca Seib's research shows these Sweat men all eventually leaving the immediate Robeson County area well before Jimmie and Mary would have formed an alliance. Their apparent migration does not preclude, of course, Mary's descent from one of these men, but it reveals another gap in the documentary record.
11. Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia through Four Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 8–10, 173, 190–91, 193–94. Further, among the Powhatan confederacy, Rountree says that the elite may have practiced matrilineal kinship but that "commoners" may have been either matrilineal or bilateral. Genealogist Virginia DeMarce also asserts that the Sweats moved from the James River and New Kent County in Virginia and then eventually to the Cheraw District of South Carolina, corroborating Seib's research. Virginia DeMarce, "Looking at Legends—Lumbee and Melungeon: Applied Genealogy and the Origins of Tri-Racial Isolate Settlements," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 81(1993), 29.
12. There is no record of Jimmie Lowry marrying anyone in Robeson County, but he had children with at least three different women, formal marriages or not.

13. Applicant #22 (Hugh Brayboy) in Carl Seltzer, "A Report on the Racial Status of Certain People in Robeson County, North Carolina," National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 75, Entry 616, Box 14/15—North Carolina.
14. We do not know if Clarissa's authority in that decision was based merely on her status as an elder or also on her own kinship connections, but more research needs to be completed before we fully understand whether Clarissa's authority might have been based on her matrilineal or patrilineal kinship. It's not impossible to conceive that despite our lack of specific information about Mary Sweat, Clarissa's mother, that Clarissa's maternal family connections were distinctive in their own right; in 1773, the British crown identified Benjamin, Ephraim, William, and George Sweat, along with 13 other men, as "rogues of all free Negroes and Mullatos living in the King's Land." One of these men may have been Mary Sweat's father, and Ester Kearsey (probably Sally's mother) was a "harboree" of these "rogues" who were likely harassing European settlers and causing trouble for the North Carolina colonial government. Jimmie Lowry could have recognized that in allying with the Sweat family (his third wife or partner was also a Sweat), he became attached to a family of Virginia Indian ancestry, possibly Pamunkey, who had a long tradition of matriarchal practices. He also probably knew that his grandmother Ester had close ties to the Sweat family as well. Understanding more about the genealogy of Mary Sweat, Clarissa's mother, would help answer this question and clarify even further the transition from matrilineal to bilateral kinship in the Lumbee community. Seib, *Settlement Pattern Study*, 15–24, 142–43; the suggestion that Benjamin was Mary's father was found at <http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/26028185/family> (accessed June 8, 2011), but Rebecca Seib's research shows these Sweat men all eventually leaving the immediate Robeson County area well before Jimmie and Mary would have formed an alliance. Their apparent migration does not preclude, of course, Mary's descent from one of these men, but it reveals another gap in the documentary record.
15. A fuller account of Rhoda is found in Eneida Sanderson Pugh, "Rhoda Strong Lowry: The Queen of Scuffletown," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 26(2002): 67–81 and in William McKee Evans, *To Die Game: The Story of the Lowry Band, Guerillas of Reconstruction* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995).
16. Evans, *To Die Game*, 199.
17. "Ms. Rhoda Lowry, Dec 20 1872 and Feb 7 1873" entries in G. W. Maulsby Ledger Book (Special Collections, Livermore Library, UNC-Pembroke, Pembroke, NC).
18. "Rhoda Lowrie," *Wilmington Star* (Wilmington, NC), Nov. 5, 1897; see also *Robesonian* (Lumberton, NC), Nov. 10, 1897.
19. George Alfred Townsend, *The Swamp Outlaws* (New York: R. M. DeWitt, 1872), 16.
20. *Ibid.*, 16.
21. Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700–1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 56–58.

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Healing Responses TO Historical Trauma

Native Women's Perspectives

ROSEMARY WHITE SHIELD

INTRODUCTION: STATEMENT OF THE NEED FOR HEALING

Native women face the highest rates of sexual violence of any group in the United States (Indian Law Resource Center, 2009). It has reached epidemic proportions in Indian Country. According to U.S. Bureau of Justice statistics, one out of three Native women will be raped in her lifetime, three out of four will be physically assaulted, and stalking of Indian women occurs at a rate double than that of any other population (Deer, Clairmont, Martell & White Eagle, 2008). In a crime report of the Anchorage police department, during the years of 1995 to 1999, six hundred sexual assault cases of Native Alaskan women were reported. In recent informal polls taken by advocates in the field in off-road communities, one hundred percent of Native women reported they had experienced domestic or sexual abuse (Deer, Clairmont, Martell & White Eagle, 2008). Bhungalia (2002) states that in the Minnesota Department of Human Services American Indian Women's Chemical Health Project, three fourths of Native women reported experiencing some type of sexual assault in their lives. These statistics establish that sexual violence against Native women is dramatically higher than for any other group in the United States, yet most advocates in the field believe that it is underreported and underestimated (Deer, Clairmont, Martell & White Eagle, 2008). The authors of "Confronting Sexual Assault in Indian Country, Confronting Sexual Violence," released by the National Sexual Resource Center, agree with this position:

A fairly consistent understanding has emerged among some Native Americans, service providers and national researchers that the rate of sexual assault in Indian Country is not only disturbingly high, but much higher than is captured by existing statistics. Although differences in the degree of violence and sexual abuse exist from tribe to tribe, the overall picture remains compelling. (1999, p. 3)

The connection of substance abuse and mental health issues with the occurrence of trauma resulting from the experience of sexual violence is powerful and destructive. In the *Research and Advocacy Digest* (2005), evidence indicates there is “overwhelming evidence that victims of sexual assault and rape are much more likely to use alcohol and other drugs to cope with the trauma of their victimization” (p. 2). Alarming statistics cited in the *Research and Advocacy Digest* (2005) reveal that rape victims are 5.3 times more likely than non-victims to have used prescription drugs non-medically, 3.4 times more likely to have used marijuana, 6 times more likely to have used cocaine, and 10.1 times more likely to have used “hard drugs.” In research cited by Davis & Wood (1999), prevalence rates for sexual trauma in substance abuse of civilian women ranged from thirty-four to eighty-five percent. In addition, further research cited in this study indicated that sixty-one percent of the outpatient substance abuse clients sampled had experienced sexual trauma. A preliminary study by Davis & Wood (1998) of female veterans who had experienced sexual trauma also found a high incidence of substance abuse among this population.

In viewing the links between sexual trauma, mental health and substance abuse, Bohn (2003) stresses that the association between substance abuse, mental health problems, suicide attempts, and sexual and/or physical violent victimization have rarely been studied in Native populations. However, she cites four studies that found significant relationships between sexual trauma among Native females, alcohol abuse/dependence and mental health issues. Examining in more detail the significant problems of substance abuse in Native communities, substantial evidence can be found. In a report by the National Survey on Drug Use and Health (2007), issued from the Office of Applied Studies, the authors state that American Indians and Alaska Natives suffer disproportionately from substance use disorders compared with other racial groups in the United States. In the same report, statistical evidence from 2002 to 2005 indicates that American Indians and Alaskan Natives were more likely than members of other racial groups to have a past alcohol use disorder and a past year illicit drug use disorder. Native females aged twelve and over, were more likely to have used an illicit drug in the past year than females in other racial groups.

Gutierrez, Russo and Urbanski (1994) assert that the multigenerational effects of alcohol and other substance abuse on mental and physical health are recognized as a serious problem in many Indian communities. In a study designed to compare psychological and sociocultural factors impacting the residential

treatment experience of Native men and women, the authors found that Native women clients had experienced more sexual abuse than men (51.9 percent as compared to 3.7 percent). Upon treatment admission, Native females also scored significantly higher for depression than did the male clients, and scored lower in the area of self-esteem on psychological measures. In a review highlighted by the national Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, entitled “Recent Research on Co-occurring Conditions of Native Americans” (2007), the chances of having rates of five or more poor mental health days per month, heavy drinking of alcohol, and the presentation of diabetes were the highest among American Indians and Alaskan Natives as compared to any other racial group.

Simoni, Sehgal & Walters (2004) state American Indian men and women experience disproportionate rates of trauma. The experience of sexual trauma in particular can have devastating mental health consequences, because sexual trauma victims suffer damage to the basic structures of the self. These may include a loss of sense of self, of control, identity, and body image, and low self-esteem and disturbances in sustaining intimate relationships. In a study conducted by the authors of 165 urban Indian Native females, women who had experienced sexual trauma reported having six or more alcoholic drinks on one occasion in the past year than Native women who did not experience sexual trauma.

In addition, research establishes a clear link between post sexual assault distress disorders and increased alcohol and substance abuse, even among those victims who were non-users before the experience of sexual violence (Research and Advocacy Digest, 2005). Lindsay Palmer, Director of Education, King County Sexual Assault Resource Center states:

Addiction, at its most human level, is a coping device for stressful and/or traumatic situations. When we look at sexual violence, we also have to look at it through the lens of trauma ... so when you think about it, for someone to deal with trauma by using substances makes sense. (p. 3)

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In many Native traditions, when imbalance occurs in an individual or in a community, healing needs to take place. Perhaps the greatest need for healing for Native communities and individuals results from experiencing *historical trauma* brought about by colonization. The term *historical trauma* refers to “a cumulative wounding across generations as well as during one’s current life span” (Brave Heart and Weaver 1999, p. 22). Brave Heart & Weaver (1999) state that “past events shape current reality” and assert that a historical context is essential to understanding the experience of American Indians. They also tell us that between 1500 and 1900, it

is estimated that two thirds of the Native peoples in North America were victims of genocide, which is a cause of historical trauma among American Indians today. For Native peoples, “the legacy of genocide includes distortions of Native identity and values. The process of colonization of Native peoples, and varying degrees of assimilation, has resulted in altered states of self” for Indian people (p. 22).

The response to historical trauma of Native people results in a fixation to trauma, substance abuse, depression, self destructive behavior, identification with ancestral pain, and chronic bereavement. An important element of the historical trauma response is its intergenerational transmission psychologically, emotionally, and possibly biologically (Brave Heart, 1999). White Hat (2003; 2008) affirms that alcoholism, drug abuse, sexual violence, domestic violence, suicide and other mental health issues are symptoms of the historical trauma response in Indian communities. In addition, the presence of cultural co-occurring disorders among many Native people is a main factor in generating the symptoms of the historical trauma response. These cultural co-occurring disorders are dis-attachment to a positive Native identity or sense of self, a loss of spirituality, cultural values, kinship systems, traditional family roles, and grief from these losses. Simoni, Sehgal & Walters (2004) state that American Indian men and women experience disproportionate rates of trauma from a spectrum of historical forces including forced removal from tribal lands, ethnocide, genocide, racism, poverty and alcoholism. In focusing on American Indian women, the authors tell us that Native women are disproportionately affected by violence, and Native girls are particularly vulnerable to abuse. They also tell us that according to a 1999 report released by the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect, 79.8 percent of American Indian girls had experienced sexual abuse. The authors also state:

Although many American Indian women have coped successfully with such historical and contemporary traumas, the cumulative effects of such traumas spanning many generations have left American Indian women vulnerable to poor psychosocial outcomes. (p. 34)

SOLUTIONS: CULTURALLY CONGRUENT BEST PRACTICES

For Native women specifically, it is the cultural and spiritual strengths found in Native theories of knowledge and worldviews that have enabled them to survive genocide on many levels and to foster resiliency, healing, fortitude, and courage against all odds (White Shield, 2003; Brave Heart, 1999; White Hat, 2008). These strengths include attachment to the traditional roles of Native women as the definition of identity and cultural strength, an experience of “self-discovery” within a spiritual perspective, life experience perceived through traditional cultural stories, healthy cultural family loyalty; and central to all, attachment to and practice of spirituality (White Shield, 2003). White Hat (2008) asserts that reattaching to

traditional family roles within the Native kinship systems is essential for Native people to heal.

What constitutes a culturally intrinsic treatment model for optimal healing opportunities for Native women who have experienced sexual violence and face substance abuse, mental health issues and cultural co-occurring disorders?

Structures and systems of healing mental, emotional, social, spiritual and physical issues are integral to Native cultures and are available through a library of knowledge in oral traditions (White Hat, 2003; 2008). This library of knowledge is often made visible in Native spiritual and cultural strengths and practices (White Shield, 2003). Although tribes differ in the identification and utilization of spiritual and cultural strengths according to their own distinct tribal traditions, tribal consciousness, defined as the sense of belonging to something bigger than oneself—an Indian Nation—and connection to community and a sense of family, is most often viewed as a cultural strength. Nebelkopf and King (2003) present a holistic treatment of care for urban Indians that is utilized in the San Francisco Bay Area. The authors state that “the community is the foundation for this system of care” (p. 51). The holistic care model links substance abuse, mental health, HIV/AIDS and social services in an approach that is congruent with Native traditions and values:

At the center of the holistic model is a small circle, the Creator. The harmonious relationship of the basic elements of fire, air, earth and water depicted in the next concentric circle are essential for balance. Within human beings, these elements are manifested in spirit, thought, emotions, and the body. When these elements are out of balance, symptoms and problems are identified. (p. 47)

The holistic system of care emphasizes solutions and is strength based. It incorporates the premise that people are not “treated”; that the healing experience is an educational one where a client is taught to help themselves. Self-empowerment is encouraged. Another premise is that the term “mentally ill” is not used to refer to a person who has mental health issues; instead, the client is viewed as a vulnerable community member and encouraged to participate, as they are healing, in cultural community events as a valued member of a Native community:

Participation in community pro-social, clean, and sober events combat fragmentation, isolation and alienation and give everyone a sense of being part of a therapeutic community that is larger than any one individual—a community that is culturally and spiritually based. (p. 51)

Linkages between substance abuse and mental health services are also focused upon as an integral part of the community based healing experience for the client. A “wrap around” team approach to care that includes Native traditional healers, other professionals and peer support is also an essential structure to the model. The authors stress that the comprehensive components in the model design are vital for positive outcomes:

The strategy [holistic system of care] developed by the Native American community was based on community mobilization, empowerment, self-help and Native American culture, which provided solutions that were found to be effective in pilot projects undertaken in the past decade. (p. 51)

The development of a strong cultural component to the treatment experience was found to be effective in promoting healing and positive behavior change in the Women's Circle Project, a program for Native women based in a culturally specific California urban residential substance abuse treatment facility for Indians. Saylor (2003) tells us about women's health issues—physical, emotional, spiritual and mental—that are integrated into a “sculpted program development” (p. 59) and that “substance abuse is a predominant health problem for American Indian women in what has been described as a triad that also includes violence and depression” (p. 60). She explains that at the treatment facility, counselors work with clients to encourage awareness and respect for their own individual history and culture as a Native person, often helping clients to come to terms with “the trauma that comes with that history and attempting to grow from it” (p. 59). Data from the three year project was collected from clients when they first entered treatment at intake, and then at six and twelve months afterwards. Two hundred women participated in the project and seven hundred forty two client interviews were conducted, which presented a view of changes over time (Saylor, 2003). Data indicated 63.1 percent of the clients reported they had experienced sexual violence in their lifetime, 85.2 percent reported physical abuse and 91.8 percent reported emotional abuse. Counselors in the Women's Circle Project reported that many female clients came to the program with depression and post-traumatic stress disorders.

Positive behavior change and significant decrease in using substances after the treatment experience were indicated by post treatment data analysis. Illicit drug use, including marijuana, non-prescription methadone, hallucinogens, inhalants, “uppers” and “downers”, was reduced by one hundred percent at the six month interval. Heroin use was down by ninety-three percent. Alcohol use was decreased by thirteen percent after six months, and drinking to intoxication was reduced by nineteen percent. Significant positive trends in other areas of the women's lives were also evident. The rate of full time employment increased from ten percent upon intake to twenty-nine percent, and the percentage of women living in shelters (seven percent) decreased to none at the twelve month interview, with the rate of those housed rose from eighty-eight percent to ninety-six percent for the same time interval. Self-reported health status also rose significantly, with increases in the percentage of the clients claiming good health (Saylor, 2003).

A central focus of the Women's Circle Project was traditional Native culture. The author states:

Cultural affiliation and identity are understood to be protective factors against high-risk behavior. The Women's Circle's clinical approach incorporates Western psychotherapeutic practice with cultural ceremony and ritual. One important factor in discussing traditional healing is that 'traditional' means many different things to people. Women's Circle clients represent 95 different tribal affiliations. This cultural diversity necessitates being mindful of providing a variety of traditional cultural options to clients. Native healers from different cultural backgrounds and traditions are brought in for several days at a time to work with clients. (p. 61)

Native cultural healing practices included prayer, singing, drumming, sweat lodges, smudging, and the use of sacred herbs and plants, such as tobacco. Prayer and the sacred use of plants were often incorporated into counseling sessions. Ceremonies and Talking Circles that were women-only occurred consistently. Another central focus of the holistic, culturally based model of the Women's Circle was its client centered approach. Saylor (2003) explains that a counselor's initial assessment contained spiritual and cultural domains which helped her design and direct development of the client's treatment plan. She states that cultural interventions for clients often occurred on an individual level, with "counselors assessing a client's readiness to work with traditional ways" (61). Saylor (2003) also noted that when clients were asked how important Native culture was to them at intake, seventy-three percent responded it was "very important" to them. She asserts that "involving Native cultural components as a central mental health/substance abuse intervention has been an important and successful programmatic element of the Women's Circle" (p. 62).

In a study by Mills (2003), Yup'ik and Cup'ik traditions were incorporated into a behavioral health treatment model for Alaskan Natives. Mills asserts that "Western approaches to substance abuse treatment for Native people have not always been effective" (CSAT, 1999). Mills discusses that these approaches do not address historical trauma and are not strength based in that they "focus on individual deficits" and need to "focus on their resiliency and strengths" (p. 86). She also states that many Indigenous peoples around the world have returned to traditional teachings and found that 'within the culture is all that is needed for healing' (CSAT in press; DHHS 2001).

A Native Alaskan culturally based treatment model that has returned to traditional teachings in its approach and addresses the long lasting effects of historical trauma, including psychiatric and emotional wounds, resulted in the creation of the Village Sobriety Project (VSP). The Village Sobriety Project was a three year program funded by the U.S. Center for Substance Abuse Treatment (CSAT) and focused on two Bering Sea Yup'ik villages and one Bering Sea coastal Cup'ik village. It implemented twenty seven traditional modalities of healing activities into a co-occurring substance abuse and mental health treatment service delivery model. VSP also established a system for the possibility of Medicaid billing for the

traditional modalities of treatment (Mills, 2003). The model was not limited to either outpatient or residential treatment settings.

One foundational component of the VSP was a client centered approach. The intake assessment for clients consisted of standard topics focusing on substance abuse and mental health issues. VSP also added a cultural assessment to the intake process. The entire assessment provided direction to the individual client's treatment plan, and consisted of six domains: need/problem, goal, modality, objective/plan of actions, duration and dates of activity. Clients chose how to incorporate traditional modalities into the treatment experience, and counselors often attended the traditional activities with their individual clients. Depending on the client's individual treatment plan, the client may have attended an anger management group one day, and then spend another time walking on the tundra, engaged in personal reflection and stress relief provided by the activity, which is a Yup'ik and Cup'ik cultural practice and traditional mental health treatment.

Identification of traditional treatment modalities were conducted by elders, the community, and program staff and defined as "activities from the local, traditional culture that promote healthy living in a traditional way" (p. 87). These traditional healing modalities included Native traditional arts and crafts therapy, *maqiq* (steambath), gathering edible and medicinal plants, chopping wood, gathering wood, *kaluukaq* (hold a feast, potlatch ceremony), fishing, berry picking and hunting.

The Village Sobriety Project's culturally based treatment model incorporates cultural and spiritual strengths that promote optimal healing opportunities for Native people. Utilizing a community based approach to inform its system of care, the traditions and values of the Yup'ik and Cup'ik peoples were validated in a formal treatment setting. Although final outcome data was not included in Mills' work, publication processes pending, the Village Sobriety Project "is a group of services that has made significant steps in advocating for a more holistic and appropriate method for substance abuse and mental health service delivery" (p. 88).

Therapeutic environments conducive to optimal healing experiences for Native women are important in program delivery systems as well. In "A Place for Healing: Achieving Health for Aboriginal Women in an Urban Context," Guilmette & Williams (2001) present research that "points to the importance of culturally appropriate programming, where traditional health care practices are taught in combination with Western medicine" (p. 1). The authors highlighted two programs from the Niagara Regional Native Center in Canada. The Aboriginal Prenatal Nutrition Program targeted low-income, at risk, pregnant Aboriginal women and teenagers, and the Silver Foxes Partners in Aging program provided culturally meaningful support and a healing circle for Aboriginal seniors and Elders. Forty one adult Prenatal Circle members and 31 Silver Foxes Healing Circle seniors/Elders from First Nations communities were included in the study.

The study found that a sense of place and community, and being nurtured and cared about in relationships with leadership staff were integral to the healing experience of the Aboriginal women. The culturally specific programming at the Center supported Native women in the programs to feel valued and respected as important members of their community and give them a sense of family. Cultural teachings and participant centered methods to address sexual trauma and grief were included in the programs' designs. Traditional art therapy focused on craft making was a central component to the Silver Foxes Healing Circle. In addition, the cultural strength of inter-connectedness of the Silver Foxes and the young mothers in the Nutrition program's Prenatal Circle was evident through informal and formal means. For example, Aboriginal seniors who attended the Silver Foxes Healing Circle also sat on advisory committees of the Prenatal Circle. Traditional cultural teachings were shared not only by Elders, but other community members who attended the Circles. One participant stated "a lot of them don't know about [about their culture]. That's one thing I noticed. They just learn it from being in this group" (p. 14).

Results of the study indicated that participants reported high rates of perceiving the Prenatal and Silver Foxes Healing Circles as therapeutic healing environments and places that promoted cultural, physical, social, spiritual and mental health. Further results indicated the culturally specific programming allowed Aboriginal women to establish a First Nations identity and support their self esteem and quality of life (Guilmette & Williams, 2001, p. 21). For Native women in particular, culturally meaningful strength based approaches to facilitate healing dominate the literature. The Minnesota Department of Human Services American Indian Women's Chemical Health Project (Beaulieu & Hawkins, 1988) presents compelling evidence that Native women express that "chemical dependency does not exist in a vacuum" (p. 36). The authors state that among the six women who participated in the study, "sexual abuse was especially devastating and became a key issue in recovery" (p. 12). Abandonment, loss, identity issues, lack of spirituality, the extended length of time needed for recovery, and the need for women's presence in their recovery experience were significant themes that emerged from the study. Results included that the main concern of the participants was not what chemicals they used, or when, but why and how healing could take place. Two main recommendations were presented at the conclusion of the study: one, that the twelve step model of Alcoholics Anonymous was helpful in the women's recovery, but participants found it "lacking in fully meeting the needs of Indian women" (p. 37) and that alternatives needed to be available, and two, adequate time in the treatment experience was necessary for Native women to be successful.

Although the sample size of the study was small, congruent elements are found in additional research. In a study conducted by Edwards (2003) of six men and six women between the ages of twenty-three and fifty-one who had

completed a Native specific culturally based residential treatment program in an urban setting, healing often occurred through connecting to one's spirituality and substantial time in the program. The length of stay at the treatment center was ninety days. The powerful healing experiences of the Indian men and women who participated in Edwards' study were described as transformational. The author states the criterion for identifying the transformational healing experiences is that they made a difference in the individual's mental, spiritual, emotional or physical well being. All participants in the study reported transformational experiences. The author asserts that traditional healing practices of Native peoples have been developed and refined over thousands of years of experience, and presents evidence (Beauchamp, 1997 cited in Edwards, 2003) that "many Native American substance abuse counselors believe that the incorporation of cultural and spiritual values into treatment is the only lasting solution to the substance abuse problems of North American Indians" (p. 53).

In analyzing the data from the study, Edwards presents twelve themes that emerged as transformational healing experiences within a cultural context. The following are the author's list in descending order from the most to the least number of experiences that were included under each theme: feeling cared for, spiritual experiences, insight, making a commitment, empowerment and self-esteem, releasing emotional pain, remorse (for hurt caused to themselves or others), reconnecting to Native traditional values, forgiveness, relief, safety, and gratitude.

The author also points out that many of the clients who entered treatment did not have a clear commitment to their recovery. She explains that many people find the process of committing and recommitting to their treatment a transformational experience in itself that promotes healing. Edwards cites that clients must first feel safe and cared for by others in the treatment community, and then opportunities for committing and engaging with the treatment experience and healing can occur. In addition, Edwards cites research (Spicer, 2001; LaFromboise, Trimble & Mohat, 1990; Shaffer, 1990; Landers, 1989; May 1986, cited in Edwards, 2003) that demonstrates "the most successful substance abuse treatment programs not only treat the symptoms, but also embody Native American values and identity" (p. 54). Edwards summarizes her recommendations by pointing out that treatment programs for Native peoples should adopt an integrated service model to serve clients with co-occurring substance abuse and psychological disorders, as well as historical trauma. She also recommends that "identifying, diagnosing and treating trauma ... should be an integral part of substance abuse treatment programs for Native Americans" (p. 57).

This statement by Edwards is congruent with a study focused on survivors of sexual violence. Knapik, Martsof & Draucker (2008) present evidence that spirituality is an "integral aspect of the healing process" (p. 346) and that the process of spiritual connection is beneficial to trauma recovery. Although not culturally

specific, this study found that the transformational spiritual experience termed “being delivered” by the authors supported recovery among survivors who obtained new insights and acquired inner strengths as they engaged with the healing process from sexual violence.

The study investigated how sixty-four women and fifty-seven men who experienced sexual violence used spirituality to respond and heal from trauma. In the initial interview methods used to collect data about survivors’ experience of sexual violence and healing from sexual trauma, no specific research question related to spirituality was used. As the research continued, the authors’ found that the theme of spirituality emerged consistently among the first several participants. A question focused on spirituality was then added to the interview guide and used with the subsequent participants (Knapik, Martsolf & Draucker, 2008).

Results of the study found that the experience of “being delivered” or “being rescued, saved or set free from the effects of sexual violence” (p. 335), encompassed three dimensions in the process of healing: Spiritual Connection, Spiritual Journey, and Spiritual Transformation. The process was described as dynamic and multi-dimensional. All participants expressed connecting, or attempting to connect, with a higher power in the first dimension of Spiritual Connection. These connections were the experience of communion through prayer, and feeling a presence of a divine or supernatural spirit or being in the participants’ lives. Many participants reported believing this presence had been life changing and was experienced as a blessing. Other characteristics of the Spiritual Connection dimension was passion, reflected in participants’ depth of intense spiritual experience and perpetuity, or “indefinitely long duration or existence” which referred to the “participants’ references to the timelessness of their Spiritual Connection” (p. 341). The authors state that for many participants in the study, a “meaningful Spiritual Connection allowed them to begin a Spiritual Journey that was associated with healing” (p. 341). Aspects of the Spiritual Journey dimension included being sustained, strengthened, supported, protected and unburdened by a spirit or divine being.

Another characteristic of the Spiritual Journey is being awakened. Participants described this process as introspective and developing new awareness, new ways of thinking and perceiving. Being tested was also another component of the Spiritual Journey, according to participants in the study. From this perspective, participants expressed being cognizant of identifying and developing inner strengths and qualities that promoted resilience. For a few participants, the result of the Spiritual Journey experience was entering into the third dimension of the process, Spiritual Transformation, which was described by the authors as transformative meaning and transcendence. Spiritual Transformation was described by the participants as “lasting and permeating” (p. 344) and often as a supernatural or other-worldly experience. Within this context, the experience of sexual violence for these survivors was connected to the reality of restoration and healing in their lives. The

trauma owned them no more. In conclusion, Knapik, Martsof & Draucker, 2008) state “the findings of this study have implications for clinical practice” (p. 347) in therapeutic healing environments for survivors of sexual violence. They also remind us of an important consideration when informing program designs for healing:

The findings do not suggest that religious dogma played a significant role in healing; rather what was important was the survivor’s relationship with a divine being, the spiritual path they took, and the possibility of a transformative spiritual experience. (p. 348)

LITERATURE SUMMARY

As supported by the literature, American Indian women suffer disproportionate rates of sexual violence and cultural co-occurring disorders resulting in trauma which leads to chemical dependency and mental health issues, affecting themselves, their families and communities. Although specific studies on these topics for this population is limited, the depth of evidence about ways to heal and restore Native women’s sense of self in the world is compelling. The literature presents evidence that culturally intrinsic treatment designs and methods provide optimal healing opportunities, are the most effective approach, and successful in promoting positive behavior change that is transformational and sustainable over time.

FIELD RESEARCH STUDY

The purpose of the research study was to seek knowledge from Native women in a culturally affinitive manner to inform the design of healing tools. The study utilized the Culturally Intrinsic Paradigm Model, which is a Native research paradigm and methodology based on the Medicine Wheel that was used as a process for identifying and understanding Native spiritual and cultural factors, rather than relying on foreign Western research paradigms. The research study, titled *Cangleska Ogiciyakapi Winyan* (Women’s Sharing Circles) was conducted on two reservations in Minnesota, one reservation in South Dakota, and one urban setting for a total of four sites in Native communities. All the Cangleska Ogiciyakapi Winyan were completed by September, 2009. There were a total number of twenty-one American Indian women participants with all Cangleska Ogiciyakapi Winyan combined. The ages of the women who participated were diverse, but most of them were in their early thirties to late fifties. Several tribal affiliations of the participants were identified, but most of the participants identified as Lakota and Ojibwe. The Cangleska Ogiciyakapi Winyan facilitators were trusted Native women from the participants’ own communities, thus providing a sense of

traditional safety for maximum participation by the Native women in the Cangleska Ogiciyakapi Winyan. The facilitators were also seen as members of the sharing circle, but expressing a different kind of participation in their role.

Specific identifying information and individual content of participants were kept confidential during the study. All the participants were familiar with chemical dependency treatment, and all agreed that the treatment experience for Native women could be much improved. It is within this context that the following observations will be documented, examined and discussed. It must be further mentioned that in the absence of client satisfaction surveys which are usually given after a program is operational, it was the intent of the author to gather from the Cangleska Ogiciyakapi Winyan issues that American Indian women face in order to better inform healing experiences in treatment settings for Native women and their families. This method of gathering information not only prioritizes, but, also can be termed “an immediate response” to the treatment needs of Native women as well as establishing a recovery oriented system of care. The common themes that most of the Cangleska Ogiciyakapi Winyan participants shared are discussed in this report. Many of the themes were presented in a holistic and culturally meaningful manner by the participants, therefore the visible interconnectness within the report findings is culturally congruent in process and expression.

Spiritual Self Care. All the Cangleska Ogiciyakapi Winyan shared a need for Native women to focus on healing their “Spirit” which is at the core of their sense of self as being American Indian women. They voiced their understanding of themselves as the foundation of the family, and the responsibilities that go with being in the role of life-giver, teacher, nurturer, healer, and provider. These qualities were described as that which can be given only when your spirit is regained, sustained, and nurtured. The participants voiced that with these qualities intact inside one’s self, then hope can be given to the children. The women offered a variety of ways that spiritual activities could be incorporated into the treatment process: the availability of the sweat lodge and other ceremonies, of elders who can speak to the clients on spiritual matters, and the availability of the sacred medicines, such as cedar, tobacco, sweet grass, and sage. Another suggestion was that the start of treatment week could be started with a Sacred Pipe ceremony. A participant said this ceremony had a calming effect. Most participants expressed the belief that Native spirituality is an essential component to the healing process in treatment. One Cangleska Ogiciyakapi Winyan member stated, “I have seen young women from the ages of seventeen to twenty-five years that don’t have a spiritual base, but after spending time with a Native woman Elder they began to understand ways to nurture their spirit. It is important to have a Native woman Elder give instruction.”

Family First. To many American Indians, the family takes precedence. It is everything. It is where one receives unconditional love, nurturing, trust, and loyalty. It is where one's identity is formed. To the Cangleska Ogiciyakapi Winyan participants this was an extremely important element that needed to be recognized and addressed in the treatment of Native women. They voiced that education needs to be given in the following areas in the treatment experience: rites of passage, naming ceremony, parenting skills, the roles of women not only as a mother, wife, but also as a community member. The traditional roles of the parents and children must also be defined and taught.

Understanding of History. The participants expressed an understanding of the long history of government regulations, the oppression and the mistrust that condition generates. They also expressed the loss of family roles through the boarding school system. They were also aware of the long history of being viewed as sex objects, the shame of being an Indian, and the toll it has taken on their self esteem. They describe what was lost as a result of colonization, being put on reservations, made to attend boarding schools and the introduction of alcohol into the community. The participants expressed that American Indian women were entering treatment with three pre-existing barriers to overcome. One obstacle is oppression resulting in historical trauma. Oppression gives rise to a host of culture-based co-occurring disorders that are characterized by loss in traditional concepts/practices/roles in the areas of spirituality, language, culture, family, identity, self-esteem, and a sense of self as Indian women as related to unresolved issues of sexual abuse and violence. Another block is being Native women—by this the women meant that traditional views within their cultures affirmed their equality with men, but that now they felt as if they were a minority within a minority, and seen by others as less of a being than men. A third hurdle is the presenting addiction. The participants communicated the guilt and shame that came with addiction, and the support that was needed beyond the initial treatment in order to maintain their sobriety. They talked about alumni coming back to the people new in treatment and talk about the benefits of living sober, which in turn could start a visible sober community. All participants conferred that it was time to reclaim what was lost and expressed that a women-only program would be best to allow time and space for healing. Women envisioned time and space where roles could be redefined in female to female relationships as well as male to female relationships, as traditionally female to female friendships provided for many of the mental, emotional, spiritual and social needs of Native women.

Sexual Trauma. Cangleska Ogiciyakapi Winyan members voiced that it was important for people in recovery to see a Medicine person or spiritual leader

regularly to maintain balance, because unresolved sexual issues can create that imbalance. It was also stated that treatment personnel often could not deal with a woman disclosing sexual trauma issues such as assault. Psychologists and alcohol and mental health counselors would often skirt the issue or refer the sexual trauma victim to a female counselor with the rationale “that it’s only a woman’s issue.” In the words of a participant,

When I was sexually abused, a woman friend invited me to a sweat. That was the first time I really started to understand who I am as a Lakota woman. I don’t think that healing can take place without the sweats and ceremonies. (Cangleska Ogiciyakapi Winyan member, 2009)

Cangleska Ogiciyakapi Winyan members also stated that women who have experienced sexual trauma needed more time and space to deal with this issue as it takes time to disclose and time to heal. Participants stressed the disclosure and healing time would take longer than thirty days. They also reiterated the need for a treatment designed for women only with women staff. A Cangleska Ogiciyakapi Winyan member said, “A goal in treatment would be to strengthen the sense of self as an Indian woman which will in turn strengthen a sense of sisterhood and Native female culture.”

Treatment Settings. The participants expressed repeatedly that treating Native women would be more beneficial if it was a women’s only program with women staff and needed to be substantially longer than thirty days, even in an inpatient setting. This longer time to heal was a factor that was dominant among Cangleska Ogiciyakapi Winyan participants. They felt it takes longer for Native women to heal from the issues they bring into treatment than others who enter treatment. They also voiced a strong concern that addiction treatment personnel needed training in dealing with sexual trauma issues of clients. With respect to the treatment design, participants stressed culture-based co-occurring disorders (mentioned earlier in this report) and other significant issues needed to be addressed in the treatment experience of Indian women. They specifically focused on the topics of loss of family roles, loss of cultural values, loss of identity, shame, guilt, grief and loss, and sexual violence. Mental health issues included depression, suicide, anger, and sexual trauma. Addiction issues comprised a history of alcohol use among American Indians with a focus on American Indian women, alcohol and drug education, coping skills, relapse prevention skills, support systems, community linkages, and a cycle of family addiction. Cangleska Ogiciyakapi Winyan members emphasized the need for treatment staff to be more sensitive to the needs of American Indian women and that a feeling of safety was important in the treatment setting for optimal healing to occur. One Cangleska Ogiciyakapi Winyan member stated, “I need to be able to trust staff at the [treatment] services, not to be ridiculed, put down, or feel unsafe.”

FIELD STUDY SUMMARY

Cangleska Ogiciyakapi Winyan members explicitly stated what would be important to address in the treatment and healing of American Indian women who have experienced sexual violence and are challenged by culture based co-occurring disorders, chemical dependency and mental health issues. The primary factor in healing that was identified by the Cangleska Ogiciyakapi Winyan participants was the need to address tribe specific American Indian spirituality. According to the majority of participants, this factor was critical in building a spiritual base for healthy functioning, and was the core of their sense of self as Indian women. It was their view that their sense of spiritual selfhood as a Native woman was the first step in reclaiming what had been lost in a long history of historical trauma and its contemporary effects. Culturally intrinsic assessment instruments are used in providing excellent client care and treatment planning. They include the *Culturally Specific Sexual Trauma Assessment Tool* which was designed and reviewed by Native women Elders to inform client care as well as to aid in the protection of the client from re-traumatization during the assessment experience. Another healing tool which has been developed to be utilized in diverse settings, not just treatment programs, is the *Native Women's Inner Resources Assessment Tool*. The *Native Women's Inner Resources Assessment Tool* utilizes culturally meaningful and congruent constructs in the healing experience for Indian women that help define evidence based "best practices" and evolve from Native traditional cultural and spiritual strengths that have been established and refined through thousands of years of tribal experience. They include, but are not limited to, engagement with spirituality as the fundamental basis for healing, connection with positive cultural health through relationships in family and community contexts, internalization of Native traditional values, teachings and activities, empowerment and self esteem as a Native woman, reattachment to an individual sense of positive Indian female identity, and the sense of safety and security.

In the words of a research group member,

There is a need for Native women to focus on healing their spirit which is at the core of their sense of self as being an Indian woman. We are the foundation of the family, and we have responsibilities that go with the role of life giver, teacher, nurturer and healer. These things can only be given fully when your spirit is regained, sustained and nurtured. With these qualities intact inside one's self, then hope can be given to the children.

These cultural and spiritual strengths, integrated into experiences based on culturally intrinsic best practices, can provide powerful healing and restoration to Native women's lives, their Nations, and the world.

NATIVE WOMEN’S CULTURAL HEALING INNER RESOURCES ASSESSMENT TOOL

Please circle your place in your family.	Not at all	Sometimes	About half the time	More than half the time	Always	Total Score
Adult Youth Check the designated number that best describes how you experience yourself today.	1	2	3	4	5	
Do you feel like you know who you are as a Native woman?						
Do you understand what your unique gifts are as a Native woman?						
Do you see yourself as beautiful?						
Do you have a strong sense of spirituality that you can rely on consistently and that comforts you?						
Are you kind to yourself in your thoughts?						
Are you kind to yourself in your actions?						
Do you feel like you have a family you feel safe in?						
Do you understand your Native traditional family role?						
Do you treat yourself with dignity and respect?						
Do you practice Native traditional cultural women’s teachings?						
Please add up the checkmarks and see how it balances.						

Score 1–30 Culturally focused healing strongly recommended in all low scoring areas.
 Score 31–40 Fairly healthy cultural functioning. Strengthening individual areas recommended.
 Score 41–50 Healthy healing cultural inner resources well grounded. Continued work on individual low scoring areas is suggested.

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Southeastern American Indians, Segregation, AND Historical Trauma Theory

MARY ANN JACOBS

INTRODUCTION: ELDER MEMORIES AND HISTORICAL TRAUMA

This article argues that historical trauma theory may offer a valuable paradigm to better understand the history and current physical health, mental health and abuse crises among Southeastern North Carolina American Indian tribes. The concept of historical trauma constitutes a theory of intergenerational and community-wide trauma transmission that has been widely studied among Native Americans, African Americans, Pacific Islanders, and Mexican Americans (Estrada, 2009). In this volume, Rosemary White Shield reviews the impact of historical trauma on Native Women that is an important facet of the high rates of alcoholism, substance abuse, sexual abuse and domestic violence among Native women. However, much of that research has been documented for Native women living west of the Mississippi. Although historical trauma caused by colonialism affected all Native nations, the Southeastern region is unique in its legacy of enslavement of African Americans and American Indian peoples, and the subsequent legalization of segregation. Southeastern historical trauma in a Native context has not yet been sufficiently understood and invites reflections for expanding research methodologies and agendas.

Building on a long history of systematic disenfranchisement, the so-called Jim Crow policies implemented US legalized segregation that lasted from 1890 to 1965. Jim Crow impacted African Americans, American Indians, and other persons of

color throughout the south. While the Jim Crow era has been identified as a period of historical trauma for African Americans, that era of legalized segregation should also be examined for its impact on American Indians living in the south. To further understanding of segregation's impact on Native societies, this article focuses specifically on present day social issues and the history of the Lumbee tribe of North Carolina. The primary data base to demonstrate the current social challenges and historical traumas that may underpin health issues for North Carolina's Indians include student collected ethnographic interviews, quotations from the *Elder Teachers Project: A Time When We Were One*, an oral history video produced by educational scholar Olivia Oxendine, and my own research with Lumbee elders.

The ethnographic interviews were collected as part of a course on service provision in Native American communities, which I teach annually. My students are a mix of Native and non-Native American students majoring in social work, sociology, or American Indian Studies. For one of the main writing assignments, the students are required to interview a person sixty-five years old or older who identifies as an American Indian (AI) and who grew up in North Carolina. The major objective for the age-specific focus is to have students interview an AI person who came of age during legalized segregation, also called Jim Crow. This assignment helps students understand that the history they had encountered in the abstract in the assigned textbook, *Keeping the Circle: American Indian Identity in Eastern North Carolina 1885–2004* (C. A. Oakley, 2005), was in fact the lived experience of many American Indian people in our local community. Since legalized segregation has profoundly shaped the lives of the grandparents and parents of my AI students, Jim Crow era experiences are the most accessible examples of historical trauma in the Lumbee community because these elders are still able to tell their stories.

During the semi-structured interview, my students ask their interviewees about their age, occupations, marital status, the respondent's home community, who lives with them, what was it like growing up in their county, what has changed since they grew up; when or at what age the respondent realized they were an Indian child, or at what age they realized they were racially different. Additional questions that the student thinks are important were added as needed.

Students were required to conduct the interview as much like a conversation as possible, to skip questions when appropriate, and to probe as much or as little as they felt the interviewee was comfortable with. Students usually asked a friend to help them find an interviewee. Sometimes, I assisted students as well in setting up the interview with an American Indian staff or faculty member on campus or with a local AI businessperson in the community. The interviews typically result in rich research papers that detailed the interviewee's experiences during segregation. The students were surprised at how much they learned from just one conversation and how much the experiences of their interviewee mirrored those they had read about in their assigned text.

Most of the discrimination incidents that interviewees reported were the standard refusal of services. For example, American Indians could not purchase goods in certain stores, could not sit down to eat or eat at all in certain restaurants, and could not use the bathroom while out shopping. Occasionally, the recounted incidents involved public acts of violence such as getting chased, cursed at, hit, slapped or beaten because of the elders' Indian identity. Both types of incidents typically happened in particular White towns that were home to majority White populations. Since Indians usually grew up in all Indian or nearly all-Indian communities located in the more rural areas of their county, making those infrequent trips into the local White town became all the more memorable.

Framing the interview project, my class also discussed racial identity development and historical trauma theories (Brave Heart, 1998; Evans-Campbell, 2008; Helms, 1990). For example, the question about when the respondents realized that they were racially different from the majority culture was designed to see if the narrators could pinpoint a particularly memorable incident that led to a new stage of racial identity development. Based on my own research on the social issues of our community and my review of historical trauma literature, I was led to believe that Indian communities in southeastern North Carolina are experiencing multi-generational historical trauma responses in a variety of ways. Life during the Jim Crow era as mapped by my students is the most recent example of historical trauma that AI communities of this region have experienced.

Many of these same types of responses are evident in the video project conducted by Olivia Oxendine entitled *Elder Teachers Project: A Time When We Were One*. In the quote below, elder teacher Ms. Lillian Teen Harris describes her experiences telling young people about how life used to be for Indians growing up in Robeson County.

Not being able to go into the drug store and get a soda because they [the store owners] had a little corner over there, four or five chairs, two little tables. After school, [white] students would come in and they would sit, they'd have a soda and maybe a sandwich. [pause] That wasn't you know, that wasn't for us. I'd tell them that and I say "That's just the way it was. I grew up with it like that, my mother grew up with it like that and I was taught that's the way it was. I didn't question. I didn't have a reprobate mind." When you talk to the children now they begin to say "I wouldn't," I said, "No, [pause] listen how it was ..." (Lillian Teen Harris in Oxendine and Knick, 2008)

In this quote, Ms. Lillian Teen was communicating multiple dimensions of life under segregation simultaneously. She describes white restaurants and shops as the typical place where the major discriminatory actions happened, and how Indian students were discriminated against by not allowing Indians to consume the food or drink they purchased inside the store or to sit at the tables. Ms. Lillian Teen also tells her students that this had been the accepted treatment of Indians for all of her life as well as for that of her mother, and for that of generations

of elders before her. Her mother and other elders had taught Ms. Lillian Teen that this was what to expect. Her lived experience also reinforced these codes for Indian behavior (“That wasn’t for us”). Her reactions to the discriminations then (“I didn’t question it”) and her retelling of it now (“I didn’t have a reprobate mind”) all point to the level of acceptance that was an important part of coping with legalized discrimination.

Ms. Lillian Teen describes herself as not having a “reprobate mind”, meaning that her mind was not closed to the truth of her situation. Importantly, she is applying a biblical term to her life experiences that refers to having a closed mind to the truth of the gospel or to faith (2 Timothy 2:8). Her self-knowledge that she was not blind to the truth of her world and her place in it points to her acceptance as a sense of having common sense. Ms. Lillian Teen was born into a place that had not changed since her mother’s birth or of that of her grandmother’s even. Native Americans were not white and would not be accorded the rights reserved for whites. Finally, she notes that students’ point of view that they would not accept that treatment. Emphatically, Ms. Lillian Teen reminds them to “listen to how it was”, that is, to learn to understand more deeply and fully.

In a similar vein, elder teacher Mr. Stacy Locklear recalled that he did not think much about the fact that his school bus was delivering him to Magnolia (an Indian school) and not to Lumberton (a white school).

Of course we didn’t go to Lumberton, we went to Magnolia and then the bus would be coming along and taking us to the segregated school at Magnolia but you know, I didn’t think about it a lot then because that’s just the way it was. (Stacy Locklear in Oxendine and Knick, 2008)

In the past, American Indian students who lived within the Lumberton city district lines did not attend the Lumberton city schools. Instead they attended Magnolia, an all-Indian school in the county about six miles north of the current Lumberton Senior High School. The long-standing enforcement of Southern social norms did not allow Indian students the luxury to think that their situations should be different. Another elder, Ms. Loreta Blanks, when shifting the discussion about segregation to the schools explained why it was so easy to forget that the reason for having Indian schools were that Indians lived in segregation.

I don’t think there was an awareness of being segregated because it was a way of life. This is the way it had always been and they were happy. We were happy because we didn’t know any other way of life and because of the school being in their community. It was their school. This is my school. (Loreta Blanks in Oxendine & Knick, 2008)

Ms. Loreta’s quotation conveys the pride of ownership that Indian communities had regarding their schools. Indian communities possessed very little that they could point to as truly theirs. While all Indian churches were longstanding social

institutions, the schools united communities in ways that the churches could not. There were no fights about church dogma or various interpretations of the bible. If you were an Indian, your children went to the Indian school and had predominantly Indian teachers and administrators. Thus if someone asked you where you went to school, without asking you point blank, they would also be identifying you as an Indian.

The interviews also provide evidence that not all Indians were willing to accept the limits of segregation so much so that they were not willing to think beyond its boundaries. For example, Indian educator Mr. James Arthur Jones expressed his wish to observe white teachers teaching their students out of professional curiosity. However, the white administrator to whom he made this request told him to put this idea out of his mind. Even though Mr. Jones agreed with the superintendent that the white teachers probably would not want him there, he was brave enough to admit that it still bothered him.

I asked the superintendent because I was curious as a seventh–eighth grade teacher. I wanted to know how the white school, Red Springs in particular, how their teachers taught their students. If they taught, basically, like I did. I asked the superintendent could I go over there and he told me; he gave me a very intelligent answer, I think. He said, “In the first place, they don’t want you there because it’s predominantly white and you are all Indian. They don’t want you there. So, if I were you, I would not question, not even think about wanting to go over there” but it was curiosity, it bothered me. (James Arthur Jones in Oxendine & Knick, 2008)

In this example, the white administrator tells Mr. Jones to “not question” and “not even think about wanting to go over there”, a vital strategy that white communities hoped would maintain their social order. On occasions of potential cross-over, both Indians and African Americans needed to be reminded that whites did not want to interact with them and that the current status quo was something that they as non-whites did not need to think about. Mr. Jones was bothered by the idea that whites could possibly have access to better teaching methods that he did not know about. Being a responsible educator, his curiosity was likely born out of a desire to use every available tool to help his students do better. But the ideological imperative of “not thinking about it” played an important role in upholding segregation. Indians who thought too much about the social order would begin to question it.

We had no representation on the Board of Education. You say why? Well, they [Indians] could run [for a seat on the board], but still, before the double voting was broken, you had the parents in these city units voting on the board members in the county even though they did not send their children to [those] school[s]. So there was a lawsuit that broke double voting and then that allowed us to get [representation] ... But it was that process [behind double voting] that [enforced that] we really have no voice at the table. (Purnell Swett in Oxendine & Knick, 2008)

Mr. Purnell Swett tells briefly about the overturning of the double voting system in Robeson County. Karen Blu (1980) described the practice of double voting in the county and how Lumbees eventually brought it down. Double voting allowed residents of towns to vote for board of education representatives for both the county and for their separate city school boards. Although North Carolina finally integrated its public schools in the late 1960s–1970s, Robeson County continued to maintain a six school board system that separated towns from the county populations. The six school boards separated the majority white populations of the towns from the majority Indian and black populations in the county. The double voting system allowed the town residents to control their majority white schools and control the county school board (Blu, 1980). Double voting was finally overturned in 1975, but the six separate school boards would remain until the mid-1980s. Mr. Purnell Swett’s quotation recalls the long slog of trying to get Indian and black representation on the county board of education. Prior to the 1975 lawsuit *Janie Maynor Locklear vs. North Carolina State Board of Elections* (<http://lumbee.library.appstate.edu/chronology-significant-events-history-robeson-county-indians>), Indians and blacks had very few representatives on their school board that looked like them.

These select quotes from Oxendine & Knick (2008) clarify some of the injustices and the feelings of those who endured them. Not all elders held on to the opinion that the system was just “the way it was”. My own research with Lumbee and other American Indian elders in the southeastern regions of North Carolina reveals that some Lumbees conducted their lives to quietly defy the injustices of Jim Crow policies.

Going to town and shopping for anything was an unusual event for some Indian men and women. One respondent (L.) recalled that her family lived on a farm, where her parents would work to make, grow, or trade among family members for items that they needed. Shopping trips in town were monthly at the most, and were not usually family outings. This respondent’s parents may have carefully orchestrated their shopping trips, because she also recalled having to stay home and watch her younger siblings when her parents were in town shopping. One time during a shopping trip when she was with her mother, she asked her if she could get a soda drink. Her mother replied, “Wait until you get home.” She said that it was not until her college years before she realized that “we couldn’t” get anything to eat or drink in the white town, or that if they did, they couldn’t sit down and eat or drink in the store. She recalled that her mother’s attitude toward the discriminating merchant was defiant.

My mother got the pride that ‘if my money is not good enough for me to be served here, I’m not gonna do that type of business with you ...’ (Respondent L.)

Here we learn that although this respondent was probably shielded from the knowledge that she and her family members would not be served in certain white facilities, she also came to know that her mother would not engage in transactions that she knew would not result in the type of service others also received. So while some community members never thought beyond segregation's limits, others worked to avoid the prohibitions of the laws so that their dollars did not support segregationist whites who would not provide full service to people of color.

These examples from Lumbees who lived through the Jim Crow period enable us to better understand the wide variety of people's reactions to the social conditions for people of color during that time. *Brave Heart* (1999) reminds us, however, that historical trauma is distinguished from other forms of trauma due to its intergenerational impact. The intergenerational nature of historical trauma for Native Americans generally means that tribal people today have inherited and cope with a long history of trauma, much of which is unknown to outsiders.

REVIEWING THE CHAIN OF HISTORICAL TRAUMA IN SOUTHEASTERN NORTH CAROLINA

When introducing readings about historical trauma theory to my students, I utilize a power point presentation that links the history of the local Lumbee tribe with historical trauma theory. I begin by reviewing the shock waves of traumatic collective experiences from first contact in 1585 to the school desegregation period in the seventies. These collective assaults tearing at the fabric and soul of Indian communities include, in historical order, epidemic diseases, settler conflicts, tribal relocations, tribal amalgamations, disenfranchisement, federal removal, the Civil War, the Lowrie War, the Jim Crow Era, and the Civil Rights Era as defined by school desegregation and the loss of Indian only schools. Several scholarly sources document the history of disease, warfare, and the movement and amalgamation of tribes in southeastern NC in great detail (Hudson, 1976; Blu, 1980; Lumbee River Legal Services, 1987; Lowery, 2010). All of these periods of severe social distress signify deep historical loss for AIs in North Carolina.

While my students and I have access to accounts of trauma through interviews with elders, we can only personally access the Jim Crow and school segregation experiences that our current elders can recall. Although some of my students have a vague understanding of the historical periods I discuss in this presentation, very few understand how profoundly Native American communities were impacted by these distinctive stages of colonization. It is also hard for my students to grasp the long stretch of time in which Native people had to live with these persistent

manifestations of oppression. Since I can't assign my students to interview elders who might recall earlier trauma periods for this community, I briefly sketch the time-line of historical trauma for North Carolina tribal communities. It is important to understand that the Jim Crow policies were directed against a population that was already shaped by trauma history.

European colonization began in North Carolina in 1585. Sir Walter Raleigh's "lost colony" was abandoned on North Carolina's coast (Blu, 1980). Though permanent settlement was not attempted again for nearly seventy years, tribes were immediately impacted by the diseases brought by explorers (Blu, 1980). The first major Indian war, also known as Tuscarora War, took place in 1711. The Tuscarora War ended with the expulsion of the Tuscarora tribe. Warfare, however, continued in 1715 with the Yamasee War (Lumbee River Legal Services, 1987). The American Revolutionary War, set into motion in 1775, was especially hard on American Indian communities in the Southeastern region (Lumbee River Legal Services, 1987). Adding to the violence of warfare, small pox also came to North Carolina during the 1700s (Evans, 1971). As Indian villages were decimated by disease and war, the remnants of survivors were frequently on the move. The pressure of survival in dire and highly unpredictable circumstances demanded that Native people had to move frequently to find protection; to live, they had to find a larger group of Native people that would take them in. Usually the groups that took in migrant refugee groups were related by language and were already settled in areas that Whites did not want. By the early 1800s, most of North Carolina's southeastern tribal groups were established in the areas their descendants now consider home places (Lumbee River Legal Services, 1987).

The period of disenfranchisement began in 1835, when free people of color lost the right to testify in court against a White man. Native American people in southeastern NC were labeled by the state as "free persons of color". After removal, Virginian officials engaged in a concerted effort to change the legal designation of Virginia's remaining Indians from Indian to "Black" (Gonzales, Kertesz & Tayac, 2007). North Carolina did not appear to have pursued a similar change in their record keeping, but the state did lump Indians across its territory into the designation of free persons of color or mulattoes. Blu (1990) cites several court cases where individual Lumbee ancestors tried to fight these anti-Indian and politically significant regulations, but most were not successful. Eventually and as a consequence of racist policy, Indians would lose the right to vote, the right to be a member of a jury, to carry a gun without a license, and the right to purchase or be sold "spirituous liquors" (Blu, 1990, p. 47). During this same period, some Indians who still owned land lost it to their unscrupulous white neighbors without legal redress. Yet Indians could lose more than just land without legal recourse. The "free persons of color" designation implied legally that on one hand, Indians in

NC were neither white nor enslaved African-Americans. However, offenses committed against white men, whether real or imagined, could also subject them to loss of their freedom as many were fined with the cash owed being converted to free labor until the fine was considered paid (Blu, 1990). The 1800s were also the era when Cherokees and other major tribal nations across the emerging US nation were violently gathered together and sent to Oklahoma. Historians attribute the fact that many ancestors of southeastern tribes were occupying undesirable land afforded them a chance to escape relocation.

The Civil War period was probably one of the worst historical trauma epochs for those Native people who were able to remain in their homelands. While the Cherokees in the mountains of North Carolina were starving and hiding, the Lumbee and other North Carolina tribal ancestors were subjected to the legally inferior status of “free persons of color”. As such, they were subject to conscription at Fort Fisher, a massive coastal earth works installation intended to protect Confederate ships between 1861 and 1865. In Robeson County, the young AI men were being transported to Fort Fisher as conscripted laborers (Evans, 1971; Blu, 1990). Before the conscription, wealthy plantation owners had sent African-American enslaved men to Fort Fisher as part of the war effort, but as they lost the enslaved men to starvation and malaria, “free persons of color” from Robeson and other counties were drafted by force to replenish the laborers that built Fort Fisher (Evans, 1971; Blu, 1990).

Avoiding conscription to the fort was dangerous and illegal. The Home Guard militia consisted of local white men who policed their home counties during the war. Some of the Robeson County Home Guard were conscription officers in charge of sending Lumbee men and boys to Fort Fisher. The militia would report Indian families who were not sending their boys to the forts or who were suspected of hiding their young men. It was easy to justify killing Lumbee men who were avoiding or resisting conscription (Evans, 1971). Henry Berry Lowrie and his brothers avoided conscription by hiding in the thick swamps of the county, which were difficult to navigate by outsiders. Henry’s father was killed in part for aiding his sons’ laying out (Evans, 1971).

The systematic disenfranchisement of American Indians continued throughout the Civil War period until the state constitution was rewritten in 1869. However, immediately following the war, Lumbee ancestors began to actively resist both the politically motivated label of “free persons of color” and the Home Guard’s reign of terror in what is known to history as the Lowrie War. The decade-long Henry Berry Lowrie’s War (1864–1874) against the Home Guard made Lowrie the most widely known figure in Lumbee history (Evans, 1971). His war of resistance and the revenge of many wrongs brought the label of “Indian” back to the Native Americans living in Robeson County.

RESILIENCY AND RECLAIMED SOVEREIGNTY IN THE FACE OF SEGREGATION

In 1885, building on the success of collective Indian resistance in previous decades if not centuries, and with the assistance of Hamilton McMillan, a local state legislator, the Indians of Robeson County were able to win funding for a separate school for their children. The creation of a local school controlled by a local all Indian school board marked the Croatan Indian Normal School initiative as an especially important step toward Indian sovereignty. The education of Indian children was controlled by the Indian community, not the state or federal government.

While efforts toward federal recognition began in earnest in 1888, the tribe's focus remained on maintaining their school (Blu, 1990). Eventually, this persistence helped to create an educated middle class of teachers among the Lumbee. Despite the hardships and harsh treatment of the Jim Crow era, Indians thus could begin to rebuild the life of their communities. Eventually, they would also be able to support other southeastern tribes through the spread of Indian only schools (Oakley, 2005). Jim Crow, however, was only a haven for as long as Indians remained within the tightly guarded boundaries that the policy demanded as demonstrated by the Elder Teacher project quotations above.

During the 1870s, Lumbees also began to organize the Burnt Swamp Baptist Association, a grass-roots movement which organized all Lumbee Baptist churches in the county (Oakley, 2005; Blu, 1990; Lowery, 2005). All Indian churches pre-date the communal efforts on behalf of Indian schools, but the creation of an all-Indian church association generated another layer of control and representation for the member churches. However, it is important to recall that both the church association and the schools were not only an expression of reclaimed Native sovereignty, but also formed as a response to community need in light of multi-layered systems of oppression. The state of North Carolina excluded Indians from the appropriations for public schools until the Lumbee petitioned for their own schools. The Burnt Swamp Baptist Association was created to represent Indian churches, because Indian churches were barred from joining the Southern Baptist Association. Furthermore, individual Indians were not allowed to worship in white churches (Lowery, 2010).

In the 1970s, the state of North Carolina finally integrated public schools. By that time, tribal nations across the southeast had established separate schools. Together with the churches, the schools formed the bedrock of their Indian communities (Oakley, 2005). However, with integration, many formally all-Indian schools would be shuttered in favor of the local white schools. Both the Elder Teachers Project and my own research retrieved biographical references to the loss of Indian schools and jobs for Indian teachers caused by integration. Not

surprisingly, Indians in Robeson County protested and tried to physically bar non-Indians from entering their schools (Oakley, 2005). Nonetheless, the integration of the schools moved forward and many Indian schools went out of existence while most white schools remained. While we can safely state that the era of school integration was a deeply wounding period for Indian communities that continued to define their identity as neither white nor black, research documenting the community impact of this period is still largely lacking.

HISTORICAL TRAUMA THEORY: A VALUABLE RESEARCH PARADIGM IN PROGRESS

For African Americans, the Jim Crow era has been characterized as a continuation of the historical trauma that began with slavery (Thompson-Miller, 2011). Jim Crow policies sheltered the overt violence directed at African Americans through lynching, mob action and Ku Klux Klan events. Even though American Indians experienced very similar hostilities, much of the work that has been produced about American Indians living under Jim Crow policies has aimed to document tribal efforts toward state and/or federal recognition (Blu 1990; Oakley, 2005; Lowery 2010).

The Jim Crow years saw legalized practices that kept African Americans and other non-white citizens in substandard separate schools, trains, and buses (Oxendine & Knick, 2008). They legally barred all non-whites from many hotels, stores and restaurants. Jim Crow also legalized employment discrimination and other forms of political separation, segregation and voter discrimination that reinforced an already deeply stigmatized existence for non-whites across the southern US (Blu, 1990; Lowery, 2011). While most Americans understand that Jim Crow laws and policies negatively impacted African Americans, most do not know that American Indians throughout the south also endured many of the same harsh conditions of segregation.

The history and political context of the southeastern regions of North Carolina are an important factor in understanding the American Indian people who live here today. Most of the tribes in North Carolina, like the Lumbee, are state recognized; only the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians is federally recognized. The current state recognized tribes comprise the Coharie, Haliwa-Saponi, Lumbee, Occaneechi Band of Saponi, the Sappony, and the Waccamaw Souian. All state recognized tribes are of mixed ethnic heritage including American Indian, Euro-American and African American ancestry, and are the descendants of multiple tribes who occupied the areas in pre-contact times (Blu, 1990; Oakley, 2005).

The state-recognized tribes could be treated harshly during the segregation era precisely because they often lacked not only treaty rights, but also the markers established by racist policies and discourse as Native American such as phenotype and expected outward cultural markers. These included a wide spectrum of dark and light skin colors and among the Lumbee, a different dialect of spoken English (Oakley, 2005; Lowery, 2010). Karen Blu's book-length study *The Lumbee Problem* perfectly captures the dilemma of the Lumbee people whose homelands had become a place where white social and political status was hard to achieve and African American social and political status was hard to avoid. In this context, claiming an Indian identity was contested by all (Blu, 1990).

Other than the systemic experiences of historical trauma during the history prior to and including the segregation era discussed above, the high rates of negative social indicators among Native American populations in southeastern North Carolina also point to a possible link to historical trauma for North Carolina's Indian populations. Nearly all of the NC tribal communities experience high rates of unemployment, poverty, substance abuse, sexually transmitted disease, intimate partner violence, rape, high rates of crime, and violence, child abuse, and child neglect (Office of Minority Health and Health Disparities and State Center for Health Statistics, 2010; N. C. Division of Social Services and the Family and Children's Resource, 2006). Rates for teen pregnancy, low birth weight and smoking during pregnancy are also high for North Carolina's Native women (Office of Minority Health and Health Disparities and State Center for Health Statistics, 2010). In addition to negative social indicators, these communities are confronted with high rates of chronic disease, especially high blood pressure, diabetes and asthma. These chronic diseases are stress related and frequently identified as markers of historical trauma in minority populations (Office of Minority Health and Health Disparities and State Center for Health Statistics, 2010).

Conducting large-scale research studies about health concerns and other stress related issues for individuals, families, and communities may reveal in detail how historical trauma has been transmitted among the American Indian communities in southeastern NC. Historical trauma may also be a missing link to the high rates of abuse, teen pregnancy and poor birth outcomes among NC's Native women. Historical trauma theory will likely prove effective when applied to American Indians living in southeastern NC because of the loss of homelands, self-governance and related issues, including the loss of public Indian identity and sovereignty through the state-driven political invention of a "free person of color" status. However, the current measures for mapping historical loss were developed on the basis of the experiences of boarding school survivors, that is, Native populations who were forcibly sent to federal boarding schools (Whitbeck, Adams, Hoyt, Chen, 2004). Importantly, North Carolina's state recognized tribes and other tribes across the south that were more recently recognized never had to

face boarding school trauma. Current research strategies and models need to be expanded to help us better gauge the current negative health and social outcomes based on regionally unique history and strategies of resistance and coping. If historical trauma response can be effectively measured in a different context, it may lead to culturally specific therapeutic initiatives, such as mourning and curing ceremonies. Naming our unique historic losses, as this article has attempted to sketch out, and replacing those losses with positive restorative processes could become a successful path to regain what has been lost (Evans-Campbell, 2008). Retrieving elders' memories of oppression and their strategies under duress, and transmitting them to the next generation is one powerful step to take toward healing for southeastern tribes in North Carolina.

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American Indian Language Revitalization AS Lived Experience

RENÉE T. GROUNDS AND EVA MARIE GARROUTTE

INTRODUCTION: EVA MARIE GARROUTTE

Before European contact, American Indian peoples spoke several hundred distinct languages. Recent respondents to the American Community Survey identified only 134 tribal languages still used at home (Siebens & Julian, 2013). More than fifty of these languages have fewer than 200 speakers, and only Navajo can boast more than 20,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, n.d., data from 2006–2010). In view of such statistics, linguists have predicted that virtually all of North America's indigenous languages will disappear by 2050 (Crawford, 1995). Yet Indian Country is fighting back. Tribes have implemented strategies to rescue languages via bilingual education, college classes, and immersion schools. By the year 2000, tribal responses to looming language extinction were recognized as a full-fledged language revitalization movement (Hinton, 2008; Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Hinton and Hale, 2001).

In the midst of that movement is Renée Teresa Grounds. Born in 1986, Renée's Native American ancestry comes through her father and derives from two peoples with homelands in the American Southeast, the Yuchi (or Euchee) and the Seminole nations. She also has European heritage through her mother. Along with her brother Alan, Renée is among the youngest speakers of Yuchi, a language with only four fluent, first-language speakers still living. Renée's linguistic accomplishments as a second-language learner reflect a discipline she accepted at a young

age. They also reflect support from a family and a tiny community determined to create a bulwark against the disappearance of their unique language.

The Yuchi are a southeastern Woodland people who once participated in the loose social and political entity known as the Creek Confederacy. Forcibly relocated with other southeastern tribes to Indian Territory in the 1830s, they settled there alongside the Creeks but maintained a distinctive culture and a completely unrelated language (Swanton, 1922; Green, 1971).

Seminoles descend largely from Creeks who fled conflict in Georgia and Alabama in the eighteenth century. Joined by individuals from several other tribes, along with some runaway African slaves, they established communities in Florida, becoming known as Seminole. Most were later removed west of the Mississippi, only a remnant eluding capture (Sturtevant, 1971).

In the collaborative biography that follows, Renée discusses experiences that emerged from these combined efforts, along with their implications for her spiritual commitments, life goals, and self-understanding as an American Indian woman. Her story reveals how one young woman's life is situated within the larger context of a nation-wide movement to revitalize American Indian languages.

“THE YUCHI LANGUAGE IS MY PASSION”: RENÉE T. GROUNDS

yUdjEhala h@lA OdzOgAnE. gaKala Renée Grounds-AzATE. yUdjEha KAdü. seminOIEhadA zAshOdasA. OklahOmaha seminOIE wAnü gOdEk'adanE. yUdjEha gO'wAdAna-A hEdE'wAdA. w@ wahaLA yUdjEha OhabanE Enü OdEk'á'wAdA, yUdjEhala OdzOTa ji. w@ thl@PA kOta t'AK@ TarwE dEsha. sahandA gAdEtyü yUdjEhala h@lA nÓthla. n@wELA nÓt@. KAdA nÓnzEOhabanE Enü Oh@g@lA. ôwúLA Ow@. yUdjEha-A n@ nÓwúlanô.

I like to begin by introducing myself in my own language. In English, this is what I said: *In Yuchi, they call me h@lA (which means “to live again”). In English, my name is Renée Grounds. I am Yuchi. I am also Seminole and am enrolled with the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma. I speak the Yuchi language. For many years I have worked with the Yuchi elders to learn the language from them, breath-to-breath. I am nineteen years old and I am helping to keep it alive. We will not let the Yuchi language pass away with our elders.*

In keeping with her concern for language preservation, Renée requested that her chapter illustrate the orthography used to write Yuchi words. This system sometimes repurposes lower- and upper-case characters in the Roman alphabet, along with other symbols, to represent sounds phonetically.

My work with the Yuchi language is closely tied to our Yuchi ceremonies. Since I was about three or four, I've been participating in the Green Corn Ceremony at the Polecat Ceremonial Grounds near Sapulpa, Oklahoma and taking part in my Yuchi culture—taking part in the ceremonies, the dances, the Ribbon Dance and the nightly dances, shaking shells and helping out in our camp with cooking and other things. Keeping the language alive in our ceremonial grounds is very important to me since it is the way our people have conducted these ceremonies for thousands of years. I speak the language as much as I can while I'm there and help teach the children who come there.

Shell shaking is an activity in which women wearing turtle shell leg rattles accompany male singers in ceremonial dances characteristic of several southeastern tribes.

I also attend Pickett Chapel Church, which is a Yuchi United Methodist Church in Sapulpa, Oklahoma. It was founded by Yuchis, and all services were previously conducted in the Yuchi language. Since I started grade school I have been learning the Yuchi language—attending classes and, most importantly, working directly with Yuchi elders one-on-one. That has become my passion—learning the language and helping to perpetuate it.

The structure of my life has been greatly affected by the divorce of my parents, which took place when I was about five years old. My mom, Linda Grounds, lives in Minnesota and my dad, Richard Grounds, Ph.D., lives in Oklahoma. This has meant that my brother Alan and I have always gone back and forth between their two homes. Sometimes we've attended school in Minnesota and sometimes in Oklahoma.

Another important event in my life happened when I was about to enter the 3rd grade. I remember *zAt'é*—my dad—was driving Alan and me down to Oklahoma so we could stay the year with him. That day in the car, Dad asked Alan and me if we wanted to focus on learning the Yuchi language. I was an eight- or nine-year old, and I said, "Yes, definitely!"—not fully understanding the significance of what I was getting into. We had already been learning the language in different ways, but that year was the first time we really focused on it at a more intense level—holding classes, and visiting speakers in their homes. My brother is two and a half years younger than I am and he was starting kindergarten at that time. We were so young, we didn't really know *why* we were learning our Native language, but we have both enjoyed doing it. Learning to speak Yuchi wasn't anything I thought of as a drudgery or a burden, but I've felt it was a privilege to have this opportunity and thankful that my family supports it.

Dad took us out of the public school [in Oklahoma] and we did home schooling, beginning the second half of my third grade year. That made it possible for us

to work on the Yuchi language. It also allowed us to cover some different topics that weren't covered in American History in the public schools, like the mistreatment of Native Americans.

After that, my brother and I attended school for some years in Minnesota and about every third year in Oklahoma. During my sophomore year of high school, I was back doing home schooling with my dad in order to focus on the Yuchi language. [He largely set up the school program for my brother and me. Alan and I worked through] a set of home school curricula that gave us our basic, core subjects, like math and science, and we did P. E. [Physical Education]. In addition, we worked on the Yuchi language as our language credit. [The Yuchi language component of our curriculum was arranged as] a Master-Apprentice program. In the mornings, every day, I would go to the home of Josephine Keith, an elder who was fluent in Yuchi. We were doing hands-on immersion activities with her, like washing dishes, cooking, and organizing closets. We did all of this in immersion: we spoke only Yuchi while we were at her house. We did this for at least two hours each morning, intensely learning the language. It felt good to be able to spend time with Josephine and the other elders, visiting them and trying to help with their chores.

California's Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program is a model for language-revitalization efforts in small communities. Developed by the non-profit Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival, the approach pairs a fluent teacher with a learner, asking them to pursue daily activities while speaking only the target language (Hinton, 2002; see further Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; Hinton & Hale, 2001).

I think what made the greatest difference in my ability to learn Yuchi was that my dad spoke it to my brother and me in the home. My dad was learning the language at the same time that my brother and I were, and everything that he would learn, he would say it to us in a home setting—in more of a natural setting. Classes helped, but hearing Yuchi in the home since [my brother and I] were small was really what made the difference in our learning the language.

My work with the Yuchi language opened many doors for me, such as being invited to participate in the closing celebration of the first International Decade of Indigenous Peoples, which occurred in Tulsa in 2004. That event had different panels of presenters. One of them was on language, and so I spoke passionately on that panel about keeping our Native languages alive. I gave my talk mostly in Yuchi. I did a translation, alternating one line in Yuchi, then one line in English, so the audience could understand. After that, the event organizers presented me with an arrow to symbolize that they recognized my work and saw it as important and valuable. This was the beginning of my involvement in speaking publicly about the urgent need to revitalize Native American languages and to get youth involved.

In 1993, the U.N. General Assembly proclaimed the first International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1995–2004), “with the main objective of strengthening international cooperation for the solution of problems faced by indigenous people in such areas as human rights, the environment, development, education and health” (<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/indigenous/decade.htm>).

I do find there are differences in the way I think when I am thinking in Yuchi rather than in English. The way we categorize the world is different in Yuchi. In English we think of humans, animals, and objects; in school we're taught about animate or inanimate things. But in Yuchi we don't have these categories; it's different. There are three main categories that are grammatically determined within the language: Yuchi Persons, non-Yuchi Persons, and non-Persons. Yuchi Persons include only people of Yuchi ancestry; non-Yuchi Persons include all other humans, animals, the Sun, moon, stars. Non-Persons include everything else. When you say, “She came here,” you say either “she” as a non-Yuchi or “she” as a Yuchi person. There is no way to talk about someone in a “generic” way—without saying whether they are Yuchi or non-Yuchi. Even other Native American people would be classified linguistically as non-Yuchi. These distinctions are all embedded in the structure of the language and reflect the relationship of the person being described to our *community*. So the Yuchi language gives a different perspective on the world than English, and speaking Yuchi helps me think about how language kind of *creates* that world.

Also, when you refer to something in Yuchi, you identify its relation to the *earth*. For example, you can't just say, “There it is;” the language specifies whether “it” is standing or sitting or laying. You would have to say “aKA-fa” (there it is, standing), or “aKA-chE” (there it is, sitting), or “aKA-A” (there it is, laying). Deciding which one of these words to use for each non-Person is predetermined in the language; you just have to know it. For example, when you talk about an apple, you always use “-chE,” for a door you use “-fa,” for a road you use “-A.” Everything has a physical relationship to the earth and you use these words (-chE, -fa, -A) for persons, too. These things really stretch your mind as an English speaker learning to speak Yuchi! These distinctions in the language mean you always have to pay attention to the way things are connected and the way we interact with the earth. It helps me see that in Yuchi we speak a different world into existence, a world that is different from the English world.

If the Yuchi language were to be lost, in the *world* perspective, probably not very many people would notice. But to the Yuchi people, it would be a very devastating loss. I wouldn't say the Yuchi culture would cease to exist altogether, but the heart of every aspect of the culture would be missing. We would still have our ceremonies and songs and ways of doing things, but the worldview that allows

us to *understand* these things would be lost. The language is what connects us to Yuchis who have carried out these practices for hundreds and thousands of years. The language tells us what it is to be Yuchi and everything that is Yuchi is embedded in the language; in this way; it is our identity. Yuchi is unique and ancient as one of the world's few language isolates—meaning it is not part of any language family or related to any other language. It contributes to the diversity of this area of this state, the nation, and the world. To lose the Yuchi language would mean losing what the Yuchi, as a people, contribute to the world in the form of history, medicinal and environmental knowledge, spirituality, and many other things.

There are fewer than ten [fluent speakers of Yuchi still living at the time of this interview in 2006]. There are *some* elders who grew up speaking the language as a first language but now don't speak it fluently because they haven't spoken it for decades. But as far as those first-language speakers who are accessible to speak to other people in the language and are involved in the Euchee (Yuchi) Language Project, I would say there are about five.

By publication of this chapter, the number of first-language Yuchi speakers had dwindled to four, the youngest aged eighty-nine. The Euchee (Yuchi) Language Project is a non-profit organization working to create new, fluent speakers (<http://www.yuchilanguage.org>).

Yuchi people were force-marched from the Southeast to what became the state of Oklahoma at the same time as the Creeks, Cherokees, and many other Native American nations. Until recent decades, Yuchis did not talk about those events in English. If you wanted to know what really happened, you had to understand the Yuchi language. A lot of our history is that way; it is carried orally in the Yuchi language. When I was little, I *did* hear one of our elders, Mose Cahwee, talk about it in English for the first time. He told about what his grandma had seen and experienced. He said that some of the Yuchis had to wear chains as they went because they had resisted the soldiers who had come to force the tribe west, to the land that would later become known as the state of Oklahoma. He said that if they [the Yuchis] couldn't keep their babies from crying, the children would be taken and killed. Also, he told about how they had to swim across the rivers and try to carry the kids on their backs, but many of them drowned. Many Yuchi people died during that time of being forced to walk [hundreds of miles] under brutal circumstances. But somehow our Yuchi ancestors carried on and we are still here today.

In 1830, President Andrew Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act, authorizing him to relocate southeastern Indian peoples, including the Yuchi and Seminole, west of the Mississippi (Green, 1971).

Since that time, it has always been a struggle to keep the language and culture alive. But in especially the last hundred years, I would say our people have been under direct attack linguistically—through boarding schools, which cut off the speaking of Yuchi in the home. That is essentially the reason we are down to about five elder speakers of the language—because Yuchi children were forced to speak English, and punished for speaking Yuchi. After the boarding school era, there weren't any children brought up in the Yuchi language again. That's about all it takes to stop a language.

Programs to remove American Indian children from their homes to federal boarding schools operated in the U.S. from 1879. An acknowledged goal was to eradicate Indian languages and cultures (Adams, 1995).

My great grandmother, Ella (Pickett) Grounds, survived boarding school with her Yuchi language intact but the experience brainwashed her, in a sense. She intentionally did not raise my grandfather in the Yuchi language. I imagine that she was trying to protect him from the cruelty she had experienced for speaking Yuchi in boarding school. So that is when the Yuchi language was stopped in my family—but now we are reclaiming it.

I started learning the language about thirteen, fourteen years ago, and in just that time we've lost probably twenty fluent Yuchi speakers, all of whom we thought would be around to help us out with the language. They have already passed away. In the first year that I started learning, we lost about ten speakers, which was a "wake-up call." I was too little to understand anything at the time. But now I see that time as a *very* key point in the history of the Yuchi people when we literally started counting *down*, even on our *fingers*, the remaining number of speakers of Yuchi.

I had another important experience the summer before my senior year of high school. I went to Geneva, Switzerland for the World Council of Churches (WCC) Central Committee Meeting. The Central Committee meets about every year and a half to make decisions about the way member churches run and to provide an ecumenical discussion. It's the largest body of Christian churches in the world.

The World Council of Churches, embracing more than 110 countries, describes itself as "a worldwide fellowship of churches seeking unity, a common witness and Christian service" (<http://www.oikoumene.org/en/about-us>).

I went as a steward in the Youth Steward's Program. There were thirty-two youth stewards who participated, from twenty-some different countries. Connecting with youth from all over the world, from places I had only heard of on the

news, helped me to realize that *I* could have been born anywhere and have grown up in any culture. In this international context, I was the only youth representing Native American or Yuchi people and it gave me a new perspective on my identity. I realized how special it was that I was born Yuchi, with the opportunity to learn the language and participate in the culture. I felt proud that I could speak some of the Yuchi language since the other youth all knew their own languages. It was after that trip that I made language revitalization my *own* goal. At that time, learning Yuchi became more than something that my *family* values or a class I attend on Thursday evening; it became a goal for my *life*. I decided that this *is* something that I'd like to devote myself to: becoming fluent in the language and helping to perpetuate the language, doing as much as I can to learn from elders.

Last May, I attended the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) in New York. Indigenous peoples from all over the world come together as an advisory body under ECOSOC, one branch of the UN. I was able to go as a volunteer—and ended up presenting to the entire assembly the Report on the Status of Indigenous Languages, which was prepared by the North American Indigenous Caucus.

Established in 2000, the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues enables indigenous people to report concerns and make recommendations directly to the official Charter body called the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). The North American Indigenous Caucus is a regional sub-committee of the Permanent Forum (Nakata, 2001).

We advocated for our Indigenous languages to be a priority item because they are slipping away before our eyes, with about ninety percent facing extinction by the end of this century, according to some stats. We also tried to show that the loss of Indigenous languages is connected to other issues, like health, poverty, urbanization, and environmental degradation. The critical aspect of language survival is the number of children speaking the languages in the home. Based on this critical data, the first chair of the UNPFII, Ole Henrik Magga, stated that half of the world's languages could be lost in the next twenty years!

At this UN meeting, I met a lady from the east coast of Africa. [She told me that there were only] ten speakers of her language still living. That was kind of a powerful revelation to me that her people were having a similar struggle as mine—due to historical, economic, and social issues—just in a different country. Overall, being at the UN was a *hopeful* setting, and so I hope to go back!

For me, language is closely tied to identity. I guess I never really considered belonging or not belonging to my Native community until I entered college at Dartmouth in Hanover, New Hampshire. There, I was out of my element entirely. At college you meet new people; they don't know who you are and you don't know who they are. That is when I saw how much language *does* play into your identity.

I don't really claim to be the most traditional Yuchi person, but I see the Yuchi language as a strong part of my identity and of Yuchi people. Sometimes when I meet new people and tell them that I am Yuchi, they might challenge me or ask something like, "well, *how* are you Yuchi?" If you start talking your Native language, it's like an undeniable statement of identity.

Speaking Yuchi means that I don't have to rely on how *other* people define me. My ability to speak Yuchi makes me feel like, "it doesn't matter who *you* think I am when you look at me because *I* know." I would want that for my kids and grandkids—because if they know who they are, they won't start down a path looking for fulfillment elsewhere or be persuaded to hurt themselves or others. Many times I have heard our elders say, "gOb@nTOnOnù yUdjEha gO'wAdAnA-A wAnÔnzOwùji"—"The Yuchi language was given to us by God." I feel their pride when they talk about the language as a special gift that God chose to give to our people. I agree with this because I find that speaking in Yuchi is fulfilling to my spirit in a way that English isn't, whether it be in everyday interaction or in prayer. I think this is because the Yuchi language is our unique connection to God as Yuchi people. When we speak it, it is the expression of that spiritual connection that fulfills us; it is truly our own. This connection is a major part of our identity as Yuchi people and it's something that no one can challenge.

I believe that the language also defines us as a unique people despite the imposition of any recent political labels—"recent" relative to the long history of our people. The U.S. government has grouped Yuchis within the Muscogee (Creek) Nation. Aside from any political classifications, as long as we maintain our unique language, we know who we are as Yuchi people. *I've* been taught that we [Yuchi] can't let the federal government or anyone else define who we are. As a speaker of the language, I feel a part of the long history of Yuchi people that extends way back before the U.S. federal government even existed! Being able to speak [your Native language] allows you to own your *own* identity. Especially if you learn it as a second language, you know that you're really fighting to reclaim that Native identity. I call it a fight because it is hard to learn your Native language as a second language, especially with very few resources, and you encounter so many obstacles; it is really a process of decolonizing the mind.

The federal government maintains a list of tribal nations with which it acknowledges formal relations. In addition to overlooking some tribes, the government has combined separate peoples into a single tribe for bureaucratic purposes. This was the fate of the Yuchi who, despite their distinct language and culture, were grouped within the Muscogee (commonly called Creek) Nation.

In a way, I think I've had kind of a schizophrenic lifestyle because of repeatedly switching back and forth between living in Oklahoma and Minnesota. It seems that when I'm in Oklahoma, Yuchi culture and language is my *main* focus. And

when I'm in Minnesota, the church and growing in my faith is the main focus. My mom's a United Methodist pastor in Minnesota. So it seems that when I'm here [in Oklahoma], people don't really know the *other* side of my life, and when I'm there [in Minnesota], they don't really know anything about the [Yuchi] language work that I do. So meshing these things is a little bit weird to me. Often I think people don't get the *full* picture of me.

I have found it easy to compartmentalize my life both geographically *and* culturally, which is something I never thought about until the last couple of years. Going to college, I had to analyze my identity, and I had to justify things that I never had to justify before. Before that time, I was just either here [in Oklahoma] *or* in Minnesota. In both places, everybody knew who I was, and *I* knew who I was, and people knew who my family was, and nothing was ever questioned. I was just doing my thing. But since then I've realized that I've been raised in two different cultures, in two different households.

For instance, when I was with my dad, he raised me as though I were like him—Yuchi and Seminole, and learning the Yuchi language, and taking part in different ceremonies, meeting with the elders; it was all about *that*. And this was quite different from my life in Minnesota, where my mom raised me like *she* was raised—in a White household. She also raised me in the church and helped me find myself spiritually. So most people who know me in Minnesota, even my closest friends, don't know what I do with Yuchi. And since it is such a strong part of what I do and who I am, it *is* worth knowing. But it seems that either people know *one* side of me or the other. And then when I got to college, I wasn't in *either* place—neither Minnesota *nor* Oklahoma. So then I began recreating, meshing, and owning both sides at *once*. That has been my journey.

As my life goes on, I recognize that I want to be like *both* of my parents. I admire the way my mom really loves people and has shown sacrificial love to my brother and me. She is a strong person, raising us on her own when we were up there [in Minnesota], while also pastoring two churches and attending seminary at the same time. And I would want to be like my dad in the way that he treats people, too. He has a real understanding, a habit of treating people like they really matter, no matter *who* it is. He will always talk to people, whether they are a street person or some delegate to the UN. And he has taught me that it's important to follow your heart, even though it is not necessarily financially lucrative. He's taught me about putting other things aside to pursue your passion.

[When we started this interview, you asked me to imagine my great-great-grandchildren and what I would like them to know about me.] I *would* like them to know who I am—but mostly I'd want them to know who *they* are. And when I talk about that, I am talking about the Yuchi language and our spiritual connection to *gOh@nTOnA*—God—as Yuchi people. I would want them to know that I was one of the first people to start learning the language as a second language—one of the

first to start reviving, revitalizing the language. My goal is to become fluent in the language and then speak to my children in the language as their *first* language in the home, and in that way try to perpetuate it.

If sometimes I start to feel frustrated or discouraged in learning or teaching the Yuchi language, then I think to myself, “What would my Yuchi grandfather think? What would my great-grandmother think?”—What would they think if I just gave up and said, “Well, I’ve got other things to do?” Learning Yuchi is a privilege *and* a responsibility—because it has been spoken for thousands of years and now the number of speakers is down to just *five elders*. The language *could* pass away now and that could be the end. Or it could widen back out like an hourglass. When people look back at this time, I *hope* that they see that the number of speakers *did* get down to just a few speakers and *then* slowly the language was revived by a few speakers and a few learners.

When I hear the elders speak about what it was like when *they* were young, I can’t help but think, “what will I be saying when *I* am their age—about how it was when I was young?” [It] could be either, “Well, we tried. We gave up fighting as the language was dying out; we couldn’t totally revive it.” Or it could be, “Yes, that was a *tough* time, but we succeeded in keeping our language. It was worth the fight, and now we have little kids in the home speaking Yuchi at the same time as they learn English—speaking Yuchi once again as their mother tongue.” That, to me, would be the *ultimate* victory.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Since her interview, Renée Grounds graduated from Dartmouth College in 2008 with a degree in Linguistics and Geography. For the last six years, she has been a Yuchi language instructor in the children’s immersion program and a project administrator at the Euchee (Yuchi) Language Project in Sapulpa, Oklahoma. She is happily married to Jiles Pourier and is teaching him Yuchi, so they can raise their future children in the language. She is privileged to continue to work with the four first-language speakers of Yuchi: Martha Squire, Maxine Bigler, Josephine Bigler, and Vada Nichwander. She has travelled to twenty-six countries and five continents as an advocate for Indigenous peoples and language revitalization.

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE: EVA MARIE GARROUTTE

As we prepared for this chapter in 2006, Renée and I met in a quiet Tulsa location for an interview of two hours. Interactions were guided by a model of “active interviewing,” in which conversations unfold naturally (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995).


The interview proceeded primarily in response to my question: “If you imagine your great-great-grandchildren, and you want them to really know who you are, what would you tell them?” The interview was transcribed and delivered to Renée, with the audio-recording. We then worked conjointly and iteratively to redact and revise the interview, editing for space limitations while retaining her spoken language.

While the experiences described belong exclusively to Renée, as does the choice of themes for the interview, the inscription of her life story twines together contributions from us both. It is a *collaborative* biography. Principles undergirding strategies that I use for American Indian life story collaboration have been described in detail elsewhere; they include inviting collaborators into the authorial work of transforming the narration into writing and recognizing the significance of ceremonial activity to this creative process (Garrouette & Westcott, 2008).

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Narrative Hermeneutics AND THE Experiential Transformation OF Care

CHERRY MAYNOR BEASLEY

INTRODUCTION

Metaphysically speaking, this article defines humankind as interdependent, pan-dimensional beings interwoven with each other and all life in the cosmos and throughout time (Deloria, 2012, Pilkington and Jonas-Simpson, 1996, Rogers, 1992). Choosing to exchange energy, human beings form a culturally distinct pattern of living in time and space in which to fully experience and enjoy holo-movement, belonging, and meaning. This pattern, I propose, is the prototypical health state. It can be protected, extended across time, and reclaimed intentionally by understanding and practicing selfhood in connection to the whole. According to indigenous nursing researchers Struthers and Littlejohn (1999), awareness of the patterned multi-dimensional rhythmicity of life and a dynamic growth in such awareness allows care providers to more deeply inform, transform, and perform healing.

Yet how do people who have been denied choice and who have been depleted of energy and belonging reclaim this archetypal health state? What mending patterns of living in time and space help to (re-)gain wholeness, especially when confronted with illness? To answer these questions with the explicit purpose of understanding more holistically the culturally-based experiences of Lumbee women breast cancer survivors, an interpretive study was designed and completed with thirty in-depth interviews. At the time of the project, academic studies had documented the overall poor health status of the Lumbee people, yet no qualitative research

existed to describe Lumbee perceptions of chronic and debilitating illnesses and the meaning and interpretations they had creatively fashioned in response to times of ill health. The study's primary data consists of the women's oral story-ing of surviving breast cancer. As is true for other indigenous people, Lumbees, the largest American Indian tribe east of the Mississippi and the largest tribe never to have been confined to a reservation, value stories as a means to recall past struggles and to instruct others who are encountering difficulties.

Data about breast cancer in American Indian women is frequently fragmented because of the small percentage of the total population, lack of inclusion in national studies, and the misclassification of ethnicity and race (Kaur, 1999; Partin et al., 1999). The available data profiling breast cancer among American Indians reveal questionable incidence rates, less frequent mammograms and screening than in other population groups, more advanced stages of cancer at the time of diagnosis, and longer intervals from detection to clinical presentation than the general population (Gilliland, Rosenberg, Hunt, Stauber & Key, 2000; NCI, 2007; Partin et al., 1999).

Methodologically speaking, the experiences of a group can only be fully understood in context by linking the group's philosophical, social, environmental, cultural, and psychological worlds. Benner (1999) observes that in the academic study of health, illness, and suffering, teleological explanations and contextual understanding require therefore close attention to a group's history, meaning-making processes, and self-interpretation. In an American Indian context, these are ultimately expressed through language and story-telling. The social impact of such narrative practices reaches beyond individual lives. As a contribution to others in the community, Native people sharing their stories also share the wisdom and knowledge obtained from their experiences. Such sharing becomes an offer to others for use on their own respective journeys. As attentive listeners, providers of care in turn may gather themes and stories, both common and unique, to develop their own wisdom and knowledge as healers, then offer it up to those patients they subsequently encounter.

The key to unlocking such ever-widening processes of health care transformation is to listen and reflect on the stories one hears from within one's own life world. Health professionals, indeed all professionals who seek to alleviate suffering and promote healing, are invited to acknowledge the reciprocal and dynamic relationship between meaning-making, understanding, and contextual interpretation as they listen to and connect with stories. A hermeneutical paradigm of narrative meaning-making encourages care providers and clients to co-create their lives and world in dialogue with each other.

This essay offers an analysis of how one nurse practitioner and researcher who is emic to the group of Lumbee women allowed the stories of others to alter her understanding of the holistic rhythmicity and patterning of life described

in the opening paragraph, and in the process changing her to become a more astute healer. Secondly, as a study of Lumbee breast cancer survivors and their unfolding narratives, indigenous meaning-making processes of survivorship as well as the culturally-based foundations for their health care decisions move into sharp focus. These findings are significant in that they reveal survivorship as more than living after a diagnosis of a chronic disease. Survivorship entails the use of this diagnosis to actively and fully embrace healing as a process that engages the individual and the community in an experience of expanding being, connectivity, and knowledge.

THE HERMENEUTICS OF STORY AND HEALING

American Indians philosophers (Deloria, 2012), and health care researchers (Struthers and Littlejohn, 1999) agree with post-modern philosophers (Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Mitchell and Cody, 1992; Reeder, 1993; and Welch, 1999) that knowledge is not devoid of experiences, and that knowledge incorporates one's situated-ness in time and place. The foundation for knowledge is to accurately grasp that knowledge is formed through perception: "[Perception] is the background from which all acts stand out, and is presupposed by them ... man [sic] is in the world, and only in the world does he know himself" (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 328). Gadamerian philosophical hermeneutics as developed by Gadamer (1999 a) in collaboration with Heidegger (1999) propose that one's perceptions are shaped by a priori existing cultural worlds. The limits of one's situation, or one's existential horizons, influence choices and actions. For Lumbee women who are survivors of breast cancer, their knowledge, perceptions, and cultural worlds create the existential horizon that makes their disease a lived reality. A hermeneutics of survivor narratives emphasizes the storyteller's understanding and context of shared life worlds and things, practices, and histories to make sense of the survivors' world (Fleming, Gaidys & Robb, 2003; Gadamer, 1999).

I suggest that Gadamerian philosophical hermeneutics and American Indian culture are ontologically and methodologically congruent in more than one way. Even though each American Indian tribe has its own beliefs, history, traditions and values, common themes and similarities exist. Stressing the inter-relatedness of phenomena and actors, American Indian theology posits that humans co-create with entities in the universe; such creation is an on-going process (Kidwell, Noley, and Tinker, 2001). Shared co-creation in turn creates a new shared horizon in an ever expanding universe. By design, both language and story carry experiences with the goal to grow and expand as individuals and as a community, and to pass vital knowledge from one person to the next and from one generation to the next (Deloria, 2012).

As noted above, the use of oral accounts, especially stories, is a foundational component of Lumbee culture. Furthermore, the Lumbee worldview is defined by complex relationships with human and non-human entities (Deese 2003). Deese's analysis of Lumbee stories portrays their collective attachment to land, to family, and to community. Maynor (2005) illustrates how Lumbee people made strategic changes to maintain their kinship system and their connection to the land under colonialism. Using oral accounts as her sources, she discovered that Lumbee people adapted in mutual rhythmical interchange with their environment to survive as a people. Blu (2001) details Lumbee survival against all odds. She notes the use of language, the intense sense of community, and the attachment to place as explanations of Lumbee success. To summarize, stories and language have consistently served to assure community survival in a constantly changing but interconnected world.

Benner relates such metaphysical and narrative interconnectivity to nursing science and a person's action in the health-illness experience. She notes, "... human experience is based on participating in linguistic and cultural practices that are not reducible to context-free elements" (Benner, 1999, p. 304), and that "... hermeneutics is [to be] used to understand everyday practices, meanings and knowledge embedded in skills, stress and coping" (p. 306). To understand Lumbee women's experience as breast cancer survivors, interacting dialogically with their oral accounts demands attention to their context and understanding as much as it demands attention to one's own hermeneutical stance and life world.

STUDY FINDINGS

Using the philosophical hermeneutic method as briefly discussed above, the first person accounts of sixteen Lumbee breast cancer survivors were analyzed by a practicing Lumbee nurse practitioner and researcher to reveal their experiences of survival and survivorship. The stories of survival, though very personal, share certain cultural and developmental features. Each story documented a path through struggles and changes as the woman confronted breast cancer, survived treatment and created a new life that incorporated these experiences into a new and expanded self. The experiences they shared began with the diagnosis and continued until the day of the interview, regardless of the time since diagnosis and the interview. These stories, rich in detail about their lives, were freely shared, often with the expressed hope that the stories would be helpful to others. Two women best expressed the value they placed on telling their stories.

Joyce: We do have a bond, 'cause we all each have a story to tell. But it was basically the same, but not the same, 'cause I can say something that

might help somebody else. They could hear it from me but then they might not catch it from the other lady.

Nettie: Oh, yeah. I got a lifetime story to tell. (Breast Cancer Survivor Interview)

As the stories unfolded, the researcher recognized that the women were telling of experiences in two worlds: a personal world of self and a communal world with those outside themselves. The reciprocal relationship between the women's personal and communal worlds is such that one could not exist without the other. The experiences in these worlds are interlaced, often within the same paragraph, making it clear that for the women, these are not distinctly different stories, but one story. Secondly, the stories revealed the process of survival was composed of three separate phases: *encountering breast cancer, moving through, and moving on anew*. On further reflection, worlds, the phases and the patterns found in each phase are presented separately.

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

The model developed from these findings is presented in Figure 1. The first part shows the women before breast cancer. Each had a personal world, their own personhood. Yet, much of their understanding of self could not be separated from their community. For example, when asked to tell a little about themselves, all women responded by first identifying who they were in family and community before they said anything about themselves such as sharing their educational level. Most went into great detail about their place in the extended family unit and provided a two- or three-generation family tree mapping their family and community. This integration of personal worlds and community worlds is represented by the two, overlapping circles.

Personal World

In an internal world of self, the women moved through three phases of surviving breast cancer. These phases were identified in all the women's stories regardless of the length of time from diagnosis to interview. In the first phase, *Personal World: Encountering breast cancer*, two patterns were identified, *Disruption of Self and Disbelief* and *Decisions about Treatment*. Regardless of the length of time since the diagnosis, the women described the intense assault on their person, which was expressed as a sense of loss of self. Before the women adjusted to this change in personhood, they had to make decisions related to treatment. Though they listened to the options presented, most trusted the recommendations of the health

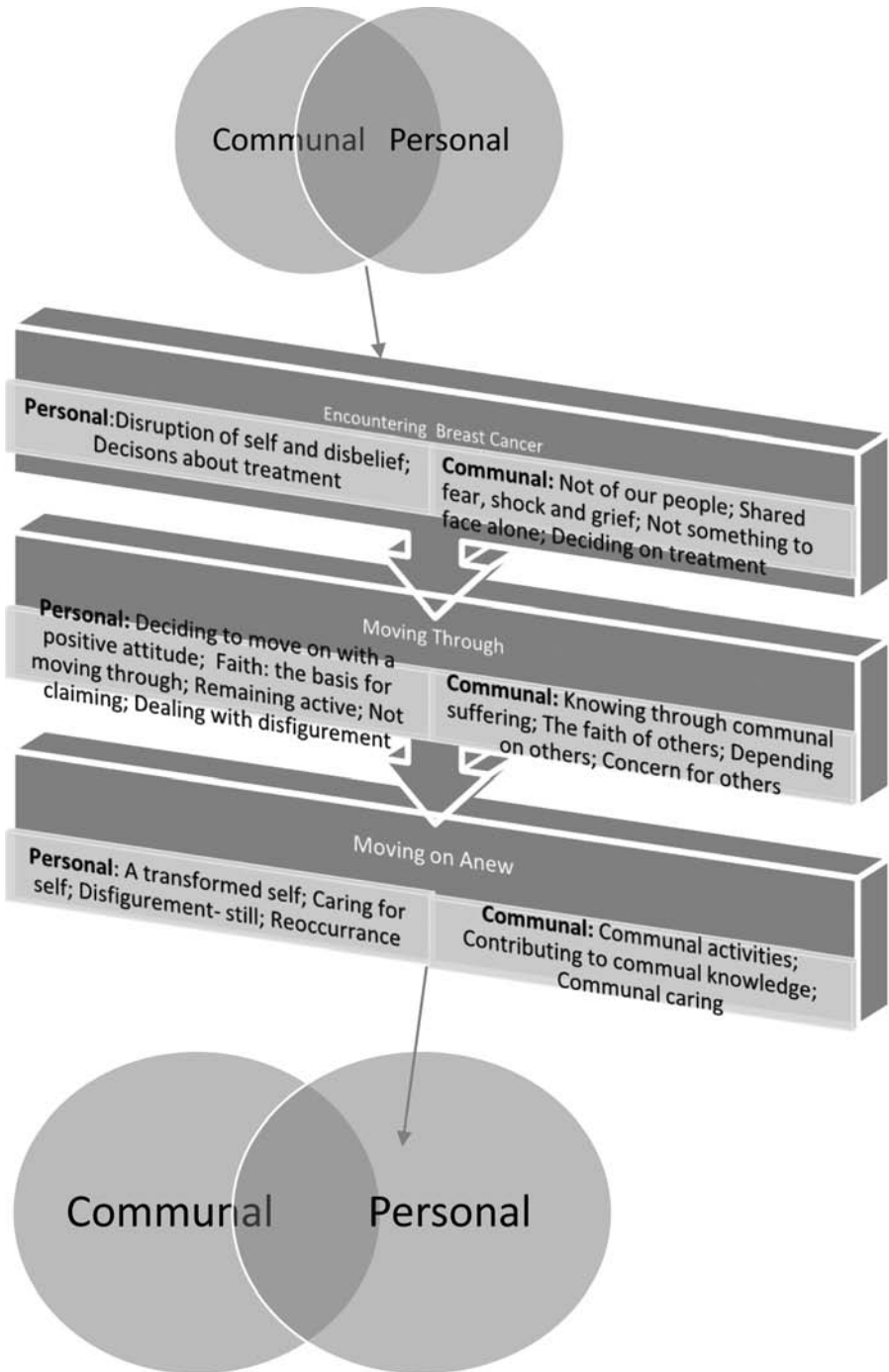


Figure 1

care provider so that treatment could begin. They chose a treatment that would allow them to cope optimally with this abrupt change in their life, with their own mortality, and with the loss to their families by their potential death. They participated in the decision making process by dividing areas of expertise. They reserved autonomy over choices that only they could make, and left the clinical decisions to those prepared to make clinical decisions, trusting that everything is as it should be as based on their faith. The researcher's understanding of stage one, *Personal World: Encountering Breast Cancer* is as follows.

As the women encountered the diagnosis, they experienced intense emotions. For some, the emotions were so intense that they lost awareness of surroundings, time, and even their own being (fainting, hysterical). The women vacillated between denial and fear. Some denied or questioned the diagnosis because their situation did not mirror their understanding of cancer, especially the characteristics of breast cancer.

In the Lumbee community, cancer is still viewed as a death sentence due to past experiences of high death rates caused by limited access to culturally appropriate, culturally sensitive care. The women and their communities immediately focused on the possibility of their impending death. The women not only feared death, but also disfigurement and the treatment protocol for breast cancer. For most, this was not a time to be active participants in the decision making process about treatment. Only two women reported reading the literature offered; only one woman requested a second opinion. Most followed the health care professional's advice, while at the same time hoping to avoid what they had previously decided was the worst treatment

The second phase, *Personal World: Moving On*, was focused upon surviving and adjusting to treatment. The women reported that it was during this time that they made a decision to fight cancer to continue to live. It was as if they awoke from the abyss of the destruction of personhood to find themselves dealing with treatment and the need to regain control of their lives. Faith was the primary source of personal strength. In addition to their strong spiritual foundation, women told of the importance of a positive attitude, continuing meaningful activities and not allowing the cancer to define them as people. Lumbee women narrated the experiences of moving through, defined as the time of treatment, followed by recovery from treatment and adjusting to a new body image. Transitioning to this phase began with the decision to move on. Interestingly, most women had begun treatment before they reported making the decision to fight the disease and live. In so doing, women chose to focus on living, not on the disease. Strategies (patterns) for moving through include the patterns of (a) deciding to move on with a positive attitude, (b) faith: the basis for moving through, (c) remaining active, (d) not claiming, and, (e) dealing with disfigurement.

The researcher's understanding of stage two, *Personal World: Moving Through*, is as follows.

From interacting with the texts of these women's stories, the researcher's understanding widened by grasping the physical and emotional struggles the women endured and moved through. After the initial shock of the diagnosis of breast cancer, women entered the stage of moving through treatment and recovering from the treatment. This phase of survival began with making the decision to fight breast cancer. Women told of their decisions to fight and the value of a positive attitude as they began to move through this phase. All of the women spoke about the role of faith as one, if not the, primary reason they were able to move through treatment and its effects. This is consistent with the deep spiritual lives of most of the Lumbee people. Some women engaged in meaningful activities such as gardening, working, physical activity, and reading. However, all was not positive. They willingly shared the pain of disfigurement and the suffering from cancer treatment. Disfigurement, even temporary, is an emotional, long lasting memory for these women. Many coped with it by placing the discussion of disfigurement in the context that they were grateful for life; their memories and emotions regarding disfigurement indicate its significance for them. The same is true for the suffering related to treatment. Some women even expressed that they could suffer through one type of treatment because they took comfort in the fact they did not have to endure the suffering often associated with another. It seemed that the women could look on the bright side of the treatment selected. For example, women who received chemotherapy noted that that at least they did not have to deal with radiation. The reverse was true for women who received radiation and not chemotherapy.

In *Moving on Anew*, the final phase in the personal world, women described the transformation that occurred as a result of surviving treatment and continuing forward. They described the expansion of themselves as new beings in their personal world. They did not tell Pollyanna stories, but willingly shared their pain, fears and concerns. Often told with emotions for which they apologized, the women's telling of their experiences provided the researcher with a new understanding of the experience of breast cancer, an experience that does not end with the termination of treatment, or after surviving for five or even ten years. Amazingly, all the women's stories ended in a message of hope for the future, a firm belief that this experience allowed them the opportunity to change, moving towards a level of high self-actualization. This was significant in that most women of other cultures have considered the breast cancer experience as a negative or a least not as a quintessential experience in their development of self. For these women the experience of surviving breast cancer has been a positively transforming experience. Each considers herself a new person with a new inner strength and new roles in life. In this final phase, women described the patterns of (a) a transformed self, (b) caring for self, (c) disfigurement-still, and (d) reoccurrence.

The researcher's understanding of stage three, *Personal World: Moving on Anew*, is as follows.

According to their stories, the experiences related to surviving breast cancer continue indefinitely. Surviving breast cancer is a life transforming experience that often brings one closer to her god and a renewed appreciation of life. All but one woman were continuing to follow-up with a healthcare provider; they still faced these visits with anxiety. Though most acknowledged that they continued to receive mammograms and complete self-breast examinations, few women offered to comment on these.

However, they did discuss other self-help activities such as exercise, taking vitamins and eating more fruits and vegetables. Most women spoke, some even after years of survival, of the disfigurement they still experience as breast cancer survivors. They bemoaned the loss of a breast, dealt with ill-fitting prosthetics, selected clothing based on scars and disfigurement and felt uncomfortable even with their spouse. They continue to consider the possibility of reoccurrence, reporting being despondent or anxious about follow up visits and taking steps to prevent reoccurrence.

The Communal World

Through their stories, Lumbee breast cancer survivors reveal reality and meaningful experiences for them personally, yet at the same time, they told of their experiences as clearly imbedded in their families and communities. The experience in their personal world and the experiences in their communal world can only be understood in light of the other; they coincide as shared horizons. Sometimes, the stories described how interactions with people changed the woman and provided her with strength to progress from encountering breast cancer to moving through treatment and related complications into the final phases of becoming anew. In other stories, the woman narrates how she provided strength for family and community members to move through the same or similar phases. Most often, the women spoke of both in the same paragraphs, thus demonstrating the interrelatedness of the two life worlds. The same three phases of surviving were found in both worlds, usually occurring simultaneously. Though the phases were the same, there were differences in the patterns within the phases in the communal world as compared with the personal world.

In phase one, *Communal World: Encountering Breast Cancer*, beginning with the initial finding of a lump, breast change, or abnormal mammogram, the women included others in their story. Women shared with others the finding of the mass, the abnormal mammogram, and the experience of diagnosis. Several women depended on family members to decide on treatment options. Several women made an appointment with a health care provider only after a family member encouraged them to do so. Most of the women were with a family member when they were told that the tests were positive for breast cancer. In the first phase in the communal world, *Encountering Breast Cancer*, four patterns were discerned: (a) not of our people, (b) shared fear, shock and grief, (c) not something to face alone, and, (d) deciding on treatment.

The researcher's understanding of stage one, *Communal World: Encountering Breast Cancer* is as follows.

For the family and the women being diagnosed with breast cancer, this is an emotionally intense experience. For the women, the experience was too heavy to carry alone, therefore requiring that they share the burden of this disease with others. Through the details they provided about the shared experience, the researcher understood the importance of going through this stage with others. The communal experience was within families including parents, significant others, siblings, children (even young children), church and community members. Within the community the question arose, "Where did this disease come from?" For women whose historical context included being in community with another cancer survivor, they used the stories of other to help them cope and to make decisions.

During Stage two, *Communal World: Moving Through*, women's stories were structured in such a way that one re-lived the experiences with them in their telling. This was facilitated by the women's use of first person plural pronouns. The experiences in the personal world were resonant with those in the communal world, supporting and assisting a woman to move through the breast cancer treatments by deciding to fight for survival and continued through treatment and its aftermath. The patterns in this phase within the communal world include: (a) increasing knowledge through narrative retrieval of communal suffering, (b) the faith of others, (c) depending on others, and d) concern for others. A special note about the process of increasing knowledge through narrative retrieval of communal suffering: all of the women depended on their understanding of others' stories to provide them with vital information and a path to follow. In their interviews, they gave voice to the stories of others in the community who had suffered with cancer. They relied upon the stories of other breast cancer survivors, community members who had suffered from other types of cancer, and the family members of those who have had cancer.

The researcher's understanding of stage two, *Communal World: Moving Through*, is as follows.

Through these experiences the women gained knowledge, strength and purpose from their community. These came in a wide variety of ways and from a wide variety of people. They told not only their own stories, but recalled the stories of others that they used to provide them knowledge, strength and purpose. This is a clear example of the benefit of listening to stories and that knowledge from within the same historical context was most valued. Women learned to depend on others yet at the same time sought to maintain their own roles in life. Often the care from others and their care for others were along traditional lines. None of the women participated in a cancer support group. They saw cancer support groups as outside their communal knowledge that is not something that the community would embrace since it separated the woman from her own community, the community that had provided support for her in the past and the community that called her to be a whole person, not someone separated from because of a problem.

In the third stage, *Communal World: Moving on Anew*, the women are finding purpose for their suffering in their communal lives. Often, this involves becoming part of the communal knowledge reservoir, being active in family and community activities, and providing care for others who are suffering. The women spoke of their struggles with breast cancer as having been for a purpose; usually they saw this purpose as serving others and thus as fulfilling their role as mothers of the community. Their service was not focused on caring for others with breast cancer, but being active women in their community of origin. The three patterns identified in this phase in the communal world are: (a) communal activities, (b) contributing to communal knowledge, and, (c) communal caring.

The researcher's understanding of stage three, *Communal World: Moving on Anew*, is as follows.

With eloquence yet humility, the women told of sharing their 'second chance' with others. They spoke of the renewed purpose of living in community, including providing for future generations. The researcher's understanding of survivorship now includes this sense of a new life - a life of service, of contributing to communal knowledge and of helping others who are walking the path of survivorship, thus allowing the community to transform and change as well. The researcher was intrigued that women were interested in reaching out to others at the group level. Like their experiences of moving through the treatment phase, the women looked for new experiences from within their cultural context. They used what they had valued in their own experiences to provide direction for this new life. From their stories, it is clear that participating in community survival is not just the re-telling of one's story, but sharing the suffering including the power of one's presence.

COMPLETING THE HERMENEUTIC PROCESS

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, as a nurse practitioner and researcher, the writer works with the stories of others to co-create a new understanding of life and community. To the writer who is a nurse, this new understanding is used to provide care for others. The writer now sees that the experience of surviving breast cancer is a transformative process for both the women and for their community. The women's realities of who they were as people and as members of the community changed. In turn, however, the women's families and communities were also transformed in an interdependent and simultaneously occurring process. The women told their stories of changes within themselves and their community as one cohesive experience. From within their cultural context, living as Native women in a rural community, the women portrayed survival as both a transformation of self and the expression of self within the community. They often used metaphors of nature or stories from other women in their families and

communities to explain that life was about moving forward. The community was also transformed by the women's experiences, and by the new persons they had become. Now they share their voices as individual voices within the larger communal voice. As a Lumbee nurse practitioner, the researcher now understands that survival means these transformative processes of person and community occurring simultaneously.

Transformation for both the women and their communities required working through three phases: (a) encountering breast cancer, (b) moving through, and (c) moving on anew. The repetition of these phases within both worlds further emphasizes the integrality of the two. However, within each phase, different patterns were identified as occurring in two worlds, communal and personal, thus reflecting the value of each world's role in co-creating meaning in the service of survival. Faith and spirituality, including prayer and presence—being there with another—, were patterns repeated in both worlds and in all three phases. As these experiences continue dynamically, both the individual person and the community are expanded and more blended than before. These are stories of growth, of giving, of joining together to create a new life for all.

Prior to this study, the researcher understood the experiences of surviving breast cancer to include a strong connection between the individual, her family, and her community, as well as a strong reliance on faith and religious practices. After this study, her understanding now includes: (a) an understanding of the reciprocity of experiences in the personal and communal worlds, (b) insight into the phases of change that are a critical part of survival, (c) the knowledge that personal and communal worlds undergo the same three phases yet have different patterns that are used to assist in survival, and (d) the knowledge that survival is a transformative process for the woman and her community. Now, along with faith and spirituality, the researcher includes presence as a critical dimension in each stage of progression in the life worlds of self and community. Though educated in nursing in a post-positivistic era, the Lumbee nurse researcher innately sensed a deep interconnection between and among humans. She had participated in the Lumbee community with distressed persons encountering life-changing events. She had been present when family and community gathered at the bedside or waited for a woman to return from surgery. But even with this background, the researcher had not fully understood the relationship between personal and communal survival. In fact, the researcher was surprised by the intensity of the relationships which were unveiled in the stories of these women. Now, she understands the relationship between the personal and the communal and the phases required to allow one to be transformed as quintessential for healing for the person, the community, and the healer herself.

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PART TWO

Education AND Parenting



Introduction to Part Two

ULRIKE WIETHAUS

Education and parenting constitute the process that bonds one generation to the next. Education and parenting ensure survival of cultural knowledge, identity, and sovereignty. Unity in kinship and a living, breathing fabric of intergenerational connectivity create stability and safety amidst any kind of change. To protect both is of paramount value and demands determination, thoughtfulness, time, and, as Rosemary White Shield notes, the conviction that only the very best effort will do. The four chapters in this section offer a scholarly panorama of best educational and parenting practices in past and present to ensure optimal kinship ties and intergenerational connectivity. Oxendine's description of wholehearted teaching as the one culturally distinctive teacher quality that made Lumbee schools the center of community life and young people's well-being reverberates in White Shield's model of culturally-based, community-based, and holistic American Indian schooling. Second generation UNC Pembroke American Indian Studies scholars Rosemary Stremlau and Jane Haladay deeply value and model their own work on the wholehearted teaching of their female elder mentors at UNC Pembroke and UNC Chapel Hill, and as their essay demonstrates, their own work carries the lessons learned by creatively applying them to new challenges and opportunities. Within an American Indian metaphysics, for educational best practices to take fully root, Native parents and care takers parent "wholeheartedly" to generate coherence and the optimal conditions for young people to be and become what the Creator has intended. Christy Buchanan and Grace Bobbitt show us how. Faith is thus never far out of sight in education and parenting, as is true for the domain of women's language revitalization efforts and historical leadership as well.



The Elder Teachers Project

Finding Promise in the Past

OLIVIA OXENDINE

In America, the practice of segregating educational institutions on the basis of race has a long and cumbersome history. Three important cases, two of which are regarded as *landmark*, bear out this fact. In 1849, the future U.S. Senator Charles pleaded the earliest recorded segregation case before the Massachusetts Supreme Court. Although unsuccessful in his arguments, he asserted that segregating the schools in Boston degraded the entire African American race (Davis, 2014). In an opposing view, influential Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw asserted that Boston's separate schools possessed equal facilities and declared that any attempt to integrate the students would only increase racial prejudice.

Nearly fifty years later, in 1896, a similar attempt to dismantle the principle of "separate but equal" made its way to the Louisiana Supreme Court and later to the U.S. Supreme Court. Known as *Plessey vs. Ferguson*, the high court's decision safeguarded the rights of states, municipalities, and private companies to provide separate transportation accommodations for white and African American passengers. This ruling later extended to public facilities, churches, cemeteries, restaurants, and other public accommodations (Kurland, 1975). As Mary Ann Jacobs' study in this volume demonstrates in depth, the term *Jim Crow* is commonly associated with these legally sanctioned acts of segregation.

Evidence of the *Plessey* ruling resonates in the stories of the seven elder teachers presented in this chapter. Memories of separate water fountains, public restrooms, and sub-standard educational resources are the stark reminders of desperate times and places.

The twentieth century moved the country in a different direction with respect to the indefensible vestiges of segregation. In the 1954 landmark case, *Brown vs. the Board of Education*, the future U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall successfully argued that the board of education in Topeka, Kansas had no grounds for denying Linda Brown admission to an all-white elementary school closer to her home than her assigned African American school. He further argued that denying admission was essentially depriving Linda Brown of an equal education, since the quality of education in the white school far surpassed the plaintiff's assigned school. Building on this argument, Chief Justice Warren Berger called attention to and passionately wrote about the inherent fallacy in the *separate but equal* principle. Unfortunately, more than a decade had passed before the courts compelled states and municipalities to enforce the Brown decision.

Prior to the 1970s, greater Robeson County and its collection of tri-racial communities mirrored the educational setting captured in the 1954 Supreme Court ruling. White residents in the towns of Maxton, Fairmont, St. Paul's, Red Springs, and Lumberton enjoyed the privilege of city schools governed by tightly knit boards of education and supported with extra revenue to bolster educational opportunities. Similar educational conditions did not exist for Indian students and the number of African American students enrolled in the County's impoverished schools.

Nearly fifteen years after the Brown ruling of 1954, the federal courts issued North Carolina an order to end the practice of assigning students to schools on the basis of race. This action set the stage for unprecedented educational and political change across Robeson County. By the mid-seventies, Robeson County's six school districts had moved beyond the early days of court-ordered integration. County leaders had closed a number of Indian and African American schools, and white schools were integrated with both Indian and African American students and teachers. In 1989, state politicians enacted legislation that resulted in the formation of a consolidated board of education responsible for governing a merged county-city system.

Unfortunately for students, efforts to improve public education in Robeson County are yet to become systemic. Since the 1970s, reform efforts have come and gone leaving little evidence of vast fiscal investments. For example, the longitudinal data reported by the State Advisory Council on Indian Education (North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, 2014) defies the argument that increased spending closes achievement gaps for Indian students. American Indian students still lag behind their non-Indian peers in the core areas of reading and mathematics. Especially in the area of reading, Native students across the K-12 span continue to perform far below their white peers, yet the financial investment over the years is staggering.

If large-scale integration and district consolidation funded by record-setting education subsidies have not produced the results that citizens and students of all

ethnic backgrounds deserve, what is missing in the improvement policies? Could the answer to the today's lackluster school achievement strategies and American Indian dropout rates be hidden from those who are searching for answers, whether teachers, parents, principals, and American Indian communities? As a lifelong American Indian educator, I continue wondering if something of our culture isn't missing in the context of teaching Indian students and relating to their parents. Are the answers right before our eyes? Is there something unique in the collective character of the Lumbee, perhaps an unnamed element of tradition, perhaps faith in church and the power of religion, or perhaps our deep sense of duty that warrants serious deliberation and cultural examination? If so, could the bearers of cultural solutions be our elder educators, the Indian teachers and principals who entered public education long before school desegregation entered the picture as America's deepest educational reform?

Today, the past struggles associated with racial integration and district consolidation have begun to recede in the memories of North Carolina citizens as key leaders and policy makers of the previous five decades have long since retired from public service or passed away. To cite a personal example, my mother Aileen Bell Holmes (1926–2006) was the first female to win a seat on the former Robeson County School System and is considered an active member of the Indian education pioneers of the 1970s. Toward the late 1980s, she was appointed by the North Carolina General Assembly to serve on the Consolidated Board of Education for the newly organized Public Schools of Robeson County. Whether the movement was to end double voting in Robeson County or to consolidate the six school districts, my mother always knew that she was an integral part of history-making change in Robeson County. I am writing this chapter knowing that her spirit is dancing on each and every line of text.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE ELDER TEACHERS PROJECT (ETP)

I planned and directed the ETP as an oral history initiative expecting to learn about the education of Lumbee students during the period of school segregation. Specifically, I wanted to know whether and how segregated schools and classrooms influenced the instructional practices of Indian teachers. I wanted to understand specifically their pedagogical practices as Native teachers. Funded by a grant from the North Carolina Humanities Council, their stories were video-recorded in 2008.

The oldest teacher in the ETP group entered the classroom in 1939, and the youngest in 1970. Those who participated in the ETP include Loleta O. Blanks (born 1932), Lillian Teen Harris (born 1927), Mabel H. Revels (born 1941), James Arthur Jones (1922–2013), Stacy Locklear (1936–2011), Mabel L. Oxendine

(1915–2010), and Purnell Swett (born 1934). With the exception of Purnell Swett, who worked for a brief period of time in the Office of Education in Washington, DC, the other elders spent their entire careers in the Robeson County system. For the most part, their students were the children of tobacco farmers. Some were landowners, while others labored as “share croppers,” or tenant farmers. Over a period of one year, I collaborated with and recorded the accounts of the teachers whose years in the classroom paralleled the period of school segregation in Robeson County, a tri-racial setting with relatively equal percentages of white, African American, and American Indian/Lumbee groups. Most of Robeson County runs adjacent to I-95 ending just north of the South Carolina border. Lumberton is the county seat and Pembroke is the home of the University of North Carolina-Pembroke, the “cradle of education” established in 1887 for the Indians of Robeson County. I call these educators our elder teachers. They belong to a generation that witnessed the end of school segregation; taught in the nation’s first Chapter I classrooms; grieved the death of President Kennedy; watched Neil Armstrong land on the moon; and introduced their students to the computer age. Their era in public education was bold and transforming, and so were their responsibilities and choices as Indian teachers.

The interviews with the elders centered on the teaching challenges, relationships with students, the involvement with the community, and the cultural connections that supported their students. In large measure, the project became my “Holy Grail” in that I hoped to discover long-forgotten classroom practices that today’s teachers might find useful in reversing the problem of low achievement among American Indian students.

LASTING MATERNAL IMAGES

As a very young child, I remember sensing the inclination to teach something to someone. One could attribute this desire to a developmental trait common in most post-toddlers, something akin to a child’s early discovery of himself or herself in relationship to other people. Whatever triggered this tendency isn’t as important as the presence of my maternal grandmother, Bertha Brewington Bell (1900–1970) in my life until she passed away in 1970, the year I entered the teaching profession. Before she married my grandfather, the Reverend James Edmund Bell (1901–1989), Bertha Brewington Bell (Lumbee with traces of Coharie) had taught in a one-room schoolhouse in the Thompson Church community, a small collection of houses and farmland located a few miles southwest of Lumberton, North Carolina. Schools similar to Thompson Church were located in the Indian communities of Bethel Hill, Ten Mile Center, Burnt Swamp, Union Chapel, Antioch/Magnolia, New Hope, Harper’s Ferry, Old Prospect, and Deep Branch (Locklear, 1995).

One of my fondest memories of my grandmother is the subtle way in which she introduced me to books. Though it was a small collection of what I know today as pre-primers, these small books were always within easy reach of her four year old grandchild. Seldom did we read the words. Instead, we talked and made jokes about the pictures. I suspect that she knew that one day I would naturally advance to alphabet writing, word calling, and reading “big” books. Phonetics lessons or naming the story characters did not interfere with our special time together.

Dutifully committed to her four children and husband’s small family and a number of impoverished neighbors, Bertha Brewington Bell embodied the characteristics that I noted in the elder teachers whom I interviewed in 2008. Deeply nurturing and responsive to basic human needs, my grandmother relied on prayer and the Bible to fortify her relationships with others, including many less fortunate neighbors and their children. In reflecting on my grandmother, I suspect the collection of books that she shared with me were among those she used in her teaching at Thompson School.

Great teachers are rare in the education profession. Great teachers invest wholeheartedly in the well being of their students, always demand a great deal of themselves and intuitively know that teaching means believing in humanity. In her day, my grandmother must have been a great teacher. With an unflappable temperament, she taught her children and grandchildren through examples and family stories. The elder teachers whom I interviewed seem to mirror her qualities.

THE PEDAGOGICAL IMPORTANCE OF DISPOSITIONS

From a pedagogical point of view, a disposition affects teachers in two ways. One, by helping students interact in the world and two, by functioning as an ethical foundation upon which decisions and actions are self-evaluated. For example, Brazilian educator and philosopher Paulo Freire (1998) would call on teachers to develop a sense of moral militancy since their core role is to advocate for students. He firmly believed that teachers are either for or against their students. Lumbee elder teachers were decidedly for their students.

Teaching *wholeheartedly* is the one disposition that differentiates between effective teachers and those whom others consider to be great. Wholehearted teaching unleashes the kind of energy that fills students with hope and courage, which are two core components of wholehearted teaching. Birmingham (2009) contends that the disposition of hope is an essential part of exercising courage and tenacity. Lumbee elder teachers were wholehearted in their efforts to impact the direction of their students, many of whom were the children of farming neighbors and close relatives.

A teacher who is naturally disposed to *curiosity* is able to trigger in students the joy of investigation and discovery. Displaying no curiosity is antithetical to

the act of teaching and equates with disingenuous work (Freire 1998). Projecting curiosity by the teacher results in sustained student engagement and encourages self-motivation. The teacher who is willing to act on connections between herself and her students is also willing to adjust her instructions for the good of students. Curiosity in teachers is the disposition they in turn desire in their students. Just as my grandmother “staged” the environment in her living room where I learned to turn the pages of books and ask questions, Freire equates these curiosity-building events as emblems of great teaching.

Having the sustained capacity to nurture and guide other people’s children is a critical dimension in developing self-confidence, resilience, and good character. In the interviews presented in this chapter, the reader will sense elder teachers’ commitment to nurturing, supporting, and guiding their students. Equally clear is an inextricable Indian heritage that resonates in their recollections of community, family, church, and education. Although hoping to discover a list of so-called “strategies” that elder teachers employed in their teaching, I soon learned that disposition as expressed in nurturing and supporting the success of Indian students, and demanding their best efforts surpassed recipe-like methods of teaching. The teachers all brought something extra to the classroom, something that forced me to set aside my well-established theoretical and practice-based knowledge of teaching and learning. From the onset of the interviews, I had to listen and understand differently.

EXCERPTS FROM THE INTERVIEWS

James Arthur Jones (1922–2013) spent his life in the Prospect community where he farmed, worshipped, taught successive generations of students, and retired as principal of Prospect School in 1987. Mr. Jones’ single-minded determination made him the ideal mentor for Indian students who needed extra encouragement and re-direction. Mr. Jones never retreated in his efforts to compensate for the resources unavailable to his students. The exclusively white schools in nearby Red Spring, North Carolina served as his benchmark for gauging a high-quality education. In response to my question about textbook shortages in Indian schools, Mr. Jones stated, “I heard that the schools in Red Springs had discarded textbooks, so I drove my Ford truck to the dumpster and loaded the truck with enough books for my entire class. My students needed books.”

Mr. Jones’ disposition of curiosity and his unquenchable desire to become a better teacher for his Indian students are apparent in the next excerpt. Hoping to learn something valuable from teachers in the “white only” schools in the Red Spring City System, he approached his school superintendent, Mr. Young Allen, requesting to spend a day observing in classrooms and touring the campuses.

I wanted to know how they taught and what I could learn from them, so I asked my superintendent, Mr. Young Allen, if I could visit the schools in Red Springs; he answered, 'Absolutely not. They don't want you there, so you need not go.' The subject never came up again, but I was still curious. I wanted to see for myself.

Well experienced in her knowledge of young students in grades K–3, Lillian Teen Harris held numerous assignments during her long career in education. Beginning at Piney Grove, a small school west of Lumberton, she eventually transferred to Magnolia and finally to Prospect School, where she retired in 1985. Until the fall of 2014, Miss Lillian Teen Harris served as a regular substitute teacher at Prospect Elementary School. Her life as a teacher totals over sixty years.

She still enjoys sharing her knowledge with willing listeners. From her perspective, the problem in education today is that young teachers and parents do not understand the needs of Indian children. According to Miss Lillian Teen, work with children will always require practical approaches and constant guidance. She carefully described her plan for forming her first grade reading groups, groups that she affectionately named the blue birds, red birds, and so forth.

Her pragmatic view of the world seems not to allow any time for bemoaning the hardships associated with segregation or conversely, with integration. Nevertheless, she bristled at the thought of long ago segregated lunch counters in the small town of Red Springs. Describing her memories of working with poor Indian families in the Magnolia School community, Ms. Teen stated the following:

The children lived in places like Barker Ten Mile and the 7th Street Road. They were very poor and always moving from farm to farm. They were absent most of the time. I won't ever forget a parent coming to the school one afternoon asking me for a book to use with his child. I handed him a reader and showed him where to find the lessons. He was clearly pleased. The parents, no matter their education, wanted their children to read. Who could blame them for that?

Wholeheartedness appropriately sums up Miss Lillian Teen's disposition as a self-made expert when it comes to teaching reading to Indian children.

In the mid-sixties, Mabel Revels, in her words, a "high school dropout," appeared before Principal Frank Epps, a legend among his contemporaries in school leadership, to request an opportunity to return to school and earn her diploma. Now married with two children. Mabel Revels could have completed her diploma requirements at a local community college. However, she chose the traditional, more demanding pathway toward her graduation goal. In addition to meeting this challenge, Ms. Revels pressed ahead to attend college and then graduate school at Appalachian State University. The courage and hopefulness that directed her scholastic pathway served her students and their teachers very well. In 2000, she retired as the principal of the Magnolia School, the same school where she received her high school diploma in 1968. In her interview, she frequently referenced church and faith as historical forces in the Lumbee culture.

Long ago, our leaders realized that schools would come from churches. In fact, many one-room schools were built on church property. Church people insisted on getting an education. It was the church that built one-room schools and encouraged Indian people to get an education. Many teachers were church leaders, which explains why Indian teachers have always been structured and strict. The schools were great back then because our churches played a role.

These churches and schools were very much a reflection of the Indian communities that they served. From dropping out of Magnolia High School to becoming the school's leader thirty-two years later, Ms. Revels' disposition of unrelenting hard work and faith illuminate her qualities first as a teacher and then as a principal of three schools in Robeson County.

Mabel Lowry Oxendine was ninety-one years of age when I conducted her interview. Having taught Indian children reared during the Great Depression, Miss Mabel, as she was affectionately called, made it clear that caring for the emotional needs of children and "loving them" mattered more to her than teaching them how to read and count. She taught fourth grade at Pembroke Graded School and Deep Branch Elementary, but left the profession long before reaching retirement age. She especially admired Martin Luther Lowery, the principal at Deep Branch School during the 1940s. She stated that he "never backed down" to white people in charge of the schools at the county office. Whatever supplies the teachers needed, Mr. Lowery fulfilled their requests. During the Depression, it was not unusual for Indian children to be motherless, thus leaving them in the care of their fathers or impoverished relatives. Below, Miss Mabel describes home visits, which were an expected practice of Indian teachers.

When I visited in the homes of my students, I often learned that the mother had passed away. We know that a father can't love children like a mother. There is something special about the mother. The ones who stayed in trouble especially needed to be loved. So showing that you care about your students matters the most.

Very mindful of young Indian children ravaged by the Great Depression, Mabel Lowry Oxendine insisted that children from poor homes require exceptional sensitivity and care. Having the capacity to love children seemed to trump all other teaching qualifications, according to Miss Mabel. In large measure, she shared the beliefs of my grandmother who placed the importance of care, safety, and affection near the top of Abraham Maslow's well-known hierarchy of needs pyramid, as opposed to the low end of the model, which is the theoretically correct location. She was insistent that proving to children that you loved them set the stage for their learning and cooperation.

Introspective and sensitive to the influence of one's culture represents the tone of my interview with Ms. Loleta Oxendine Blanks. Originally from Pembroke, she

married Tom Blanks of the Magnolia/Ten Mile Center community in 1954, moved to her new surroundings, and soon adopted the community, neighbors, and the small church congregation as her own. Entering the profession in 1955, she taught business education and foreign language courses at Pembroke, Magnolia, and Lumberton high schools. Over the years, she earned additional credentials from Appalachian State University and East Carolina University.

In my effort to draw attention to any culturally relevant approaches that Ms. Blanks practiced, I noted her recollection of students who suddenly appeared in her classes long after the school year had begun. She talked about the challenges that she and the students encountered as she provided individual instruction to the students and helped them develop a sense of belonging.

You just couldn't tell the students to catch up. They needed help because they were late enrolling in school. They were children of tenant farmers scattered around the Magnolia community. They had to help with the crops. The landlords probably insisted that they miss school. I had no other choice but to individualize my instruction, which meant repeating many typing lessons. It had to be hard on them.

Loleta Blanks also described her disappointment over the loss of grades nine through twelve at Magnolia School, a community landmark that had long provided the small Indian community something to call their own.

The Magnolia community lost its identity when we no longer had a high school. St. Paul's and Lumberton, the white schools lost nothing because their high schools remained intact. They maintained their identities: athletic teams, student organizations, and mascots, and record-setting events. In 1991, when the high school grades ended, Magnolia's legacy also ended.

The loss of their schools also meant the loss of Indian pride, the one ingredient that bonded schools and communities. As Mrs. Blanks declared, "The whites were able to keep their schools, while the Indian schools were forced to close."

Mr. Stacy Locklear entered teaching in 1962 and brought with him a sense of vitality and demanding expectations. I can attest to these qualities personally, because I was among his first class of students. Over the years, he completed two master's degrees qualifying him to become a school counselor as well as a school administrator. Mr. Stacy seemed particularly proud of his graduate school accomplishments at Western Carolina University and his title of class valedictorian in 1955 at Magnolia High School, one of the four Indian high schools in Robeson County. His intellectual prowess caused me to wonder whether he would have chosen a career in teaching had Indians been allowed to enroll in the state's large research universities at the time.

Because of his reputation as an outstanding science teacher whose high expectations applied to all students, college bound or vocational, Mr. Stacy became a

high priority for teacher re-assignment as plans to integrate all schools, county and city, became a reality. His high caliber of teaching especially matched the demands of influential parents, namely white parents; therefore, Mr. Stacy soon left Magnolia School, the place where he held the title of class valedictorian, and the place where he began his journey in teaching. Mr. Stacy Locklear retired as a school administrator in 1998.

Over his forty-year career, Mr. Purnell Swett taught high school science courses and served as principal at a small elementary school. In 1967, he was promoted to the rank of assistant superintendent, which placed him in the forefront of local efforts to implement the County's desegregation plan. In 1977, he assumed the position of school superintendent in Robeson County, a position he held on two different occasions before retiring in 1997. He noted that Indian children fifty years ago benefitted from strong Indian male role models in their schools and churches. He recalled that teachers and church leaders nurtured his sense of Indian self-esteem. He learned to speak in public because of the opportunities that others in his church extended to him as a young boy. Native churches and schools worked hand-in-hand, according to Mr. Swett. He ended his reminiscences by saying, "Those days are gone."

IN CLOSING

As the ETP demonstrates, the connection between pedagogy and culture should remain an educational priority. In his research on Anishinaabe culture, Gross (2010) goes a step further by urging Native people to agree on the aspects of culture that deserve the attention of educators, scholars, researchers, and students both in K-12 and higher education. If Lumbee teachers of the segregation era shared a common pedagogy, I would venture to say that its uniqueness is rooted in the community-oriented character and the disposition of those Native men and women who taught in the Indian schools. I say this because of my work with the elder educators presented in this chapter. My true epiphany as a researcher is in realizing that something about the Native teachers' devotion to church, family, community, and surviving the hardships of the times contributed to their ways of richly teaching and understanding their students.

The memories of my grandmother and mother helped me frame this chapter. Thoughts of each one caused me to remember certain qualities of character that have lasting consequences. Whether turning the pages in children's books belonging to my grandmother, or gleaning lessons from my mother's years in Robeson County politics, I am reminded of their work's symbolism, as my first great Indian teachers in life.

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Oshki Giizhigad (The New Day)

Native Education Resurgence in Traditional Worldviews and Educational Practice

ROSEMARY WHITE SHIELD

INTRODUCTION

Native children are at the heart of Indian education. Without them, there would be no purpose for all of our efforts to provide a successful educational experience. Yet what is a successful educational experience for a Native student? There are many perspectives on the answer to this question, but one fact remains. Our Native children deserve the best that all of us have to offer. Their educational experience does not begin nor stop according to the clocks in our school hallways, or the dismissal signals over our speaker systems. For a Native child, all that she or he experiences is education.

From many Indian cultural perspectives, the educational experience is seen as a holistic experience. Its core features engender a positive Native identity and tribal consciousness. Tribal consciousness is that an individual belongs to something greater than him or herself, which is their tribe, and is of utmost importance to a Native sense of self. A successful educational experience for a Native student is one in which a positive sense of Indian identity is solidified, and connected sustainably to traditional worldviews, value systems and cultural strengths. Academic achievement is viewed as a natural emergence of understanding, appreciating, and fully developing Creator's gifts bequeathed to every individual.

Native science research and Native authored scholarship concurs. Models, strategies, best practices, and assessment processes have been available within our Native communities for thousands of years, refined and tested for effectiveness and

excellence through hundreds of years of lived experience. In addition to our expansive traditional oral libraries, the knowledge and experience of present day Indian peoples add to the vast resources we have available to support our children in a successful educational experience. In our educational communities, there are many good people, Native and non-Native alike. They include parents and other caregivers, Elders, spiritual leaders, teachers, community members, staff, administrators, and most importantly, our students themselves. Given this strong foundation, the question remains as to why current educational practices are not performing at maximum levels. What do we need to examine and understand so that they can?

This essay presents information that may help answer these questions, and provides a blueprint for culturally-based best practices, the Oshki Giizhigad (New Day) Model (see Figure 1 on page 121). It is Native student centered, culturally intrinsic, research and evidence based from both Native and Western science in educational theory and practice, Native traditional value based, and conceptualized as a Native traditional non-linear framework, so that its multiple aspects intertwine and overlap. The New Day Model's implementation as proposed is projected to cost little or nothing in terms of any additional dollars to many school districts.

American Indian students comprise one percent of the total student population in the United States. About eighty-five percent of Native students attend public schools, with the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools and tribal schools enrolling significant numbers. Yet, Native students have the highest drop out rate of any racial or ethnic group in the United States, exceeding sixty-five percent nationally (Hill, 1991 cited in Bowker, 1992; Arizona State University, 2012). This rate is almost twice that of Caucasian students (Johnson, Dupuis, Musial, Hall and Gollnick, 1996, cited in Pewewardy, 2001; Hillabrant, Romano, Stang and Charleston, 1992, cited in Pewewardy, 2001).

This national phenomenon continues. About three out of every ten Native students do not complete high school on both reservations and in urban areas (Arizona State University, 2012). According to analyses by the Editorial Projects in Education Research Center, while historically underrepresented groups such as African Americans and Latino students have seen their graduation rates accelerate, Native students have not; in fact, the rates have been on a downward trend since 2008 (Daily Circuit, 2013). American Indians have poor academic achievement in most school systems. In 1969, the Senate subcommittee on Indian education issued its final report on the educational situation and status of American Indian people in the United States. The path breaking report, titled *Indian Education: A National Tragedy*, documented the significant failure of the American public education system to address Native learners' needs. The report attributed the fundamental cause of this failure to the federal government's policy of coercive assimilation of American Indian and Alaska Native peoples. In 1994, a historic meeting took place between President Clinton and tribal leaders. Indian educators requested

special consideration on the part of the President for Indian education. As a result, the Executive Order on American Indian and Alaska Native Education was written and signed in 1998 by the President. The Executive Order reaffirms the federal government's special and historic responsibility for the education of American Indian and Alaska Native students based on treaty rights and government-to-government relationships with Indian Nations within the US.

In 1991, a federally initiated *Nations At Risk* Task Force evaluated progress made in the education of Native learners since the creation of the Indian Education Act of 1972, and concluded that many excellent and creative programs were designed to meet the unique needs of Native students, but that they had little overall success on the effectiveness of curriculum and instruction in schools responsible for educating the majority of American Indian children (Beaulieu, 2000). In 1994, as a result of this evaluation, the Indian Education Act was reauthorized to require schools to develop comprehensive programs, using all of the schools' resources to meet the needs of Native learners. These provisions are particularly important for schools in which Native learners are a "minority" learner population.

Minnesota, a state with many Native students, offers an example of some progress. Between 2007 and 2011, American Indian students have improved reading proficiency with a 14.4% increase (49.4 to 56.5%) as measured by the Minnesota Reading Accountability tests. There is also progress in Mathematics proficiency, with a 17.5% increase (38.8 to 45.6%) during the same time period. In viewing Minnesota's graduation trends from 2003 to 2010, significantly more Indian students graduated (35.4% in 2003 as compared to 45.3% in 2010). However, when compared to the Caucasian student graduation rate of 82.8% in 2010, the data remains distressing. Indeed, Minnesota has the lowest on-time graduation rate for Native students in the United States (Daily Circuit, 2013). In addition, as measured by the ACT, trend data shows that American Indians have not achieved a large gain in the composite score, "suggesting that Minnesota's efforts to align its K-12 education with college/career readiness is not bearing out" (Minnesota Minority Education Partnership, 2012). The same report states that six out of ten American Indian students are not proficient in Mathematics, are more likely to receive special education services than Caucasian students, and that only 44% of our little ones are ready to enter Kindergarten. Two main yet simple questions arise from this information. Why is this phenomenon happening to American Indian students? What can be done to change this crisis for American Indians?

A COLONIALIST HISTORY OF ASSIMILATIONIST FAILURES

The following review of scholarly and culturally relevant resources attempts to answer these questions by using information from journal articles and other

culturally meaningful resources. Although perspectives by Indian researchers and Native education leaders are valuable, unique, and innovative, Native authored research in education and culturally relevant research is still scarce. In his article *Comprehensive Reform and American Indian Education*, David Beaulieu, then Director of the Office of Indian Education at the U.S. Department of Education, stated that “the research that has been conducted in the educational field has been mostly by non-Indians” (Deyhle and Swisher, 1989 cited in Beaulieu, 2000) in the academic fields of educational anthropology and sociology and guided by assimilation ideology. An Indian perspective was clearly missing (Beaulieu, 2000). As a professor and expert of Educational Policy and Community Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Beaulieu states that “the state of American Indian education is a disaster” (Daily Circuit, 2013).

Past events shape current reality (Brave Heart, 1999). Therefore, a historical context is crucial to understanding the experience of American Indian students in this country. The victims of American Indian genocide are estimated to be between three and a half and thirteen million of the original inhabitants. Even using the most conservative population estimates, two thirds of the Native peoples in North American were exterminated between 1500 and 1900 (Brave Heart, 1999). An innovative concept is used to describe the events and effects of the genocide of American Indian peoples. Historical trauma refers to a cumulative wounding across generations as well as during one’s life span. For Native peoples, the legacy of genocide includes distortions of Native identity and values. The process of colonization of Native peoples and varying degrees of assimilation has resulted in altered states of self for Indian people (Brave Heart, 1999).

Another component of the historical trauma American Indians suffered was the placement of 90% of Indian children by 1930 in the Boarding School system of “Indian Education,” which consisted of 147 reservation day schools, eighty-one reservation boarding schools and twenty-four off-reservation boarding schools (Minnesota Indian Women’s Center Research Project, 1999). From 1879 to the 1970’s, US federal policy included the forced removal of Indian children from their homes and their abusive institutional treatment (Brave Heart-Jordan, 1995 cited in Brave Heart, 1999). Indian children were subjected to starvation, incarceration, physical and sexual abuse, and prolonged separation from their families (Brave Heart, 1999). In a 1992 study, negative boarding school experiences were recounted by a majority of respondents (Brave Heart-Jordan, 1995 cited in Brave Heart, 1999) and included physical abuse (58.1%), being punished for speaking their language (37.9%) and sexual abuse by boarding school staff (22.6%). The mean age for boarding school attendance was 8.9 years, but 38.7% attended boarding school by the age of six and 48.8% by age seven. Some participants reported boarding school placement as early as age five. The modal distance from home

for Indian children in boarding school was 300 miles, and the mean distance was 123.1 miles (Brave Heart, 1999).

Hampton argues that since the Boarding School era, and as part of the process of continuing colonization of Indian people in the US, mainstream educational systems have remained antagonistic to Native children (Hampton 1995 cited in Agbo, 2001). With the goal of assimilation in mind, indoctrination in Euro-American ways of thinking substituted non-Native knowledge values and identity for Native values, knowledge systems, and identity, whether in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, public, or private schools (Beaulieu, 2000, World Native Peoples' Conference on Education, 1993; Paquette, 1986 cited in Agbo, 2001). Scholars have named this phenomenon cultural holocaust (Hampton, 1995 cited in Agbo, 2001) and as such, it is related to psychological colonization (Colorado, 1985). The transmission of knowledge to "ethnic minority" students has been aimed at reproducing citizens within the mainstream group (Neito, 1996 cited in Agbo, 2001; Harris, 1990 cited in Agbo, 2001). These studies argue that educational failure exists not because Native people are less intelligent, but because educational theories and practices have been controlled by non-Native people (World Native Peoples' Conference on Education, 1993). Particularly critical factors include large schools, uncaring and untrained teachers, passive teaching methods, inappropriate curriculum, inappropriate testing and assessment, lack of Native teachers, and lack of parent involvement (Reyhner, 1992).

Teacher preparation and certification programs are often culturally and linguistically "one size fits all," and the size measured is a Western European cultural orientation (King, 1991; Reyhner, 1992). Sleeter (1992, cited in Pewewardy, 2001) states that what white (Western Euro-American cultural orientation) people know about the social world is generally correct, but only for understanding white people. Even when education is attentive to diversity and equity, it is generated from a Western framework. The miseducation of teachers within a racist setting promotes dysconscious racism (King, 1991).

One of the most frequent theoretical explanations that past researchers have used to explain the low academic achievement of Native students centered on cultural differences between Native and mainstream societies (Alteo, 1990; Agbo, 1987; Erickson, 1987, cited in Agbo, 2001). Throughout the literature of the 60's and 70's, American Indian youth were labeled as "culturally disadvantaged" or "educationally disadvantaged" (White, 1991, cited in Bowker, 1992). From a Native view, low level Native academic achievement is rooted in experiences not of cultural or educational disadvantage, but of cultural discontinuity, including experiences of the Western Eurocentric concept of time and space as applied to a school setting, a Western Eurocentric lack of respect and recognition of ways of life, and Euro-American practices of establishing classroom atmosphere (Agbo, 2001; Kirkness, 1999). In his book-length study, "I Got Schooled," M. Night

Shyamalan focused on fifty schools in the United States that are successfully closing the achievement gap (Shyamalan 2013). He identified five features of success: the right balance of leadership, smaller schools, more time in the educational experience, absence of non-effective teachers, and continual “real time” coaching in instructional best practices. Shyamalan cites the American Educational Research Association’s (Leithwood, 2008) report, “Seven Strong Claims about School Leadership” to emphasize that “school leadership is only second to classroom teaching as an influence to learning.” In the context of this essay, however, questions must be asked such as: What type of school should be “led” by what type of leader? What type of educational experiences should Native learners spend more time in? How do we move to viewing Indian education “holistically”?

From a Native view, drop-out rates and low scholastic achievement should be viewed for what they really are—rejection rates of an educational system of assimilation and cultural holocaust (World Native Peoples’ Conference on Education, 1993). A culturally meaningful and sustained curriculum can be designed by examining existing systems of knowledge construction, transmission, and relevance to the Native learner. Rhodes (1998), like Reyhner, advocates a holistic approach to curriculum in the Native student’s educational experience, defined as a “fostering of a broader base and context for understanding; a multi-level approach which encourages understanding of many aspects at the same time and of the interrelationships involved which, in turn, encourages involvement, ownership and commitment.” To build this broad base, subject area boundaries are dissolved and replaced by essential culturally-based concepts that pervade all “subject areas”. This strategy encourages learning through complex perceptual and cognitive processes instead of a focus on stable “subjects.”

Native educators further believe that traditional cultural values could function as the foundation for all other educational elements in the learning process as well as Native learners’ well-being and success on several different levels: spiritual, mental, emotional, social, and physical. It is a pedagogy born out of the traditional Native worldviews of respect and honor for individuality and choice as one explores the journey the Creator has offered in order for one to be oneself. This concept is often understood in the meaning of the word “warrior” among many Lakota. For example, the traditional translation of Zuya Wiyan, (warrior woman) is “woman on a path of self-discovery.” To link self-discovery with learning, Katie Goodstar Johnson’s analysis of the Minnesota Student Survey’s Indian specific data in “State of Students of Color and American Indian Students Report” (2012) presents three features that are paramount to ensuring successful and holistic educational experiences for Native students: not only sustained culturally-based curriculum and pedagogy, but also the presence of safe and caring cohorts in the learning environment, and teacher disposition defined as a sense of caring from the teacher that students perceive and receive.

RE-BUILDING THE NATIVE EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

Another important aspect of holistic Native educational experience is the environment in which his or her learning takes place. Many educators assume that formal educational experiences must take place in a building with classrooms, usually a school. Historically speaking, this is a relatively new concept in the Native learning experience, as Native learners were educated for thousands of years within their natural and cultural environments and communities. It is only fairly recently that the Native learner's formal educational experience has taken place within "schools." This phenomenon began and continued with the onset of the Boarding School Era, in which the majority of Native children were forcibly removed from their communities and environments and placed in "school". Some Native educators envision a different type of learning environment that embodies many of the traditional elements of the Native educational experience.

Angayuqac Oscar Kawagley (1999), a Native educator from the Yupiaq people, advocates a comprehensive educational system change that encompasses the structure of the physical learning environment for Native students. His philosophy is based on the Yupiaq lifeways and worldview:

Nature's indicators and voices give much knowledge for making a living, but the intuitive and spiritual knowledge gives wisdom to make a life. Therein lies the strength and tenacity with which the Yupiaq people continue to maintain their identity despite assaults on the philosophical, epistemological, ontological, economical, and technological fronts.

Kawagley asserts that changes in the present educational systems and construction of new designs for educational systems (including a model of the physical learning environment for Indian learners) must come from Native people themselves. He writes,

The Yupiaq people have not been dehumanized to the level that they are unable to devise and implement their own programs to release them from the clutches of poverty and self-degradation. Why should someone from the outside come in with foreign values and forms of consciousness and impose them upon another? The people know their reality far better than anyone else. The Eurocentric models of education and progress have not been able to bring to fruition their promises, so they must acquiesce in their "cognitive imperialism" and allow the Yupiaq people an opportunity to plan and work for their own destiny.

Within these perspectives, Kawagley proposes a model of the physical structure related to the educational environment for Native learners. It consists of camps based on the seasonal lifeways of the Yupiaq people. The camps exemplify the three basic types of Native Alaskan camps. Kawagley advocates that Native Elders would be the prime movers of the educational environment and that Native

languages be “the foundation upon which the camps rest.” Within the camps, the educational curriculum, assessment, and pedagogy are culturally intrinsic and spiritually based. Particular camps would reflect the developmental stages and growth of the learners’ participation, and be designed to meet the Native students’ strengths and needs in an individual and group manner. In one camp, the philosophy and intent would be to provide an environment that nurtured the Native identity of the learner, but also provide opportunities to learn skills and applicable knowledge from the other “thought-world”, the Eurocentric world. Specific principles and educational aspects of learning and teaching are outlined with Kawagley’s model as well as the proposal for the physical structure of the Native educational environment. Utilizing the physical structure of camps as educational environment for Native children is not unique to the Yupiaq people. In the Sicangu Lakota Nation, the traditional educational environment of camps was designed and implemented to nurture the children’s educational experience in the natural environment. The camps were constructed in traditional Sicangu Lakota ways. During the summer months of 1986 to 1990, they provided many children with opportunities to learn in a culturally meaningful manner connected to our Mother, the Earth, which sustains all Life, and congruent with the four sacred values and spiritual traditions. Indeed, the Earth is the true teacher, as the following quotation by Homli points out.

The True Teacher

For a great many years my people have listened to your teachings. These people’s fathers were not without instruction. The Earth was their teacher. That is the true teacher. That is where the Indian first discovered he was a human being. Homli (Wallawalla, 1870)

In the Red Lake Nation, language immersion camps based on traditional teachings of education draw youth and others so that camps are filled beyond capacity. Relying on spiritual leaders, Elders and community members, language revitalization and cultural teachings are a joy to learn, and create a sense of tribal consciousness that is strong, nurturing, and sustainable (Stillday, 2013).

Another perspective on the best educational environment for Native learners was provided from a Sicangu Lakota spiritual leader and Elder, Albert White Hat, during an interview. He recommended choosing educational environments based on the knowledge being taught to or acquired by the learner. For example, if the information being shared with the student in the learning experience best lends itself to the natural environment, then teaching students outside is best. If other educational activities are best enhanced by limitations on physical space, then inside would be best. The focus here is on the educational experience, and what environment would best enhance the learning process, not “fitting” the educational experience into a particular environment.

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY ENVIRONMENTS

Within the educational environment of Native students, often there exists a “double bind” in terms of unique barriers and negative influences Indian learners must cope with. Native students encounter institutional and personal racism frequently, if not constantly in their education experience. In Dehyle’s study of Navajo (Diné) and Ute students (1992), 1,489 youth were tracked over a ten year span. Dehyle states: “their stories spoke of racial discrimination and rejection.” In Dehyle’s study, “the relationship between students and their teachers was important in retaining youth in school.” Among Dehyle’s findings was “when youth experienced minimal individual attention or personal contact with their teachers, they translated this into an image of teacher dislike and rejection. The issue of a teacher’s ‘caring’ was very important to many of the Indian youth.” When the respondents in the study were asked what constituted a “good” teacher, the majority of the respondents overwhelming attributed one quality to them—demonstrations by the teacher that he/she “cared” about the student.

In addition, based on analyses of the Minnesota Student Survey data discussed earlier, Katie Goodstar Johnson notes that Indian students reported more often than expected that their teachers respected them, but less often than expected that their teachers cared about them. In Huffman’s (2001) research of why Native students do not complete their first year of college at staggering rates (93%), the author cited four stages of “estrangement” from institutions, with actual physical separation being the last step of disengagement from college. His findings indicate that of the students who left, the main reason cited was that they could not find a way to keep their cultural identity or “be who they were” and achieve academically and in other ways in a mainstream higher education setting. The students who did stay and completed their educational goals “found a way” to stay. This “way” was a process of solidifying an Indian identity as defined by themselves, not others, and attaching it to cultural and spiritual strengths. White Shield (2003) also found that Native learners’ attachment to cultural and spiritual strengths was a main factor in achieving educational goals.

CULTURALLY CONGRUENT ASSESSMENT

There is much controversy surrounding the use of mainstream society’s instruments in assessing Native learner success. The lack of culturally meaningful psychometric research, small sample sizes, lack of culturally meaningful theory, and the use of Pan-Indianism, that is, the tendency to assign traits to all Native groups are cited as reasons for such controversy. Pan-Indianism disregards the diversity of languages and cultures among Native learners from more than 500 tribes, clans,

and villages within US borders (Bordeaux, 1995). Williams and Gross (cited in Bordeaux, 1995) evaluated several commercially developed tests designed to measure oral and listening skill proficiency and recommended limiting the use of the tests in assessing Alaskan Native students. In another study, Cantrall, Pete, and Fields (1990, cited in Bordeaux, 1992) concluded that the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS) was not appropriate for use with Navajo (Diné) students. Given the marked limitations of using assessment instruments and tests that are not culturally congruent with Native learners, Reyhner (1992, citing Oakes, 1985, and Bloom, 1981) posits that the way tests are designed in the United States, with an emphasis on standardized testing, produces “a built-in failure” for Native students. Testimonies at INAR hearings evidenced the inappropriate use of standardized tests with Native students. Studying the INAR hearings and educational literature, Nichols (1991, cited in Bordeaux, 1995) concluded that public school reliance on standardized testing only may hurt Native peoples.

Educators of Native children continue to question the exclusive use of standardized, norm-referenced tests, including achievement, aptitude, ability and intelligence tests. Many Native educators and communities support the argument that one component in self-determination of Native education for Native people lies in the autonomous establishment of criteria for educational evaluation and assessment (World Native Education Conference, 1993). Native communities and educators are exploring additions and alternatives to educational assessment and evaluative instruments and tests from the mainstream society.

One such alternative is Performance-based Assessment. Performance-based Assessment directly evaluates student performance on knowledge and tasks that are important for life (Bordeaux, 1995). Performance-based Assessment can include culturally responsive student portfolios, performances, teacher observations, interviews, self-assessments, work sampling, skill mastery, and group assessments. The Indian Education community has identified Performance-based Assessment as necessary for school improvement. The final report of the White House Conference on Indian Education (1992) contained several resolutions stating that culturally appropriate alternative assessment instruments should be used by those teaching American Indians and Alaskan Native students. Support for Performance-based Assessment is emerging as educators view the connection of this type of assessment to traditional methods of evaluation within Native communities:

Before the European conquest of the Americas, nearly all Native peoples used performance-based assessment . . . to determine how each individual could contribute to the survival of the tribe, clan, or village. As children grew up, adults observed them to determine their knowledge and skill development. Children exhibited different kinds of knowledge and skill in tasks such as hunting, running, consensus building, healing, and spiritual leadership. Children who demonstrated superior performance were the ones who later led

hunting parties, provided spiritual guidance, served as orators for the people, and performed other necessary tasks for the group. (Bordeaux, 1995)

In traditional Native cultures, the frequently preferred method of initial assessment was “self-testing.” In acquiring knowledge through extensive observation, intuition, and reflection, the learner would practice and “test” himself or herself on a particular task or performance before submitting his or her performance to a public domain. Individual, private self-assessment with the objective of demonstrating excellence for the public domain was important as exemplifying the attitude of respect for knowledge or the task in front of one’s community.

Recently, many individual schools report evidence of using culturally responsive assessment measures of Native students. Portfolio assessment is used now by the Quileute Tribal School in Washington and Chuska Boarding School in New Mexico. The Sisseton Wahpeton School Board (1994) adopted the Five Dakota Values of Ohoda (Respect), Okciya (Generosity), Tehinda (Extreme Tenderness), Wicake (Honesty), and Waunsida (Compassion) as guiding principles for Tiospa Zina Tribal School. A culturally meaningful assessment of Native education efforts was conducted in an urban school district over a three month period of time, utilizing the following model which was cited as a best practice for Indian Country at the Native Service to Science Academy in Washington, D. C. in 2011. The assessment included information and review from community experts, parents and other caregivers, students, school district staff, spiritual leaders, community members, Elders, historical records (both written and oral), reports, system review and experience, process observation, and other relevant resources. Culturally intrinsic and response methods and analysis were utilized, such as using cultural strengths as a “lens” to inform the evaluation process.

THE TRIBE SPECIFIC MEDICINE WHEEL LOGIC MODEL (MWLM)

The Tribe Specific Medicine Wheel Logic Model is a framework designed to reflect Native perspectives in how knowledge and other cultural systems connect with each other to meet goals and to set outcomes. As many Native communities rely traditionally on kinship systems between individuals, groups, and creation, relationship is stressed in the MWLM as the foundation for incorporating spiritual and cultural values and strengths.

The Medicine Wheel is a sacred symbol used by Plains tribes and others. It is a symbol representing all knowledge of the universe. Its universal knowledge is looked to by many who seek wisdom, healing, and direction (Conti, 2001). The structure of the Medicine Wheel often differs in some aspects according to tribe specific traditional ways of understanding. For example, the sacred colors associated with the Four Sacred Directions of creation may vary between tribes, and

the concept of the Medicine Wheel may be understood as the Sacred Hoop or the Circle of Life for different Nations. These differences represent the beauty of diversity found in the spiritual and cultural thought and experience of Indian peoples.

The Medicine Wheel presented in the Tribe Specific Logic Model reflects traditional perspectives of many Ojibwe people. The circle represents life as a continuous cycle. The four lines crossing and intersecting within the circle represent the sacred Four Directions: East, West, North and South. The four areas held within the lines can represent different dimensions of creation and human experience, such as the four seasons, elements of the universe, stages of human life or aspects of personhood. The four areas are often associated with four sacred colors, which are characterized by specific aspects defined in relationship to the above dimensions. As Larry Stillday, a spiritual leader from the Red Lake Nation explains, “the Medicine Wheel is multi-dimensional in every way. The Old Ones say that you could spend an entire lifetime learning about it, and your learning would be equal to one grain of sand among all other grains of sand on an entire beach.”

In addition, according to many Native traditions, wherever a person stands is the center of the universe as humans can usually only know the universe through their own perceptions. Following this worldview, many Native traditions hold that the awareness of tribal consciousness is a central dimension to one’s life. Therefore, in the Tribe Specific Medicine Wheel Logic Model, the Native community is placed at the center of focus.

The Tribe Specific Medicine Wheel Logic Model is a framework designed to reflect Native perspectives in how knowledge and other cultural systems connect with each other to meet goals and to set outcomes. As many Native communities rely traditionally on kinship systems between individuals, groups, and creation, relationship is stressed in the MWLM as the foundation for incorporating spiritual and cultural values and strengths. These cultural values and strengths provide an emic context for identifying community needs for moving forward, design of goals to conceptualize what form the movement needs to be, transformative strategies and their implementation to support change to facilitate positive development, and an evaluative reflective component to identify and assess both short and long term outcomes and effectiveness. In many Native traditions, when imbalance occurs in an individual or communities, healing needs to take place. For our discussion and application of the Medicine Wheel as a companion to the Logic Model concept, the Logic Model components will be viewed within the context of the sacred four directions and the colors related to them. The components are connected, exist in dynamic relationship, and inform each other. The Medicine Wheel Logic Model can be used to support community healing and attachment to cultural strengths and values. It is important to emphasize that the MWLM is a strength-based model, relying on traditional Native perspectives of augmenting that which is

positive, encouraging, and educational, and identifying areas for further growth, rather than primarily focusing on deficits and problems.

To begin, the color yellow represents the East, the direction where the sun rises and a new day is brought to light. Like the rising of the sun, new ideas and knowledge are brought to consciousness. As applied to human thought processes, needs for healing in cultural health can be identified and goals can be conceptualized. Protective cultural strengths and risks to those strengths can also be identified. In moving on the circular path of the Medicine Wheel, the South direction represents midday, as in the maturation of the day and of life. The color red symbolizes fire, the heat of the day, which causes living things to grow. As associated with the Logic Model, the formation of strategies that can support transformation of knowledge into application to address community needs for healing occurs. Moving the use of knowledge through the identification of transformative strategies to facilitate community healing brings action, as associated with the West. The West is the direction of the setting sun, the time of gradual change from daylight to darkness. The activity of changing the day into night occurs. As associated with the Logic Model, activities leading to changes that achieve goals are represented in the West direction. The North direction denotes complete maturation. It is the direction associated with the Elders, where wisdom and answers are found. The color white represents purification and the light of full understanding. As associated with the Logic Model, this direction embodies the outcomes from the process of purification of new knowledge as it is applied through action, resulting in activity that constitutes experience. This experience brings complete awareness of outcomes indicating achievement of goals.

As the circle of the Medicine Wheel is continuous, so the Medicine Wheel Logic Model moves in such a way so that the full understanding of complete process, resulting in identification of short and long term outcomes of that process which measures achievement of goals, gives rise to new knowledge in deeper and more expansive ways, and the East direction is found once again. This is success as viewed from many Native traditional perspectives.

KEY FINDINGS

The following section offers a brief overview of the results of the assessment, and highlights themes that emerged through analysis of an urban school district center. The overview is not limited to or inclusive of all relevant data.

East Direction. From a Native perspective, the cultural strengths in the urban school district center on the pervasive passion and dedication to students. Throughout the assessment, a repeated theme was the commitment to a successful educational

experience for Indian students. Even where there appeared to be disconnection and division, this cultural strength was evident. Another cultural strength that was found was loyalty. This appeared to be between individuals and groups, and sub-groups. The dynamics of how loyalty was conceptualized and expressed differed, but was present nonetheless. It seemed organic in nature, with relationship as the foundation, rather than focused on task or content of a project or topic as the cohesive substance that bound ties. The ties did not cease once the task was completed or receded. Interfacing with the cultural strength of loyalty was resiliency, particularly in the form of historical memory. Being aware of the historical efforts of Indian education, and carrying that memory forward into new endeavors was paramount for many, especially those who had been involved for a long period of time in the school district. Identifying both positive and negative experiences in the development and sustained efforts in the educational efforts for Indian students was a repeated theme. Risks to these strengths included ambivalence about involvement into change, as some were apprehensive due to limited resources and past distress. They voiced apprehension that change would bring diminishment in areas of importance, rather than expansion. Another risk included the disconnection between three main entities: some mainstream school district administration and staff, some community and parent committee members, and some staff. Another key finding in this area concerns communication. Healthy, clear, timely, consistent and culturally responsive and relevant communication seemed to be missing in many cases and ways between the groups identified above. This was especially true in regard to Native centered best practices that provided optimal opportunities for the successful educational experience for Native students, including informing parents and others promptly of the poor academic status of students. Furthermore, academic achievement of American Indian students should be understood in a cultural context and holistic manner, which includes attention to all aspects of personhood. Included is attention to the role of students and their own developmentally and culturally appropriate responsibilities in their education, leadership and mentor/mentee opportunities. The lack of knowledge of best practices, and how to apply them, as well as how to measure impact, was another prevailing theme. Native centered and authored research and evidence based best practices for Native education were lacking district wide in many cases. This appeared not to be a lack of desire, but just not knowing. Increased information, sharing of the information, and training were needed. The need for a system of culturally responsive inclusive evaluation to measure the impact and effectiveness of Native education successes, strengths, efforts, organization, programming structures and operations, and resource allocation was perceived to be paramount. Accurate identification of Native students through a consistent and clear process that reflected the actual Indian student population remained a high concern. Absence rates among Native students are alarmingly high. Parents are confused

about attendance policies. Inconsistency in definitions of excused and non-excused absences vary from school to school, and questions remain how the high rate of suspensions and some data tracking practices influence the attendance information that is communicated to parents and others. Native academic performance and grade completion rates were of serious concern. Not all Native students had access to additional educational experiences outside the traditional mainstream school day that supported student success. It was agreed that institutional and school community racism is a key feature of how Indian students are assessed for behavior intervention and special education. Native centered, authored and facilitated culturally appropriate and meaningful best practices in substance, structure, assessment and policy in these two areas were lacking in pervasiveness, and this appears to be “normalized” in some systems. Substantial increase in collaboration between school district staff, some staff, some community members, some students and other resources, such as higher education institutions, needed to be leveraged and utilized in a culturally meaningful and structured, planned, and outcome based manner. Finally, timely, accurate, inclusive and equitable information needed to be available and clearly communicated to those whose roles are central to the operational supports for Native students, so that a comprehensive and complete “story” can be understood. Application and integration of the information should be a foundational feature of all Native education efforts.

South Direction. A culturally meaningful, holistic, pervasive and system wide approach to Native education in the urban school district was regarded as necessary. Students deserve the best, and all resources that can be utilized are important and valuable. A model of connection, collaboration, and communication as the key elements in moving forward to provide for the successful educational experience for every Indian student was proposed. Efficiency, excellence and effectiveness are the cornerstones of the new model. The central principles that guide the implementation of the model are equity, inclusiveness, and completion, as these are the foundational aspects of the Sacred Circle. The Sacred Circle is not a hierarchical or linear structure, but according to traditional teachings, is one which can be flexible to expand to include all who join it. No one is higher or lower, but all have an equitable, respected space that makes the Circle stronger in its continuous and seamless vibrancy.

For maximum effectiveness and impact, transformative strategies are regarded as essential structures of the model. These are listed as follows, and are specific to the urban school study used here as an example. The recommendations included structured, culturally meaningful collaborations between the school district, community, the district’s Office of Indian Education, and higher education and other field experts should be planned and operationalized. Actualization of the collaborations should include attentiveness to healing past disconnections and divisions in positive ways. A holistic communication plan focusing on clarity, timeliness, consistency

and reliability between the Office of Indian Education, the school district, and the community should be designed and implemented. Native centered and authored best practices for the successful educational experience of every Indian student, including those from less represented tribes in the Native school population, should be shared and institutionalized in all aspects of the Native educational experience. This includes encouraging students to embrace and honor their own responsibilities in culturally appropriate ways. Culturally responsive assessment and evaluation approaches and methods should be implemented throughout all Native education efforts. Culturally responsive evaluation consists of practical strategies and frameworks that attend to culture and context when preparing for an evaluation, when conducting it, and when disseminating and implementing the results of the study (Samuels and Ryan, 2011). Evaluations reflect culture, and cannot be culture free. Cultural competence is an ethical imperative in evaluation, and validity demands cultural competence (American Evaluation Association Statement on Cultural Competence in Evaluation, 2011). Studies show that using non-Eurocentric ways of evaluation and knowing increases the validity of results (Simpson, 2011).

Inclusion of mainstream assessment and evaluation approaches and methods as tools should be utilized. Having accurate information that gives a highly clear and complete picture is vital to success. Alignment of efforts between school district policies and initiatives, Native authored best practices, and culturally responsive, seamless, impactful, and measurable outcomes should be a key feature in all policy and activity.

West Direction. The following summary outlines the main recommended, guiding, and foundational initiatives. It is not limited to or inclusive of all activity, which includes advisement and participation from the Advisory Committees and other community members as an essential and central factor in success. To begin with, collaborations between the key leaders or designees from the following school district offices, the Office of Indian Education, and higher education institutions will be formed to address culturally meaningful and sustained curriculum, pedagogy and assessment, Native centered and authored best practices operationalization, communication structures and operations, college readiness and retention partnerships, outcome based culturally responsive evaluation, staff development and supervision, sustainment and diversification of funding, culturally meaningful wellness practices for students and others, culturally responsive and effective tutoring, and culturally relevant family support and engagement structures.

Building on the historical cultural strengths and achievements of the Office of Indian Education (OIE) and moving onto the next phase of development, culturally responsive strategies are implemented to guide the next phase of evolution. As referenced earlier, all activity is in alignment with school district policies and utilize collaborative resources for the most effective designs, implementation and

impact evaluation. In terms of staff development, staff's strengths are fully utilized in their areas of expertise, job descriptions are adjusted to align with clearly defining roles and responsibilities as directly congruent with the overarching outcomes of the New Day Model, frequent, culturally responsive performance reviews are centered on accountable and measureable impact of staff time and activity as directly aligned with the overarching outcomes, and key areas for further growth are addressed, and centered on evidence based best practices from both the Native and mainstream education worlds.

In terms of programming, directional programming goals, objectives and evaluation systems that create a holistic, clear and integrated focus are implemented and actualized. Grant goals and objectives are redesigned to reflect alignment with the overarching outcomes from Native centered research and evidence based best practices to support the successful educational experience of Native students. Programming organization and activities are designed and evaluated to ensure alignment and congruency with the overarching outcomes. Department level OIE policies and procedures are designed and communicated via a handbook. Communication structures are designed and operationalized, including both an online newsletter (paper copies upon request) and an online library system. Consistent communication that OIE acts in a supplemental services role is augmented. A budget redesign structure is implemented that provides clear, consistent and accessible information that is easily understandable for a variety of audiences. Financial resources will be aligned for the most efficient and maximum impact congruent with the Model's overarching outcomes. The role and responsibilities of the Supervisor of Indian Education, particularly in the areas of American Indian Studies (AIS) and Early Childhood education programs, is redefined and clearly communicated to others.

The Culturally Responsive Educational Environment Support Project (CREESP) is proposed as an effective method of bringing research based cultural practices into the mainstream learning environment to accelerate positive features of a successful educational experience and environment for all Native students and their families. With that goal in mind, every Native student will have a Kinship System Plan designed to promote maximum opportunities for a successful educational experience Pre-K-12. Secondly, OIE and school district staff coordinates the implementation of the Kinship System plans and facilitate evaluation of impact in key areas of academic achievement, attendance, Native identity, attachment to cultural strengths, cultural health, leadership and mentoring experiences. A culturally responsive evaluation utilizing collaborative resources is proposed to assess the efficiency, excellence and effectiveness of the American Indian Studies and Early Childhood education programs, focusing on the successes and key areas for further growth in alignment with the overarching outcomes of the New Day Model.

North Direction. The overarching outcomes are threefold. All American Indian students in the school district are continually and consistently engaged in a successful educational experience pre-K-12. Research and evidence based best practices from both the Native and Western education worlds are implemented and assessed strategically system wide with efficiency, excellence and effectiveness for every Native student in the school district. Connection, collaboration and communication are actualized key elements in all school district Native education efforts.

CONCLUSION

As Foreman (1987) states,

Much that has been said and written in recent decades voices strong dissent for present and past educational designs, but offers few real alternatives and little real change ... Freedom of choice is probably the greatest issue to be faced when considering future educational designs to serve American Indian youth. Included in this freedom is the ability to design programs, which may have never existed in the past and may not exist in the present. Designs which are completely authentic in form and purpose should be accessible to the learning environment whenever the needs and goals of American Indian youth can best be served by them. When educators free themselves of as many constraints as possible, and let their imaginations delve into the countless alternatives available in strategies for learning, perhaps a new age of educational emancipation will have begun.

The collective knowledge of Native Nations based upon our history, resilience, value systems, and our cultural and spiritual strengths, is immense. Our answers are within us. New and alternative creations of Native models of education are available to serve our students. All we need to do is to envision them.



Figure 1

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Parenting FOR Adolescent Well-Being IN American Indian Communities

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In this chapter, we summarize what is known about “best practices” in parenting for adolescent mental health in American Indian (AI) communities. To achieve this task, we review information about mental health and mental health needs among AI teenagers, followed by an elucidation of parenting practices that are believed to maximize healthy outcomes in adolescents.

Before embarking on these tasks, however, we want to recognize the limitations of this effort. Although there is a wealth of scientific literature on adolescent development and parenting of adolescents, and although this literature is increasingly based on ethnically, economically, religiously, and geographically diverse families, AI youth remain an underrepresented group (Spicer, LaFromboise, Markstrom, Niles, West, Fehringer, Grayson, & Sarche, 2012). Research on AI youth and families is not extensive enough to have systematically addressed the variability of situations among AI youth including tribal affiliation or differences in community context such as reservation or urban residence. As we review the data presented in this chapter, we provide available information about tribal membership, geographic location, or residential (e.g., reservation, urban) context of the participants. However, such information, especially concerning tribal membership, is frequently unavailable or limited due to research protocol guidelines to protect the identity of research participants or due to the fact that nationally representative samples of AI participants are studied but not analyzed by potentially meaningful subgroups.

We also recognize that what constitutes “effective” parenting can vary by cultural context (e.g., Jackson-Newsom, Buchanan, & McDonald, 2008), and

that guidance given to majority parents for promoting adolescents' mental health and well-being might or might not apply directly to parents in AI communities. The unique cultural values and historical background of AI communities might lead to unique—and as yet unstudied—parenting strategies that predict positive outcomes among youth. Furthermore, suggestions arising from research done with non-AI youth might not be relevant to or produce the same outcomes in AI communities (Spicer et al., 2012). Thus, we begin by admitting that knowledge about parenting and the impact of parenting on adolescents among AI families is limited. Therefore, the suggestions that we offer in this chapter should be considered and evaluated for relevance and meaning within specific AI contexts.

AMERICAN INDIAN ADOLESCENTS' BEHAVIOR AND WELL-BEING

In general, adolescence is a time of physical, emotional, cognitive, relational and behavioral change. Although change can be positive and exciting, it can also be unsettling and stressful. As a result of multiple changes, and the life stresses (e.g., Simmons, Burgeson, Carlton-Ford, & Blyth, 1987) and questions about self and identity that ensue from those changes (Erikson, 1968; Harter, 1990), adolescence is a developmental period characterized by increases in risk-taking, mood disruptions, and conflict with primary caretakers (Arnett, 1999). Collectively, these changes are often called “storm and stress” (Arnett, 1999). Thus, on average adolescence brings new and elevated challenges for both teenagers and their primary caretakers. However, there is variability among adolescents, and negative changes are often exaggerated or emphasized to the exclusion of positive ones (Buchanan & Hughes, 2011; Nichols & Good, 2004).

In some ways, the challenges of adolescence seem more acute and wide-ranging for AI adolescents (e.g., Galliher, Jones, & Dahl, 2011). Whereas AI teenagers experience the same changes and adjustments as other teenagers (e.g., bodily changes; changes in social relationships, including budding romantic interests; increased ability for abstract thinking that allows questioning of norms), the task of deriving a healthy self-concept or identity can be complicated by growing up amidst two cultures (majority and AI), including one that has experienced and continues to experience significant oppression and discrimination (Jones & Galliher, 2007; Markstrom, 2011; Sarche & Whitesell, 2012; Spicer et al., 2012), and a legacy of historical trauma (Markstrom, 2011; Whitesell, Beals, et al., 2012). AI adolescents are also, on average, more likely to face risk factors such as low family income, impoverished schools, and higher life stress (Whitesell, Beals et al., 2012). Given these considerations, it is not surprising that many indicators

of mental, emotional, and behavioral risk are often higher among AI adolescents than other youth (Sarche & Whitesell, 2012).

For example, many studies document earlier initiation into substance use as well as higher rates of use (especially heavy use) among AI youth compared to other adolescents (e.g., Friese & Grube, 2008; Whitesell, Beals, et al., 2007; 2012). Data suggest that higher rates of problematic substance use among AI adults originate, at least in part, in this earlier adoption of substances such as alcohol and marijuana (Henry, McDonald, Oetting, Silk Walker, Walker, & Beauvais, 2011; Whitesell, Kaufman, Kean, Crow, Shangreau, & Mitchell, 2012). AI teens also have significantly higher rates of teen birth and sexually transmitted diseases than do non-Hispanic White teenagers (Kaufman, Desserich, Crow, Rock, Keane, & Mitchell, 2007; The National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unplanned Pregnancy, 2009). Evidence also indicates elevated rates of depression and suicide among American Indian youth compared to other racial and ethnic groups (Smokowski, Evans, Cotter, & Webber, 2014; Walls, Chapple, & Johnson, 2007). Clearly, there is variability in all of these domains, with the majority of AI youth functioning well even in the face of challenges (e.g., Stiffman, Alexander-Eitzman, Silmere, Osborne, & Brown, 2007; Whitesell, Asdigian, Kaufman, Crow, Shangreau, Kean, Mousseau, & Mitchell, 2014). Nonetheless, American Indian youth face increased risk of “storm and stress” at adolescence.

CAN PRIMARY CARETAKERS INFLUENCE ADOLESCENT BEHAVIOR AND WELL-BEING?

Given the changes and challenges, together with negative stereotypes of adolescents (Buchanan & Holmbeck, 1998; Buchanan, 2003), primary caretakers can worry about or question their ability to make a difference in the lives of their teenage children. Compared to parents of younger children, parents of adolescents report lower levels of parenting self-efficacy, or feelings that they can positively influence their children (Ballenski & Cook, 1982), and such feelings appear to decline over the early adolescent years (Glatz & Buchanan, 2015). Although we are not aware of studies of parental efficacy among AI parents, there is no reason to think they are immune from these threats to perceived efficacy. In fact, AI youth from Oklahoma articulated an awareness that their parents, despite wishing their teenagers would not smoke, felt helpless to stop them from doing so (Kegler, Cleaver, & Yazzie-Valencia, 2000). The youth’s anecdotes provide one example of the helplessness some parents of AI adolescents might feel (similar to parents of other adolescents), and even express to their teens.

Research on parental influence, in contrast, points clearly to the continued role that parents have in influencing their adolescents (e.g., Cook, Buehler,

& Henson, 2009; Galambos, Barker, & Almeida, 2003; Simpson, 2001; Walls, Fairlie, & Wood, 2009; Swaim, Beauvais, Walker, & Silk-Walker, 2011). Despite developmental increases in potential parent-child conflict and independence from family as children move from childhood into adolescence (e.g., Larson, Richards, Moneta, Holmbeck, & Duckett, 1996), absolute levels of parent-child conflict remain low and parent-child warmth or closeness remains high for most families (e.g., Barber, 1994; Shanahan, McHale, Osgood, & Crouter, 2007a; Shanahan, McHale, Crouter, & Osgood, 2007b). In the process of establishing their own identities, adolescents often overtly question established norms and find ways to express their uniqueness; however, active rebellion against central family values is arguably uncommon (Buchanan & Hughes, 2011; Nichols & Good, 2004). Thus, although adolescents become open to a wider variety of influences than younger children, who are more often under the direct supervision of their parents, adolescents remain amenable to parents' influence. As a result, it is important for primary caregivers of adolescents to stay engaged and to be aware of parenting practices that are likely to promote health and well-being among their adolescents.

WHAT IS “EFFECTIVE PARENTING” FOR ADOLESCENTS?

The report *Raising Teens: A Synthesis of Research and A Foundation for Action* (Simpson, 2001) summarizes research-based advice for parents and other caregivers about practices that can promote health and well-being in adolescent children. The entire report is available at <http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/chc/raising-teens/>. Our review of effective parenting practices draws heavily from the framework of Simpson's work, but also includes research specifically from AI populations to illustrate what is known about the effectiveness of these best practices in AI families. In acknowledgement of the traditional role of extended family (including grandparents, aunts, uncles, and others) in raising AI children and youth, this research often assesses “family”, “caregiver”, or “guardian” practices, rather than the practices of parents per se, even when studying “parenting”. We did not come across research that compared outcomes based on whether these practices were delivered by a biological parent versus a different family member. Thus, when we speak of parenting practices, it should be understood that these are recommended for any primary parenting figure, regardless of whether this person is the biological mother or father of a youth.

LOVE UNCONDITIONALLY

Psychological theory and research unequivocally support the importance of love and acceptance from a loving parent or parent figure in promoting positive child development generally (e.g., Bowlby, 1969; Rohner, Khaleque, & Cournoyer,

2005; Werner & Smith, 1982) and specifically during adolescence (e.g., Raudino, Fergusson, & Horwood, 2013; Simpson, 2001). Research also affirms the importance of parental/caregiver love, support, and warmth to adolescents within the AI community.

Several studies report that adolescents have fewer problems with substance use when family relationships are loving, caring, and cohesive rather than distant, critical, or hostile. For example, AI adolescents who report more supportive, involved parenting at the transition to adolescence also report better skills for refusing substances (Galliher, Evans, & Weiser, 2007, studying nine to eleven year-olds living on or near a northern reservation) and less experimentation with cigarettes (Whitesell et al., 2014, studying adolescents on a Northern Plains reservation). Among urban AI youth from Washington state, Henry et al. (2011) found that more family conflict and less family cohesiveness predicted a greater likelihood of having been drunk by age fourteen, which in turn predicted more alcohol use and higher likelihood of alcohol abuse or dependence by age nineteen. AI adolescents living on one of four reservations who were heavy alcohol users, compared to non-users, reported less “family caring” (Oetting, Beauvais, & Edwards, 1988). Both urban and reservation-based Southwestern AI youth who report more positive family relationships have fewer symptoms of illicit drug abuse and dependence (Yu & Stiffman, 2010). Among AI adolescents attending public school in Montana, stronger parental attachment predicted lower lifetime marijuana use, although in this study parental attachment was not related to alcohol use once other variables such as peer associations were controlled (Heavy Runner & Hollist, 2010).

Love from parents has also been linked to other aspects of adjustment among AI adolescents. Higher perceived maternal warmth was significantly related to more “resilience” (defined as more school involvement and fewer problem behaviors) among early adolescent AI youth living on or near a Midwestern reservation (LaFromboise, Hoyt, Oliver, & Whitback, 2006). Similarly, an important factor distinguishing Southwestern urban and reservation-based AI youth with problems (drug and alcohol use, depression, and suicidal thoughts) who improved versus those with problems who did not improve over four years during adolescence was satisfaction with family/parent-child relationships. Improvers expressed higher family satisfaction (Stiffman et al., 2007; see also Silmere & Stiffman, 2006). Liu (2005) studied the relationship between closeness to parents and suicidal ideation across several ethnic groups in a large nationally representative sample, and found that whereas more closeness to parents predicted less suicidal ideation regardless of race or ethnicity, more felt closeness to fathers was an especially strong predictor of reduced suicidal ideation for AI boys.

In an especially large study of AI families from ten different tribal nations, adolescents’ reports of negative parenting (measured as caretaker rejection or yelling) predicted more negative emotion (anger, depression) and more suicidal behavior (Walls, Chapple, & Johnson, 2007). In fact, AI adolescents who reported

caretaker rejection were nine times more likely have experienced suicidal thoughts or behaviors (attempts) in the previous year. In an extensive qualitative study of tribal members in three AI communities (southwest urban, southwest rural, and Midwestern), parental support was most commonly identified as the family factor that can protect against violence and delinquency (Mmari, Blum, & Teufel-Shone, 2010). Reflecting the involvement of extended family members in AI parenting, comments from participants in this study occasionally mentioned the role of grandparent or other elder support of teenagers as they described the “parental” role.

There are many different ways for parents to express love, support, and caring for their teenage children. The behaviors that define loving parenting might vary somewhat for adolescents across cultural groups (e.g., McNeely & Barber, 2010; Jackson-Newsom et al., 2008). Nonetheless, some behaviors seem to be universally interpreted as loving. These include explicitly telling adolescents that they are loved, talking and listening to them, sharing activities with them, and providing comfort and help when needed (McNeely & Barber, 2010). Consistent with these findings, tribal members interviewed by Mmari et al. (2010) expressed the importance of parents (and parent figures) talking with their adolescent children and attending their events as critical means of showing support. Given that negative stereotypes of adolescents might cause parents to notice negative behaviors and reactions more easily than positive behaviors and reactions, parents can also be encouraged to make conscious efforts to notice when adolescents behave well, cooperate, and otherwise demonstrate maturity and responsibility. Affirming those instances not only reinforces positive behavior, it communicates love.

Conversely, although the impact of harsh parenting (e.g., yelling, hitting) varies across ethnic groups (Jackson-Newsom et al., 2008; Lansford, Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 2004), in general parents would be advised to resist the temptation to engage in such behaviors with adolescents. Harsh parenting behaviors, although not always seen as unloving, are not typically viewed as *loving*, and they rarely predict *positive* outcomes. In one study of Northern Midwest AI youth living on reservations (Walls, Whitbeck, Hoyt, & Johnson, 2007), more spanking and yelling by one’s female caregiver predicted an earlier onset of alcohol use. These findings are in keeping with a great deal of psychological theory and research stressing the benefits of administering discipline and correction to youth in a manner that is firm but loving and that does not rely only or heavily on yelling or physical punishment. We say more on the most effective ways to address limit-setting and discipline later (see “Allow Increasing Independence With Limits”).

MONITOR

The more knowledgeable parents are about their teenagers’ friends, whereabouts, and activities, the less those teenagers get into trouble (Laird, Petit, Dodge, &

Bates, 2003). Adolescents' voluntary disclosure is an important source of accurate knowledge, but primary caregivers' behaviors can influence how much adolescents voluntarily disclose (Racz & McMahon, 2011). Beyond voluntary disclosure, parents' active monitoring and solicitation of information can be an important source of information in some situations (Buchanan & Glatz, 2014; Laird, Marrero, & Sentse, 2010). Although we found few studies of monitoring specifically among AI youth, the data we did find were consistent with the general principle that monitoring is an effective parenting strategy for adolescents. For example, more caregiver monitoring predicted lower use of alcohol among Northern Midwest AI early adolescent youth living on reservations in a study by Walls, Whitbeck, et al. (2007). And Harris, Oman, Vesely, Tolma, Aspy, Rodine, Marshall, and Fluhr (2007), in a sample that included AI, African-American, Caucasian-American, and Hispanic-American youth, found that inner-city adolescents who spent more time in the presence of adults and less time in self-care were less likely to have sexual intercourse. Supervised adolescents were also more likely to benefit from assets such as positive family communication and non-parental adult role models in that among these adolescents there was a stronger association between these assets and abstaining from sexual intercourse.

How can primary caretakers monitor adolescents effectively? Simpson (2001) points out that monitoring at adolescence necessarily differs from monitoring younger children because adolescents spend more time away from direct adult supervision. She points out that effective monitoring of adolescents requires "observing" (attention to significant changes in a child's behavior, emotions, or relationship with others), "networking" (knowing a teenagers' friends and acquaintances, talking to other adults who know and interact with one's teen), and "communicating" (maintaining healthy communication by being quick to listen and slow to judge, but sharing values and expectations honestly). As adolescents desire and gain more independence, monitoring practices that are perceived as overly controlling or overbearing might backfire, leading to less adolescent disclosure (Kerr, Stattin, & Burk, 2010; Tilton-Weaver, Burk, Kerr, & Stattin, 2013). Therefore, monitoring and solicitation that occurs in the context of an overall loving, caring, and interested parent-child relationship is likely to produce better results (e.g., Buchanan & Glatz, 2014), providing yet another reason for parents to pay close attention to communicating unconditional love.

BE AN EXAMPLE OF THE BEHAVIOR YOU WANT TO SEE IN YOUR TEEN

A basic principle of effective parenting, including parenting of adolescents, is to model the behavior desired in one's child. Modeling includes what parents say and what parents do (e.g., Bandura, 1977). Parents and other caregivers should not assume that teenagers know what their expectations and hopes for the teenager's

behavior are; they should aim to articulate explicitly those hopes and expectations. Parents should also aim to avoid mixed messages concerning expectations. For example, telling teenagers not to engage in risk behavior, while at the same time stating that risk-taking is inevitable (in line with stereotypes of adolescents) is a mixed message. In one study of teenage smoking, non-reservation Oklahoman AI adolescents reported that although most adults expressed antismoking messages, parents also sometimes expressed powerlessness to stop them from smoking or told the teens that if they were going to smoke they should avoid getting caught (Kegler et al., 2000).

Although words are important, parents' and other caretakers' own behavior predicts teenagers' behavior, and also predicts the behavior of the peers with whom a teenager chooses to associate (Johnson & Johnson, 2001). For example, one important predictor of teenage substance use is parents' or other caretakers' substance use, and this is true within AI and non-AI families (e.g., Lonczak, Fernandez, Austin, Marlatt, & Donovan, 2007; Swaim et al., 2011). Binge drinking in female caretakers directly predicted early-onset alcohol use in a sample of AI families from ten reservations in the Northern Midwest (Walls, Whitbeck et al., 2007). Parental diagnosis of alcohol abuse or dependence was also an important predictor of adolescent alcohol use among urban AI youth from the Seattle area (Swaim et al., 2014); the impact of parental substance use in this study was mediated by adolescents' perceptions of family norms against alcohol use. In other words, AI adolescents whose primary caretakers abused or were dependent on alcohol perceived fewer norms against alcohol use, and were in turn more likely than other AI adolescents to start using alcohol by age thirteen and to develop alcohol-related problems by age eighteen.

Kegler et al. (2000) report that many of the non-reservation Oklahoman AI teenagers they interviewed attributed their decision to smoke to the fact that smoking was prevalent among family members. In fact, many of these teens said they received their first cigarette from an adult relative. In the AI community and elsewhere, attitudes and behavior of adult role models regarding appropriate and healthy sexual conduct influence teenagers' attitudes and behavior about sex (Kaufman et al., 2007). Walls, Whitbeck, et al. (2007) argue that AI youth are especially likely to imitate parental behavior as a consequence of a cultural emphasis on caretaker influence and harmony.

ALLOW INCREASING INDEPENDENCE WITH LIMITS

Adolescence is a time of increasing independence, and adolescents need opportunities to practice independence if they are to grow into competent, well-functioning, independent, adults. Yet, as adolescents put their toes into the water

of independence, they are most likely to handle that independence responsibly when caregivers set clear, reasonable, age-appropriate rules and expectations, and follow through with reasonable consequences for breaking rules or not meeting expectations (Simpson, 2001). Reasonable consequences for adolescents tend to be the removal of privileges, application of chores (allowing restitution for a wrong), or allowing of other natural or logical consequences for unhealthy, unacceptable, or irresponsible behavior (e.g., paying costs of property damage; having an earlier curfew after missing curfew). Clearly stated rules and predictable consequences for breaking rules are especially important in the area of risky behavior.

To the extent that it has been tested among AI youth, the principle of allowing increasing independence with limits applies. For example, Lonczak et al. (2007) found that more limit-setting predicted less substance use among thirteen to nineteen-year-old AI/Alaskan Native youth from diverse tribes and primarily urban or suburban settings. Urban (Swaim et al., 2011) and reservation-based (Oetting et al., 1988) AI adolescents who use alcohol also report fewer parental sanctions against alcohol use than AI youth who are non-users. This is perhaps especially true during early adolescence (Swaim et al.), a time when initiation of alcohol use poses special risks for long-term use and dependence (Henry et al., 2011).

In Mmari et al.'s (2010) qualitative study of three AI communities (southwest urban, southwest rural, and Midwestern), tribal members identified lack of appropriate parental discipline as one of the most important family risk factors for youth delinquency and violence. These and other authors point out that AI parents in recent generations have not had good role models for parental discipline due to the long-term impact of children having been taken from families and raised in boarding schools. These children, once parents themselves, were not able to draw from experiences of traditional parenting. At the same time, they fear legal recrimination such as Child Protective Services intervention if they use the physical discipline with which they are familiar. Furthermore, elders in the Mmari et al. study voiced that extended family often feel less comfortable stepping in as disciplinarians for youth than they once did due to possible legal ramifications. Thus, while the establishment of consistent, age-appropriate discipline can be challenging for any parent, it presents a special challenge for many AI parents.

CONNECT WITH THE COMMUNITY

It is often said that “it takes a village” to raise children well (e.g., Clinton, 1996). Consistent with this creed, teenagers and their parents do best when they are open to and can rely on resources beyond the immediate family: resources in schools, neighborhoods and community centers, places of worship, and health care settings (Simpson, 2001). As parents allow their adolescent children increasing

independence, they can extend their own influence by guiding the teenager toward activities and people that provide positive community influence and support. Although “community connection” has not often been explicitly studied among AI populations specifically, in one recent study, AI adolescents living in inner city neighborhoods who reported having non-parental adult role models were significantly less likely to have had sexual intercourse (Oman, Vesely, Aspy, Tolma, Rodine, Marshall, & Fluhr, 2006). In another extensive study of adolescent sexuality, AI teenagers from a Northern Plains tribe expressed that one reason for early sexual activity was a lack of connection to their family and cultural community (Kaufman et al., 2007). A stronger sense of community has also been associated with more positive affect in AI adolescents in a Northern Plains tribal high school (Kenyon & Carter, 2011). Thus, AI parents can support their adolescent children by encouraging and facilitating engagement in community. More specifically, engagement and pride in one’s cultural community, addressed next, might be especially positive for AI youth.

CULTURAL AND NATIVE NATION SOCIALIZATION: THE IMPORTANCE OF CULTURAL IDENTITY AND PRIDE

In general, adolescents and adults from historically oppressed groups benefit from pride in their heritage and culture (e.g., Albright & LaFromboise, 2010; Harris-Britt, Valrie, Curtz-Costes, & Rowley; Unger, 2014; Walters & Simoni, 2002). Although there is limited research on cultural and tribal nation identity of AI youth (Kenyon & Carter, 2011), a positive indigenous or cultural identity—or sense of positive belonging to one’s cultural or native nation’s group—is likely to benefit adolescents. In contrast, experiences of anti-Indian discrimination and suppression of traditions can create shame in one’s heritage rather than pride, and predict deficiencies in health and well-being (e.g., Galliher et al., 2011; LaFromboise et al., 2006; Mmari et al., 2010).

Several studies have documented the positive association between cultural identity or cultural pride and behavioral/mental health among AI youth that would be expected based on theoretical models of indigenous peoples’ health and well-being (Walters & Simoni, 2002). In one large, longitudinal study in North Carolina (Smokowski, Evans, Cotter, & Webber, 2014), the association between ethnic identity and later mental health was studied among adolescents from several ethnic groups including Lumbee AI adolescents. Stronger ethnic identity predicted more future optimism and better self-esteem among the Lumbee adolescents as it did among all groups. Furthermore, higher self-esteem predicted fewer depressive symptoms and problem behaviors for all youth, and future optimism predicted fewer depressive symptoms among Lumbee youth specifically. In

another study of young adolescents (grades five to eight) living on or near an upper Midwest reservation, enculturation such as participation in traditional activities and identification with AI culture was the strongest positive predictor of resiliency, school involvement, and low problem behavior (LaFromboise et al., 2006). At least two studies of Navajo adolescents have found that a stronger cultural identity (Rieckmann, Wadsworth, and Deyhle, 2004) or sense of ethnic pride, affirmation, and belonging (Jones & Galliher, 2007) predicted lower depression and other psychosocial problems.

Sexual risk-taking also appears linked to cultural socialization. Kaufman et al. (2007) found in an extensive and in-depth study of Northern Plains AI youth that a positive cultural identity provided protection against early and unhealthy sexual behavior. These authors concluded that although “culture may increase feelings of alienation and thereby increase risky behavior ... culture may (also) present a set of resources from which youth can draw to increase their likelihood of making healthy choices.” (p. 2162). The authors speculate that a sensitivity to one’s historically oppressed status within the larger society produces tension between one’s own culture and mainstream values, and a possible distancing from one’s culture that leads to risk. Conversely, youth who have formed a positive cultural identity might be more capable of using cultural resources in a more positive way that leads to engagement in fewer risk behaviors.

In addition to studies showing a direct link between cultural identity and behavioral and psychological well-being, some studies have shown that a strong and positive cultural or ethnic identity can buffer the negative impact of other risk factors. For example, Hamill, Scott, Dearing, and Pepper (2009) found not only that native cultural identification predicted less depression among AI seventh to ninth graders from a North American Plains tribe, but also that a strong cultural identification eliminated the negative effects of a personality style characterized by low behavioral activation on depression. In other words, AI youth with a low behavioral activation profile were at risk for elevated depression only if they did not have a high cultural identification.

Parents play an important role in conveying attitudes and knowledge about one’s culture, race, or ethnicity, and in helping their children interpret and cope with discrimination (e.g., Hughes, Smith, Stevenson, Rodriguez, Johnson, & Spicer, 2006; Rodriguez, Umana-Taylor, Smith, & Johnson, 2009). Parental attitudes can be passed on implicitly or explicitly, purposefully or accidentally. Conscious efforts to teach positive cultural traditions to children and youth, and to instill pride about the values and contributions of one’s AI group, can have the effect of promoting a positive cultural identity which can lead to more pride in self, less unhealthy risk-taking, and greater well-being.

Although some studies on identity have failed to show the expected positive relation between AI ethnic or cultural identity and positive well-being (e.g., Albright

& LaFromboise, 2010, studying middle-school students on a reservation in the Northern Plains area of the U.S.; Whitesell, Mitchell, & Spicer, 2009, studying fourteen to eighteen year-olds from four different reservations in the Northern Plains or Southwest), this might reflect the limitations of research and the complexity of predictors of well-being among AI peoples. For example, Whitesell and colleagues (2009) speculate that an AI cultural identity which emphasizes a collective identity might not promote aspects of adjustment such as Western-style academic success that are nurtured by individualistic communities. Thus, the impact of a positive cultural identity is likely to depend on other individual and contextual factors, but overall it has the potential to promote more positive developmental outcomes.

CONCLUSION

Many authors have written about the impact of historical trauma, including the removal of children from their homes to attend U.S. boarding schools, on AI families and on AI parenting or caregiving specifically (e.g., Brave Heart, 1999; Dionne, Davis, Sheeber, & Madrigal, 2009; Mmari et al., 2010; Morrissette, 1994; White, Godfrey, & Iron Moccasin, 2006). Brave Heart (1999) reports, for example, that Lakota parents often feel overwhelmed and perceive their parental abilities to fall short. Others have argued that AI parents who were scarred by physical and emotional abuses of boarding schools lost their sense of identity as well as the opportunity to learn from their own parents about effective parenting within the AI tradition. Such arguments stress the importance of supporting and educating AI parents about evidence-based effective parenting in a culturally sensitive manner, which includes illuminating how traditional AI parenting coincides with such evidence-based practices (see also Lubell, Lofton, & Singer, 2008). Morrissette (1994) emphasizes the need to help AI parents understand that effective parenting is often challenged or blocked by past wrongs and trauma rather than by incompetency. Helping AI primary caretakers understand the historical legacy and contextual factors that influence their parenting takes blame off individual parents and assures them that they are capable of learning more effective practices.

In support of this approach, parents who completed a parenting curriculum that integrated Lakota values and an awareness of historical trauma and its impact on parenting felt empowered by their learning (Brave Heart, 1999). Another intervention with parents and relative guardians in the southern California area that connected best-practices in parenting with AI values and traditions had a significant positive effect on parenting as well as child behavior (Dionne, Davis, Sheeber, & Madrigal, 2009). For example, coaches helped parents understand the consistency between relationship-building play skills and AI values of respect for others. In another example, encouragement to use non-corporal over corporal

punishment was accompanied by an explanation to parents that the latter grew out of boarding school experiences rather than traditional AI beliefs, and that AI views of children as gifts from the Creator are more consistent with non-corporal methods.

Altogether, there is reason to believe that the parenting principles and practices emphasized as generally beneficial for adolescents (e.g., Rodriguez et al., 2009; Simpson, 2001) are practices that can benefit AI adolescents specifically. Given the range of challenges and stresses that many AI parents experience, they might be especially helped by parenting support and education programs designed to teach and facilitate such practices in culturally sensitive settings.

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Honoring Women IN THE American Indian Studies Classroom

ROSE STREMLAU AND JANE HALADAY

THE CHALLENGE: PASSING THE TEACHING TORCH

Jane was sitting in a booth at Linda's Restaurant in Pembroke, having lunch with a few other UNCP faculty. As she looked up from her plate of fried chicken, collards, butter beans, and cornbread—a typical and tasty Linda's lunch, and not one Jane can eat on a regular basis if she still has afternoon classes to teach, since she usually feels like a nap afterwards—Jane saw Ashley Jacobs (the name has been changed) making her way across the dining room. Ashley saw her and smiled, and Jane smiled back. “Hey, Dr. Haladay,” she said when she sauntered up to the table. “I hear you're teaching the American Indian Women's class next semester, now that Dr. Linda's retiring.” “Yes,” she told Ashley, “I am. Looking forward to it.”

Jane was familiar with the suggestive tone beneath Ashley's words, which contained an implication of more than was being said. In this case, she knew what Ashley was hinting at: “Dr. Linda” (no relation to Linda's Restaurant) is Dr. Linda Oxendine, Professor Emeritus of American Indian Studies, former chair of the department for seventeen years, and niece of the renowned Adolph Dial, who established UNC Pembroke's American Indian Studies (AIS) Department in 1972. Oxendine is a highly regarded Lumbee educator and intellectual who created the American Indian Women's course, a course she has told Jane was always one of her favorites to teach. What Ashley was making clear in her gracious, indirect, Southern way was that as Jane—a California transplant and non-Native professor—began attempting to follow in the footsteps of

“Dr. Linda,” she was going to be closely watched. Fair enough. Jane was ready. And the American Indian Women’s course was a vital one that needed to be taught.

STEPPING UP: HONORING COURSE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPING NEW APPROACHES

This essay is the story of the course that eventually developed from the authors’ shared interests in teaching American Indian women’s literature and history at UNC Pembroke once “Dr. Linda” had passed on the torch of teaching the American Indian Women’s course. Jane and Rose had each previously emphasized course content focusing on Native women in their separate, lower-division literature and history courses. In 2013, we (Jane and Rose) decided to revise the existing American Indian Women’s course into a team-taught, upper-level course titled “Indigenous Women.” We sought to build upon the strengths of the existing course, enhance student learning by sharing both of our individual areas of expertise, and to enrich our learning by increasing the scope of Indigenous peoples included.

The American Indian Studies Department at UNC Pembroke developed—as did the Croatan Indian Normal School, the original ancestor of what over time has become the University of North Carolina at Pembroke—through the determination of the Lumbee Indians of Robeson County to pursue an education for their people within their own Native community. Originally established in 1887, the institution became part of the UNC system in 1969. In 1972, faculty organized the American Indian Studies Department to embody Lumbee historian and professor Adolph Dial’s “vision of [a] department” that would “seek to appreciate Native America from as many angles as possible ... seeing Native Americans not only as the central figures in ancient America, but also as active participants in present-day and future America.” Dial served as its first chair (*Standing in the Gap*, Stanley Knick and Linda E. Oxendine 195).

Linda Oxendine, as the first, and for many years the only, full-time faculty member in AIS, created new courses to develop Dial’s original vision for the AIS Department throughout the 1970s, ‘80s, and ‘90s. One of these was American Indian Women. Originally taught as an experimental special topics course, American Indian Women enjoyed consistently high enrollment and became a regular course in the department’s catalog. Until her retirement in 2009, Oxendine was the only professor to teach it.

While piquing the interest of students, the course also reflected the broader trends in higher education. “This was at a time when Women’s Studies was coming into its own in universities as well,” Oxendine recalls (Oxendine interview). And while mostly women initially enrolled in the course, more men gradually began taking the course as well. Linda feels that, “The male students always brought

interesting perspectives to the course” (Oxendine interview). Enjoying sustained student interest, *American Indian Women* was a well-received addition to the AIS curriculum. “I liked seeing students get excited,” Oxendine states, when they learned that Native women have always been co-equal players with men in supporting the sovereignty of tribal nations. One woman in particular that Oxendine enjoyed teaching about was Lozen, the Apache warrior and medicine woman, to whom a chapter in Theda Perdue’s anthology of historical essays entitled *Sifters: Native American Women’s Lives* is dedicated (Oxendine interview). While many people may know the name Geronimo as an historic Apache freedom fighter, far fewer are aware of the critical role played by Lozen in Chihene Chiricahua Apache resistance. Witnessing students’ reaction to such unexpected stories of American Indian women’s agency was an enjoyable part of Oxendine’s experience teaching the course, and the same would soon be true for Jane and Rose.

The course that became *Indigenous Women* in 2013 began shifting toward its present iteration when Jane began teaching *American Indian Women* in 2009, the final year of Oxendine’s three-year phased retirement. Jane began experimenting with the course, although not yet the official UNC Pembroke catalog listing, which retained the course title and description, which read: “This course will examine some of the historical, anthropological, sociological, and literary writings by and/or about American Indian women” (*University of North Carolina Pembroke Academic Catalog 2009–2010*, 118). A change in title suggesting shifts in content was obvious from Jane’s syllabus, however. The course syllabus designated its title as “American Indian, Native, & Indigenous Women.” Jane grappled with this because although we are an “American Indian Studies” Department, she had long taught literature and other texts by and about First Nations authors, women and men, and by and about Native peoples of Mexico, Central, and South America. Her training in the AIS Program at the University of Arizona, and in the NAS Department at the University of California, Davis encouraged a hemispheric approach to Native Studies. Still, she wanted to remain mindful of not making radical changes in the course as Oxendine had taught it, at least not that first time around.

While Oxendine had taken a historical approach to teaching her *American Indian Women* course, as a Native literature scholar, Jane chose to organize teaching her first UNC Pembroke *American Indian Women* class from a literary perspective. Oxendine and Jane shared the perspective of emphasizing Native women as both active, self-determining agents in their own peoples’ histories despite their omission from too many historical treatments of Native peoples, and as vital members of vibrant, contemporary communities. As Oxendine emphasizes, “Looking at women specifically can provide a holistic perspective on the fullness of American Indian life ways and cultures” (Oxendine interview).

In Jane’s first offering of the course, she assigned some of the same readings Oxendine had used. Jane included *Sifters* in that first *American Indian Women’s*

class, but most of the remaining readings were fiction, poetry, and memoir. These included Zitkala-Sa's *American Indian Stories*; the anthology *Through the Eyes of the Deer*, edited by Carolyn Dunn and Carol Comfort; and Okanagan author Jeannette Armstrong's novel *Whispering in Shadows*. Because as scholar Renate Eigenbrod notes, "Native writers address topics that are intrinsic components in epistemological processes of decolonization promoted in Native Studies curriculum [,] therefore, an inclusion of Native literatures" in Native Studies curriculum "strengthens its objectives" ("A Necessary Inclusion" 1). Even more specifically, including narratives authored by American Indian women in any class focusing on them is paramount, since "Indigenous narratives were [historically] blocked from forming and emerging in a variety of ways" by colonial powers, as Eigenbrod discusses (4). Yet, she continues, "[s]tory constitutes the basis of Native Studies, a discipline defined by Peter Kulchyski as '*a storytelling practice*' that comes '*to resemble forms of narrative knowledge*' (23), inasmuch as it constitutes the basis of Native cultures" (3; emphasis in original). Student responses to this approach to Jane's first teaching of American Indian Women were positive overall, with one student writing in her final course reflection that, "When I entered this semester, I really did not think that much of the phrase 'Native American Women,' but now I can say with truth and pride that I am a Native American Woman" (Student Essay, "Final Project").

The American Indian Women's class went even better the second time Jane taught it in 2011, when she felt fully grounded in privileging Native women's literary texts as points of departure through which to have students do historical and cultural research on different issues referenced in readings. In this course, Leslie Marmon Silko's mixed-genre memoir *Storyteller* provided the foundation upon which students both read about Silko's family history through poetry, short fiction, autobiography, and photography, and began writing their own personal and family histories emphasizing women as the centerpieces of these stories. This "Pictures & Stories" assignment, as Jane called it, although conceived somewhat on the fly (as some of the best assignments can be), eventually allowed many students in the class to develop beautiful, moving portraits of the strong women in their lives—American Indian, African American, white, and mixed-heritage—and allowed students to read their own and their families' life stories alongside those of published Indigenous women authors. In this way, students were able to see that the stories of struggle, perseverance, love, hardship, cultural maintenance, family, loss, resistance to oppression, leadership, and strength in the lives of women within their own communities are as significant as the stories in books being taught in a university class. As indigenous education is primarily storytelling, Jane felt it was important to convey that we all have a valuable story worth understanding and sharing.

Another significant text Jane included in her second time teaching American Indian Women—and the last time the course would be taught under this name

before being modified by Jane and Rose—was Cree/Métis author Kim Anderson’s powerful text *A Recognition of Being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood*. For three Native women (one Lumbee and two Waccamaw-Siouan) in this particular class, Anderson’s book resonated deeply and personally. This was partly because the book offers Anderson’s “four steps” for Native women to decolonize themselves and reclaim places of health, balance, and power within themselves, their families, and their communities through traditional Indigenous teachings. These steps are to “*resist, reclaim, construct and act*” (Anderson 15; emphasis in original), processes which are described in detail through the Native women’s life stories that are the centerpieces of Anderson’s book.

Anderson begins her first chapter with a quotation by Mohawk elder Patricia Monture-Angus, who states:

As I have come to understand it from listening to the Elders and traditional teachers, the only person I can speak about is myself. That is how the Creator made all of us All I have to share with you is myself, my experience, and how I have come to understand that experience. (Anderson 21)

By opening her book this way, Anderson immediately validates the kind of self-telling that was at the core of the texts Jane had selected for the 2011 version of the American Indian Women’s course and supported students (Native and non, female and male) in their assignment to articulate their own experiences as sources of legitimate personal and community history and identity construction. The concept of self-telling emphasizes the significance in Native cultures of making visible personal and familial relationships when people first meet, interact, and hope to build healthy connections with one another, which was also one of Jane’s pedagogical goals for creating community in the classroom. Anderson also tells pieces of her own life story as it connects to the larger ideas in her book, which relate to all Native women. By privileging personal story within her text, Anderson underscores her desire to “practice an Aboriginal method of contextualizing knowledge” (21), one that foregrounds her own involvement with the subject about which she has written, and that resists colonizing concepts of “objectivist” research that can be irrelevant and destructive to the Native women’s ways of knowing that Anderson describes in this book. Anderson stresses that she is not separate from the interviewing, research, and writing processes, and that any attempt to distance herself from her subject would be artificial and disingenuous.

In this way, Anderson’s indigenous approach to discussing her material works to subvert historical and contemporary studies of Native peoples by outsiders to Native cultures who—under the guise of “scholarly objectivity”—have long made claims to knowing more about Indians than Indians themselves. Anderson’s philosophy—embodied in *A Recognition of Being* through her interviews with forty Native women elders—makes it clear that the only “authorities” on Native women

are Native women themselves. To learn their stories is to learn about the complexity and diversity of Native womanhood, historically and today.

Students responded powerfully both to Anderson's scholarly methodologies and to the stories of Native women that supported her theoretical claims. For the three Native women mentioned earlier—Jennifer Dorman, Brittany Dorman, and Myranda Locklear—*A Recognition of Being* was so inspirational and resulted in such wonderful final papers that Jane proposed these women present on their experiences with this text and with the American Indian Women's class at the 2012 North Carolina Indian Unity Conference. None of these young women had presented at a professional conference before, and they were all excited, nervous, and proud when our conference proposal was accepted. Using Anderson's text as a framework, Jennifer, Brittany, and Myranda shared their own brave, honest, and moving stories, as well as the stories of the significant Indian women who have shaped their paths. The conference room was packed on that March day in Charlotte, North Carolina, as these women revealed through story the historical trauma experienced by Native women, generally, and in their own specific communities and families resulting from 520 years of colonization. They also shared stories of hope, cultural maintenance, recuperation, and the tremendous resilience embodied by the Native women in their lives, including themselves. Myranda, Brittany, and Jennifer also outlined their own plans to initiate a range of healing processes designed to support the recuperation of empowered Native female identities not only for themselves, but for their daughters (two of three women were mothers the time of this presentation; at the time of this writing all three are), and for the coming generations.

Experiences like these are powerful and are one of the reasons why passionate educators remain in the classroom. Despite all of the challenges of the profession, witnessing students' growth and transformation—being present to share in that "recognition of being," as Anderson so beautifully describes it—is deeply rewarding. The value of introducing students to ideas that enable such development drives Jane and Rose to continually re-conceptualize courses and update assigned texts. Teachers know what they like, and yet we have to be willing to challenge our preferences and tendencies to teach what we know by inviting students to read new texts with us. In listening to students' voices, we learn not only what is worth teaching but how to teach it. This belief in the importance of cultivating students' unique voices, particularly by engaging them in the writing process, is shared by Jane and Rose.

Rose, like Jane, joined the faculty at UNC Pembroke in 2006. While earning her Ph.D. in American History at UNC Chapel Hill, Rose had studied with Theda Perdue, now an Emerita Professor. When Rose began graduate school, Perdue's path breaking book *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700–1835*, had just been released. Perdue's book, while certainly not the first study of American

Indian women's history, is held up as the text that makes anyone who studies American Indian history without paying attention to women look foolish. Rose worked as a teaching assistant for Perdue's Native American Women course and learned along with undergraduates about societies that conceptualized women's power as normal. Although Rose had taken women's history classes as undergraduate, these courses had focused on non-Indian, usually white women, and they had emphasized women's oppression. The framework of female authority presented in the Native American Women course was liberating, and Perdue unapologetically framed a historical world for students in which women's centrality and authority were the starting point for our analysis of change over time. We did not ignore the negative impacts of colonization, but we contextualized that change within the stories of women's lives that had equal value to those of men. Telling stories about the past that do not just include women but that value them has remained a central component of Rose's approach to teaching history.

After finishing her Ph.D., Rose worked as a visiting lecturer in the Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies program at Wake Forest University in 2006. There, she taught a course on the Ethnohistory of American Indian Women. Rose was influenced by scholarship that sought to organize women's experiences by considering femaleness throughout life cycles (as an alternative to narrative structures that universalize adult male experiences, such as serving in combat/going to war or holding positions of formal, public leadership). Rose assigned a range of historical and anthropological texts on American Indian women from throughout the United States, including Perdue's *Sifters*. At the end of the semester, Rose looked back at a successful class but thought the most interesting part was a component of the final exam in which she had asked the students to write a letter to any one of the women whose stories she had shared. She asked the students to explain what they had learned about these women's lives, but, more importantly, Rose challenged students to identify what they still wanted to know and to write about the facets of these Native women's experiences that they wished had been more thoroughly addressed in the existing scholarship. What Rose thought would be one last exercise enabling students to analyze the content but also the construction—and limitations—of historical and anthropological scholarship about Indigenous peoples, turned into the spark for her reconceptualization of the entire course. The questions students raised in that final assignment prompted Rose to think about how she could more fully explore the breadth of Indigenous women's lives in future versions of the class. Although American Indian literature was not her area of expertise, Rose had nevertheless read some of the important literary works by American Indian women and knew some of these texts spoke to the topics about which students wanted to learn more. The next time she taught the class, Rose vowed to include more of these literatures.

When she joined the Department of History at UNC Pembroke later that year, Rose assumed responsibility for the American Indian History courses that were cross-listed between History and American Indian Studies. Although Linda Oxendine had been teaching American Indian Women from a historical perspective and the course was formally cross-listed with the History Department, Rose did not participate in Jane's first two offerings of it. By the spring of 2012, however, Jane and Rose, who had already collaborated together on other AIS projects, decided to revamp the course and team teach it. We shared a commitment to retaining the core strengths of American Indian Women as Oxendine had designed it, and we were excited to further broaden the content to include scholarship reflecting the development of Indigenous Studies during the last two decades. We also recognized that this course would be a valuable addition to UNCP's Writing Intensive program, which was implemented in fall 2010 and requires students to take three courses that emphasize written communication in order to develop their skills through engaging in a variety of formal and informal written assignments.

Jane and Rose recognized the potential of the Indigenous Women course content and format to result in a transformative learning experience. We spent months reinventing the course and putting our revisions through the required university committees, and we created a new course description to reflect in greater detail the expanded perspectives we planned to incorporate in the course: "An interdisciplinary study of the historical and contemporary experiences of Indigenous women, focusing on but not limited to Native women in North America. Course will examine Native women's community roles and cultural practices prior to and since colonization and will privilege Native women's perspectives in course texts" (*University of North Carolina Pembroke Academic Catalog 2013–2014*, 121). We then eagerly awaited the opportunity to share the revised course with our students.

The course we designed together that ultimately became Indigenous Women was intended to accomplish three goals. First, we consciously sought to recognize the diversity of Indigenous women's cultures, histories, and experiences while not overwhelming students with an incomprehensibly wide range of information. All conscientious educators who teach about Indigenous, American Indian, Native American, and First Nations peoples struggle to find a balance between underscoring diversity and emphasizing common experiences. On the one hand, as Lakota scholar Beatrice Medicine, author of one of the readings we assigned, notes, "It is difficult and dangerous to generalize about a single ideology for indigenous women due to tribal distinctions and differences" ("Indian Women: Tribal Identity and Status Quo," Medicine 139). At the same time, Tewa scholar Gregory Cajete asserts in describing indigenous educational practices that "whether one views traditional Iroquois, Sioux, Pueblo, Navajo, or Huichol ways of knowing and learning, the pattern is the same: unity through diversity. Indian

people are all related. Tribal ways reflect a natural diversity of expression of basic principles and foundations” (*Look to the Mountain* 35). Thus, we hoped our course would present both of these truths as foundational and non-contradictory, as part of our Native Studies approach to teaching about Indigenous women.

Our second goal was to challenge persistent stereotypes that insist that “real” Indigenous peoples no longer exist, and that the violence of colonization is not ongoing. To achieve this, we actively emphasized the continuity of the colonial processes of dehumanization and material dispossession, and we made connections between several specific components of colonialism as it occurred in the past and occurs now. Here, too, we worked to provide balanced material that emphasizes Native peoples as constantly resisting, negotiating, and adapting in specific ways to the impact of colonization and its ongoing legacy, and to make clear that despite the brutality of colonization’s multiple processes, Indigenous women and men have remained active agents in their own destinies within the parameters of what has been possible in particular contexts. Third, because we wanted to empower students to both understand the process of colonization and deconstruct the cultural assumptions that render it invisible, particularly to settler populations who perpetuate it, we introduced students to decolonization theory, especially as articulated and deployed by female Indigenous scholars.

Teaching any theory in undergraduate courses poses challenges for instructors and students alike, and decolonization theory is no exception. Traditional-aged students are the products of “teaching for the test,” and they have learned to memorize what they’ve been told are the “facts.” As scholars of the humanities and social scientists deploy them, theories enable us to take a step back to think more critically about how humans perceive information and produce these so-called “facts.” As educators who want to emphasize important themes, we do not seek to destabilize all knowledge as relative. At the same time, we want students to understand that the construction of knowledge itself is culturally specific and, in relationship to Indigenous peoples, the suppression of their knowledge and the production of information about them by settlers has been and continues to be an important part of the process of colonization. For that reason, providing students with a set of tools with which to critically engage course content is important, especially in a course at the upper-division undergraduate level. Of equal importance is providing examples of scholars using these tools. We discuss these specific texts later in this essay.

As the faculty leading this course, we sought to summarize the dynamic and vibrant discourse among scholars who engage with decolonization theory into a useful, clear, and relevant definition for our students that was not simplistic. This is the definition of decolonization theory, which we crafted from our own understandings and that we shared with them on the first class meeting: “Decolonization theory is a network of ideas enabling us to envision the dismantling of the unequal relations

created through the colonization of some peoples/nations by Europeans beginning in the late fifteenth century. Decolonization theory was developed by scholars and activists within Indigenous communities around the globe during the latter decades of the twentieth century. Although it has diverse components, at its heart is the shared belief in the rightful self-determination of colonized peoples. Those influenced by it seek the practical application of scholarship towards that goal.”

With this theory as the backdrop for us to proceed with our course teaching goals, we organized the semester into three units. We spent the first two weeks on materials emphasizing the foundational concept of decolonization theory because we believe that it is important both to thoroughly explain this complex theory and to provide students with opportunities to practice engaging and applying it in their own thought processes. First, we read and discussed an excerpt from the groundbreaking theoretical scholarship by Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith from her text *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. This material is challenging for many undergraduate students, and after explaining and discussing it, we next asked students to read two essays that do what Tuhiwai Smith is calling for—critically analyzing the construction of information about Indigenous women—without the complicated language common in much theoretically driven scholarship. In Cynthia Wesley-Esquimaux’s “Trauma to Resilience” and Beatrice Medicine’s “Indian Women: Tribal Identity and Status Quo,” the authors draw attention to the sources of bias in academic scholarship and popular perceptions of Indigenous women, explain the impact of such faulty thinking, and suggest means of redress. We were conscious to select authors whose training reflects three different methodological backgrounds as well as women who belong to three different indigenous groups. Tuhiwai Smith, who is Maori, is a scholar of Indigenous education in New Zealand, and Wesley-Esquimaux, whose academic training was in Social Work, belongs to the Chippewa of Georgina Island First Nation in Lake Simcoe in Canada. Medicine, Lakota, was a path-breaking anthropologist who passed away in 2005.

To continue practicing the kind of analysis called for by decolonization theorists, we concluded our first unit by reading a classic text in American Indian women’s history and literature, Ella Cara Deloria’s *Waterlily*. In her ethnographic novel, Deloria, an ethnographer and linguist who belonged to the Yankton Dakota, constructs a radically different presentation of Dakota society than what is prevalent in contemporary scholarly and reform literature. Deloria invites readers into an Indigenous community that is culturally intact and in which gender, while a primary component shaping identity in Dakota society, empowers females and males in service to their kin, a common goal that gives meaning to Dakota lives. *Waterlily* had been a favorite of Oxendine’s to teach, and Jane had also taught the novel in her Native literature classes at UC Davis. Rose and Jane included it on our reading list because it is an accessible, beautifully written story that enables students to

understand the sort of holistic, culturally accurate scholarship for which decolonization theory calls. Asking students to analyze this text and its portrayal of relationships, power, and purpose for what is whole, functional, and life-affirming enables them to understand that scholarship about Indigenous peoples can be sophisticated while also being compelling to read.

In the second unit, we spent five weeks learning about specific topics of importance to Indigenous women across time and place through both historical and literary texts. We responded to the challenge of the wide range of important topics that we might cover in a class like this by identifying specific issues relevant to many Indigenous women throughout the hemisphere, and about which scholars have written material accessible to advanced undergraduate level students. Ultimately, we emphasized these two topics: (1) the process of working, labor, and the production of material culture; and (2) the expression of sexuality and experiences of sexual violence. Because of the rich and varied literature discussing these two topics, students were able to read several texts about each of them. Empowered by decolonization theory, they identified how scholars have researched, analyzed, and written about Indigenous women's experiences of work and sexuality. Guiding students to see common experiences and continuity without ignoring diversity or change, we defined both topics broadly and assigned readings that contextualized each theme within the history and culture of a specific group to highlight nuance and depth.

Because Jane and Rose conceptualize the term "work" as physical actions, engagement with environments, social organization and shared labor, spiritual practices, and ongoing economic strategies, we identified readings that discussed broadly what it has meant and means to be a working Indigenous woman. Students began their study of Indigenous women's labor by reading Colette A. Hyman's *Dakota Women's Work: Creativity, Culture, and Exile*, a historical monograph in which the author, a labor and women's historian of European ancestry, tells the story of Dakota adaptation to the fur trade and American occupation of their homeland, the Dakota War and the removal of the survivors, and their reestablishment of Dakota homes on reservations in the West by focusing on the production, exchange, and use of women's material culture. Deploying decolonization theory, students analyzed how Hyman used clothing, moccasins, and household goods ornamented with beading as text "written" by Dakota women. Hyman argues that the continued creation of these objects—ranging from baby moccasins to quilts to beaded Bible covers—and the value accorded to them proves women's ongoing centrality in Dakota society despite tremendous trauma and change. Students responded both to the beauty in Dakota women's art and the use of it as historical evidence. As Charlie, a young male of European descent, explained:

Dakota women fashioned a sort of subversive cultural Christianity, one which allowed them to continue their ancestral practices while appearing to have accepted colonization.

This is evident in the material culture of Dakota Christians, symbolized in the beautiful and elaborate beaded-leather prayer book and hymnal covers Dakota women fashioned. These Christian Dakota women ensured the continuance of an important cultural tradition through their work.

To humanize the process of scholarship for our students, we invited Hymen to join our class through video conference on afternoon. After she spoke about the process through which she researched her book and constructed its narrative, students asked her a range of questions. Many of the female students were themselves beaders, and the conversation gravitated toward the role of women's art and gifting in maintaining identity, perpetuating rituals, and celebrating female and male leadership. These students recognized the common threads in this comparative discussion of women's work. Hymen, too, asked questions of our students about their perceptions of her representation of Native women in *Dakota Women's Work*, and in all, the day was a richly satisfying experience for students, visiting scholar, and instructors alike.

We paired Hymen's historical study with the novel *The Round House* by Louise Erdrich, which engages Indigenous women's work, sexual violence, family relationships, and healing within the context of the tangled complex of federal Indian law that impacts reservation life. Protagonist Geraldine Coutts thrives in her job as her tribe's enrollment clerk until she is assaulted by a non-Indian man who targets her because of her authority over managing important tribal documents and, inadvertently, over him. The novel, told from the perspective of her thirteen-year-old son, Joe, emphasizes the ongoing violence against Indigenous women resulting from colonization, while making plain the role of U.S. government and law enforcement in perpetuating this violence. This is not a story only about an individual perpetrator, but about a system that normalizes abuse in a national rape culture. Erdrich's award-winning novel is, as she articulates explicitly in her Afterword, a literary work that is part of a larger movement in Indian Country to raise awareness of the disproportionate rate of sexual violence experienced by American Indian women and create the popular support for change.

The Round House thus marked our transition to a discussion of Indigenous women's experiences of sexuality, reproduction, constructions of womanhood and, too often, sexual violence. We paired this book with a screening of the documentary *Rape in the Fields*. The film explains why many undocumented Indigenous women working in the agricultural sector today experience gendered and sexual violence without redress. Although Jane and Rose were concerned that we not reduce Native women's sexuality to these negative experiences, students easily grasped the commonalities between the documentary and Erdrich's novel, and the argument they made about the frequency of such attacks against Indigenous women's bodies and spirits.

Following these two texts, students next read selections from Pawnee legal scholar Walter Echo-Hawk's *In the Light of Justice: The Rise of Human Rights in Native America and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, and from the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* itself. Echo-Hawk also visited UNC Pembroke as part of our Native American Speaker Series that spring semester (2014), which allowed students to listen to him discuss sexual violence and workplace safety issues in terms of human rights law and principles. Students found the international context of human rights discourse to be invaluable in comparing and contrasting the legal relationship of the United States and Native peoples here to that of other global settler states. Recognizing alternatives to current dehumanizing policies and practices is an important component of decolonization theory; so is making those changes. Echo-Hawk's work is an invitation to our government to do better, and it offers a clear blueprint of specific changes that should be made. Pairing attention to women's individual experiences of violence and the legal institutions and systems that sustain patterns of violence against Indigenous women enabled students to understand how critically deconstructing information can lead to new understandings and, above all, positive action.

Students completed the unit by learning about examples of institutional discrimination and Native women's activism against it. Students participated in a jigsaw activity, which divided a set of readings about a particular topic among co-equal learners. Students took responsibility for reading their parts, created detailed notes, and taught the content of their specific reading to their classmates. As individuals, they then wrote about the entire body of literature. For this jigsaw, students read a range of essays and articles discussing state policies that negatively impact Indigenous women and their efforts to improve working conditions, ensure access to resources, provide for their families, perpetuate traditional labor practices, control their experiences of their own sexuality, and/or parent their children according to their group's cultural norms as opposed to those of the settler state.

We designed the second unit to prepare students to think holistically in the third, which comprised the last eight weeks of the semester. In this unit, we selected readings that discussed Indigenous women from widely varying times, locations, and contexts. Unlike the topically specific readings on work and sexuality selected for the second unit, the authors of these texts wrote broad and comprehensive studies. When explaining the structure of this course to students, we had likened our learning process to analyzing the component parts, construction, and use of baskets. We selected baskets as a metaphor because they are a culturally relevant symbol that represent continuity and diversity. Baskets are the oldest known Native-constructed material objects, and they feature prominently in several Indigenous creation narratives (Haladay 62). They remained an important part of Native economies and cultural identities after the European invasion of their homelands, and, in many communities, remain so today. Reflecting the

range of the resources available in Indigenous environments, aesthetic preferences, uses, and artisans' skill, the appearance of baskets varies tremendously. Some are larger, and others are smaller. Some are woven of reeds and grasses, while others are constructed of wood and bark. The use of natural dyes differs as much as the patterns created by it. Students easily grasp this metaphor in connection with course content, and see how work and sexuality comprise two strands in the larger basket of Indigenous women's lives. Considering these parts as we weave together stories and information about Indigenous women, we gradually come to see the whole of these women's lives. Students understand that we can learn about every component contributing to the creation and use of a basket, and apply this model to our texts and the human lives these texts discuss. We designed the third unit to enable students to mirror this process in their analysis.

Students began this unit by reading Kim Anderson's *Life Stages and Native Women*. Anderson's "life stage" methodology incorporates age, familial role, and environment into a gendered analysis of Indigenous women's experiences in the past. It is an integrative approach to social history, and students found Anderson's holistic explanation of change over time compelling. Perhaps because many of our upper-level students were themselves nearing the milestone of graduation, they noted the loss of ceremony and the impact of that loss on young people craving guidance during generational transitions. As LeAnn, a Lumbee female student wrote in one assignment, "This loss of societal celebrations of puberty and adulthood has led to not only to a loss of self-esteem and sense of importance in young women, but it has also influenced the rise of violent acts against women. The spiritual balance that these ceremonies created within Native communities has to a certain extent been lost." We paired this book with the documentary *Fry Bread Babes*, which consists of interviews with Native women of various ages and appearances, and discusses the complexities of expectations around both what constitutes beauty in Indigenous female bodies, and also what "real" American Indian women are supposed to look like according to both their own groups and non-Indians. Students used decolonization theory to understand how the emphasis on increasingly narrow standards of physical attractiveness, particularly for the young, disempower women who traditionally earned status through lifetimes of living in service to, and in reciprocal relationship with, their families and communities.

Students ended the semester by reading a series of essays and articles that provided holistic perspectives on a range of topics. Some proved more and some less successful. Those that worked particularly well and that we will assign again when we teach this course in the future include Susan Lobo's "Urban Clan Mothers: Key Households in Cities" and Joan Weibel-Orlando's "Telling Paula Starr: Native American Woman as Urban Indian Icon," both of which explain urban American Indian women's role in maintaining ties to members of their diaspora and home communities. Paired together, these readings used the unique experiences of living

in cities as a starting point for comprehensive discussions of identity, relationships with family, work, and community engagement. Students also enjoyed the readings on alternative gender roles and sexualities, which, again, started with attention to these specific topics but broadened their analysis to integrate this one facet of Indigenous women's identities into broader explanations of these women's experiences. We assigned Beatrice Medicine's "Warrior Women: Sex Role Alternative for Plains Indian Women" and Spokane author Gloria Bird's "Breaking the Silence: Writing as Witness." These paired well together and suggested the continuity of according a place for Native women both past and present to belong fully and work for the good of their communities, whether defending the people with force of arms in the past, or protecting them with powerful written words in the present.

Throughout the semester, students practiced deploying decolonization theory and putting course readings in conversation with one another. We required students to engage in a variety of assignments and applied multiple methods of evaluation. We structured class meetings around discussions punctuated by mini-lectures providing background information about authors and specific Indigenous nations. We designed our evaluation model to emphasize student engagement with material in regular formal and informal writing assignments. Students wrote weekly short reflective essays in response to prompts focused on particular themes. In these one-page papers, we asked students both to deeply analyze readings being discussed in class that week and to compare and contrast them with material learned earlier in the semester. We wanted them to practice identifying an author's argument, selectively choosing textual evidence for their thesis, and to recognize authors' methodologies and literary styles as they scaffolded knowledge across the weeks of the course. The final essay assignment challenged students to identify a main theme of the course and to synthesize information about it from material they had learned over the last sixteen weeks.

REFLECTING ON THE PROCESS: ASSESSING LEARNING OUTCOMES AND PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

We believe our curriculum development, assignments, and teaching methods in the Indigenous Women course consistently privileged Native women's life experiences, histories, and voices as the primary sources of knowledge for understanding the complexity and diversity of Native women's lives. If this Native/Indigenous Studies approach seems obvious to Native Studies scholars and Indigenous women in the twenty-first century, it is also a fact that this has not always so. Further, it remains true that an individual Native woman does not represent the views of "all" Native women, and probably does not represent the attitudes or experiences of

other Native women even within her own nation or community. Nevertheless, the Indigenous women whose texts we included in our course were all acutely aware of the responsibility they bore to their various communities as Native women committing their words to print in English. As Gloria Birds makes clear, “I see my personal story as bearing witness to colonization and my writing as testimony aimed at undoing those processes that attempt to keep us in the grips of the colonizer’s mental bondage” (Bird 29).

So how well do we feel we succeeded in our goals for this class? What features of the course will we retain for the future, and which will we revise or scrap altogether? In the eleven course evaluations completed, out of a class of thirteen, the evaluations were primarily positive. We are aware, of course, that student evaluations are problematic assessment tools to be taken with a grain of salt, whether positive or negative. Still, in the seven narrative comments we received with the eleven numeric ratings, we received comments including: “I really enjoyed this course. It was well taught and well-planned”; “This course was very challenging but very effective in teaching the subject”; “[Instructor] runs a very thought-provoking, engaging class. I’ve learned a lot”; “This class has highlighted important and urgent matters concerning the movement of indigenous women to support and protect their traditional life ways. Thank you for a wonderful semester.” We are gratified to read such comments, particularly because the majority of those enrolled in the class were AIS and/or History majors, and we feel that the learning outcomes we intended for our students in the area of knowledge acquisition appeared to have been achieved to varying degrees.

We were not as satisfied, however, with the level of growth many of our students achieved in writing critically, concisely, and thoughtfully about literary and historical texts. However, this situation is not particular to this course, nor to other university undergraduate courses at institutions across the United States. This reality was perhaps a bit more sobering to us because Indigenous Women is an upper-level course, and because we assigned the weekly response papers described earlier in this chapter in hopes these short papers would help students hone their writing skills. In reflecting on these weekly one-to-two page writings after the class was finished, we have reconsidered assigning these very short, weekly papers—in which, admittedly, we asked students to cover a lot of ground in a short space—and to instead assign slightly longer writings every two weeks, so that students might have more time to develop their writing through revision. Yet the truth we have both experienced about undergraduate writing is that whether a paper is due in one or two weeks, students generally wait until the day (or night, or hour) before the paper is due to write it, unless drafts are required for review and workshop-ping during class time before the final paper is due. We did not require drafts in this class. And while we did invite students to send us drafts up to a day before each paper was due, offering our feedback on these drafts so that students

might improve their grades on the final versions, very few students ever took us up on this offer. In the future, we will embed workshop days into our course for peer and professor review and detailed discussion of student writing.

When we next teach this class, we will involve Native women from Robeson County and the surrounding region more directly in the course. Rather than simply assign students more reading on Southeastern American Indian women, we are considering ways to adapt Jane's "Pictures and Stories" assignment to meet the criteria for service learning. Reflecting a rising number of students interested in giving back to the communities that host their universities, service learning has become an increasingly popular component of a university education, including at UNC Pembroke. It is also one of the central tenets of the discipline of American Indian Studies. Supported by the Division for Engaged Outreach, several faculty, including Jane, have already incorporated service learning into other writing courses, and campus units such as the UNC Pembroke's Literacy Commons facilitates partnerships with community organizations who seek opportunities for literary enrichment. Appreciating that self-telling and Anderson's four steps could provide a useful framework for women already working for healing within the Lumbee community, we see enormous potential for mutually beneficial collaboration and are excited by such prospects.

Over lunch at Cozy Corner in Prospect on a chilly January in 2015, Jane asked Linda Oxendine if she still believed there is value in teaching a course specifically on Indigenous women in AIS/NAS curriculum. "Yes, definitely," Linda immediately replied. "The role of women needs to be explored, expanded on, and integrated into the whole story." Jane and Rose agree with our friend and mentor, and so, it seems, do many of the students who have taken the American Indian or Indigenous Women class. One student, Myranda Locklear, wrote in an assignment in 2011 that:

The Native women authors we have read in this course have all used the [Kim] Anderson Steps in their work by remembering the traditions and teaching them to the future leaders of our nation. They are passing the torches of balance between Earth and Humankind as something to be honored. Not just the balance of Earth and Man, but also of both genders, male and female. My eyes have been opened up to a new interpretation of myself and [to] a new path for my life. I know I have responsibilities as a Native woman, and I have the power within me to set in motion a new train of thought of what it means to be a Native Woman in the modern world.

When we evaluate the role of this class in our curriculum, we understand that we are not just teaching specific texts or writing skills but are sharing a small part of many students' transformations. Through reading—and creating curricular spaces for Indigenous women to tell their stories in their own words in our course texts—we are also part of the decolonization process. By working to make our classroom and our campus places in which Indigenous women's stories, lives, and dreams

have value, we hope to empower our students beyond the end of the semester. In this way, we collectively continue to shape the world.

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This multidisciplinary collection of nine previously unpublished essays presents new research in three interlocking domains: tribal history with a special emphasis on Native women in the Southeast, language revitalization efforts and the narrative knowledge inherent in indigenous oral culture, and traditional educational systems in the context of the ongoing colonization of American Indian educational practices and values. This volume highlights Southeastern Indian issues and demonstrates the unique situation of women in tribes lacking (full) federal recognition or a more inclusive and multidisciplinary discussion of Native women in more than one tribal nation. Southeastern themes are linked with topics of concern by other tribal nations to show commonalities and raised awareness about the central experiences and contributions of Native women in the encounter and ongoing struggle with Euro-American systems of oppression and cultural erasure.

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This book also features American Indian and non-American Indian scholars who are well known in American Indians studies, scholars beginning their career and scholars who, while not experts in American Indians studies, are considered experts in other disciplines and who recognize the unique attributes of Southeastern American Indian nations.

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