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## Cultural aspects of preschool education: Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi Indian children's "ways of knowing and communicating" in early intervention and Head Start programs

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**CULTURAL ASPECTS OF PRESCHOOL EDUCATION:  
OJIBWA, ODAWA & POTAWATOMI  
INDIAN CHILDREN'S  
"WAYS OF KNOWING AND COMMUNICATING"  
IN EARLY INTERVENTION AND HEAD START PROGRAMS**

**BY: Lois M. Bissell Jircitano, J.D., A.B.D  
August 30, 2001**

**A dissertation submitted to the  
Faculty of the Graduate School of State  
University of New York at Buffalo  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in  
Educational Administration  
Department of Educational Leadership and Policy**

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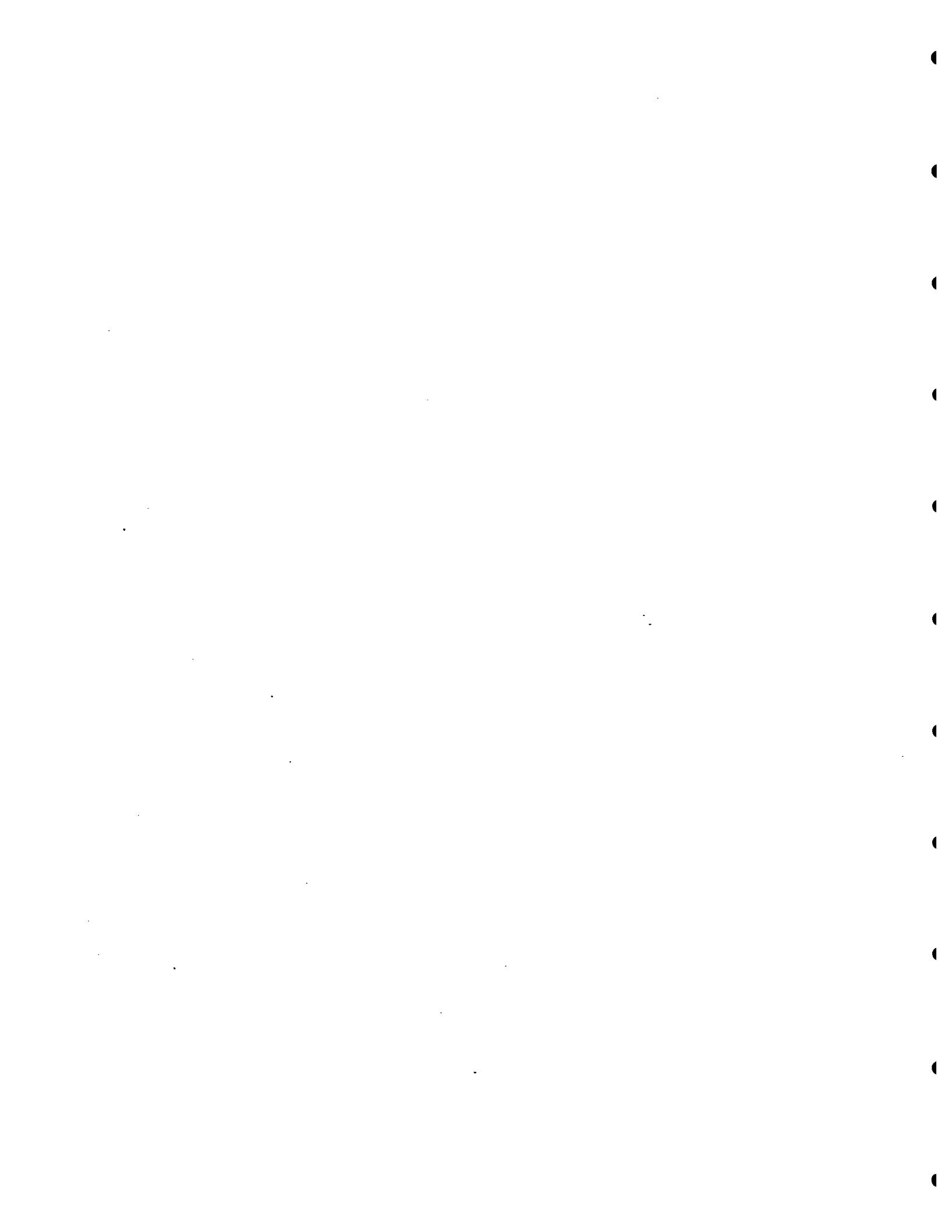
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## **Dedication**

**To my family**

**for their forbearance, love and support**

**without which this dissertation would not have been completed;**

**and to the many Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi members without whom**

**this dissertation could not have begun.**

**Nya-weh**

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**CULTURAL ASPECTS OF PRESCHOOL EDUCATION OF THE OJIBWA,  
ODAWA & POTAWATOMI INDIAN CHILDREN'S  
"WAYS OF KNOWING AND COMMUNICATING"  
IN EARLY INTERVENTION AND HEAD START PROGRAMS**

**ABSTRACT**

This research investigated *what Anishinabe cultural values and beliefs are transmitted* in the Head Start and Early Head Start of the Inter-Tribal Council of Michigan, and *how Anishinabe values and beliefs affect instructional communications, teacher/student relationships, and the learning styles used by Native teachers in the educational process of Anishinabe children in the preschool situation.* The study used an ethnographic approach to identify what informants would describe as their culture among the four Inter-Tribal Preschool programs. Observations completed in the classroom, home and community environment sought to discover how parents, teachers, children and staff in the preschool process use the culture. Outreach to interview Elders and grandparents from each of the four communities were an important component of this research in reconstructing the aboriginal culture and Tribal history.

Triangulation of results was completed through ethnohistorical research examining the original culture from first contact forward. Specifically, the project inquiry focused on substantiating the elements described in the interview context to



determine if aspects of the aboriginal traditional culture remained active in the communities. Progressive ethnologies and history were used to reconstruct the transitional stages of the cultural evolution in the sociological and ideological beliefs and values of the three Anishinabe groups studied; and to evaluate the impact of endemic forces of change.

The results of this research found that the cultural orientation of the Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi (Anishnabe) groups interviewed reflected differential stages of traditional "knowing," "expression" and "training" of children in the Inter-Tribal preschool environment. The transmission of the cultural values and beliefs from adults to children in the Inter-Tribal programs was evident and appeared to vary across centers dependent upon the amount of bicultural exposure experienced by informants; the availability of parents, teachers, caregivers and volunteers versed in the traditions. Socialization of children into the culture was consistent within the Tribal communities, and the involvement of culturally competent community resources to guide the administration and delivery process of the Head Start Programs.

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

### **Purpose**

The purpose of the study is to examine how Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi Indian cultural orientation among parents/teachers affect the content and process of the Inter-Tribal Council Early Intervention and Head Start programs.

The importance of this inquiry is reflected in the dearth of available research on the impact of cultural training of American Indian preschool children in the educational setting of Tribally operated Head Start programs. Primary research in Indian education has focused on cultural discontinuity that disrupts individual student achievement and precipitates early separation from the school environment. Unavailable in current research is investigation into *what is cultural training* that is transmitted between American Indian parents/children, teachers/children, and children/children and *how does cultural learning* affect the educational process of American Indian children in the preschool situation. Results of this type of investigation holds the potential to generate further research into how cultural orientation affects the academic performance of the Indian child as they emerge from preschool and continue in the mainstream system.

## **Research Problem**

The research problem will investigate how the Inter-Tribal Council-run preschool programs manifest the Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi cultures to identify *what are Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi cultures, and how are they transmitted* in the classroom through Indian parent participation, use of Indian teachers, and the application of a culturally-enriched curriculum; and to further identify how Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi cultures in the *content and process* affects the learning of Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi children.

## **Background Information**

The Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi Indian Nations, are three of eleven Indian Nation governments in the State of Michigan, which are federally recognized under existing Treaties with the United States Government. All of these governments have adopted a Tribal Constitution establishing an elective system through the Indian Reorganization Act of 1970, 25 U.S.C. Section 461 et. seq.. As such, they are individually governed by an elected council drawn from their membership. Within the state, ten of the Indian Nation created a consortium known as the Inter-Tribal Council of Michigan. Membership in the Inter-Tribal Council includes: the Bay Mills Indian Community; Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Ojibwa Indians; Hannahville Indian Community; Huron Potawatomi; Keweenaw Bay Indian Community; Lac Vieux Desert Band of Lake Superior Ojibwa; Little Traverse Band of Odawa Indians; Little

River Band of Ottawa Indians; Potawatomi Indian Nation; Saginaw-Ojibwa Indian Tribe; and the Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Ojibwa Indians.

The Consortium was established for the development of a 501 (C) (3), Not-For-Profit Corporation through which funds from federal, state and local resources could flow to each Indian community. The Inter-Tribal Council Board, which has representation from each member Indian Nation, enjoys limited powers to execute the duties of the corporate structure. Each Indian Nation exercises inherent sovereign authority to govern their individual Treaty territories, separate from the Inter-Tribal Council entity. In providing funds from federal and state resources to operate community programs, that include: Indian Health Services; Law Enforcement Agencies; Court Systems for Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction; Indian Child Welfare Agencies; and Child and Family Services (in conjunction with the Michigan Child Welfare Department); the Inter-Tribal Council retains agency responsibility to monitor and report grant activities to the funding source.

The Inter-Tribal Council Head Start Programs were initiated in 1984, for the purpose of serving low socioeconomic status families in both urban and rural locations. In 1991, the Parent Child Program Center was developed to provide education for children in the zero to three category. Within the past year, the Early Head Start Program was initiated, which provides pre and post-natal care for pregnant women, and educational training for parents and children, infant to three years-old. Originally funded exclusively by the American Indian Program Branch, Head Start Bureau of the U. S. Department of Health and Human Services, the Inter-Tribal

Council now provides matching funds and in-kind contributions from multiple Tribal agencies; and also receives funds from Tribal Casino enterprises and other Nation businesses.

During the 14 years existence, the Inter-Tribal Council Head Start Programs have experienced growth, program changes and staffing refinements. At the outset, the Head Start Program provided a combination of Day Care services and pre-kindergarten activities. In the development of the Parent/Child Program, parent education incorporated in-home training for mothers and fathers to learn verbal stimulation and reading readiness skills. The final component added last year, the Early Head Start Program, includes pre and post-natal physical care for mothers and infants; and social services agency assistance for parents.

In accordance with federal requirements, extensive parent involvement is expected at all levels of responsibility. Indian Policy Councils govern local center activities, with two representatives from all of the Nations involved, one for each of the Head Start and Early Childhood programs, and also includes a complement of community members. Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi parents have become teachers, aides and child-care workers, and more recently begun training for Certification as Child Development Specialists. Today, the Inter-Tribal Head Start organizations are addressing a long-standing need for a comprehensive preschool and kindergarten readiness for Michigan's multi-national Indian populations.

While the Day Care and Pre-kindergarten Program functions were originally separate, pursuant to federal mandate, they now operate as an integrated service program, providing a panoply of educational opportunities that include center-based Head Start programs, In-home Parent Training and Early Head Start Services, performing early intervention services for Indian children to receive verbal, gross motor and communication skills development. Indian parent participation, although not as prolific as hoped, remains evident across all nine Centers and In-home Training programs. With the application of new requirements for teachers to become certified as Child Development Specialists, the number of parent participants has decreased because it has become increasingly difficult to find qualified personnel to staff professional positions.

## **Literature Review**

In 1992 the National Conference on Educational Reforms and At-Risk Students on cultural differences and ongoing reform initiatives agreed that students are not naturally at risk as they enter education systems, but school difficulties develop from the interaction of unique student characteristics and the culture of the school environment. Cultural dissonance for Native American students arises from the historical experience of American Indians in the majority society (Vergun, 1992).<sup>1</sup> Cultural conflicts escalated as education for Native American students mandated by federal and state governments focused on initiatives to Christianize, civilize and

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<sup>1</sup> Vergun, Pamela (1992), *National Conference on Educational Reforms and At-Risk Students Proceedings*, American Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, Cal., ED 367 727, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Washington, D.C. (1992), pp. 2-48, at 6.

assimilate Indian children into the mainstream culture. Majority educators openly devalued the American Indian culture, extinguishing Native languages, traditions and religious beliefs; imputing to it an absence of cultural learning that concurred with the popular federal view to prioritize the rapid assumption of Euro-American values through the educational process (Noley, 1992).<sup>2</sup>

While there has been a dearth of educational research regarding individual achievement among American Indian students, more recent studies have begun to address cultural elements that impact performance to examine culturally appropriate curriculum, teaching styles, language preservation, and bilingual instruction and their influence on Indian education (Estrin and Nelson-Barber, 1995;<sup>3</sup> Reyner, 1992;<sup>4</sup> Nelson-Barber and Estrin, 1995).<sup>5</sup> As a politically and geographically isolated group existing on the periphery of mainstream America, the underachievement of Native children has been largely ignored in the research community except for their inclusion in studies examining *all* minority student failure. Research has shown that Native students enjoyed no greater success in states where Bureau Of Indian Affairs (BIA) contract schools predominate, than those states where Indian children attend public programs provided by local educational agencies. Common to both systems are the

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<sup>2</sup> Noley, Grayson (1992), *Building on and Integrating Cultural Diversity*, National Conference on Educational Reforms and At-Risk Students Proceedings, American Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, Cal., ED 367 727, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Washington, D.C. (1992), at 14-15.

<sup>3</sup> Estrin, Elise Trumbull and Nelson-Barber, Sharon (1995), *Issues in Cross-Cultural Assessment: American Indian and Alaska Native Students*, Knowledge Brief, Number Twelve, *Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development*, ED 388484, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Washington, D.C., (1995), pp. 2-9, at 3.

<sup>4</sup> Reyhner, Jon (1992), *American Indian Cultures and School Success*, *Journal of American Indian Education*, October (1992), pp. 30-39, at 34.

<sup>5</sup> Nelson-Barber, Sharon, Estrin Trumbull, Elise (1995), *Bringing Native American Perspectives to Mathematics and Science Teaching*, *Theory Into Practice*, Vol. 34, No. 3, Summer (1995), pp. 174-185.



many problems facing Native students that administrators and teachers have identified as poverty, parental alcohol/drug abuse and lack of parental involvement in the educational programs (Pavel, 1995).<sup>6</sup> Other problems associated with providing quality educational opportunities have involved finding qualified Native educators to accommodate Indian education programs in geographically remote locations; and in some situations, finding appropriate permanent staff has remained a challenge (Pavel, 1995).<sup>7</sup>

In the 1991 Indian Nations at Risk report the U.S. Department of Education identified barriers to success for American Indian students. Obstacles to the educational success of Native children included: (1) limited opportunities to enrich language and development skills in preschool programs; (2) an unfriendly majority school culture; (3) curriculum that incorporates only the European-American perspective; (4) low teacher expectations; (5) loss of the Native language capability among Indian children; (6) high drop-out rates; and (7) a lack of opportunity for parents and communities to develop a real sense of participation (St. Germaine, 1995).<sup>8</sup>

Today, although over 90 percent of all American Indian children are currently being educated in state public schools (Estrin and Nelson-Barber, 1995),<sup>9</sup> much of

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<sup>6</sup> Pavel, D. Michael (1995), Comparing BIA and Tribal Schools with Public Schools: A Look at the 1990-91, *Journal of American Indian Education*, Fall (1995), pp. 10-15, at 12.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid at 13.

<sup>8</sup> St. Germaine, Richard (1995), BIA Schools Complete First Step of Reform Effort, *Journal of American Indian Education*, Fall 1995, pp. 30-38, at 30.

<sup>9</sup> Estrin, Elise Trumbull and Nelson-Barber, Sharon (1995), Issues in Cross-Cultural Assessment: American Indian and Alaska Native Students, Knowledge Brief, Number Twelve, *Far West*

this educational opportunity is characterized by little understanding or valuing of the cultural ways of knowing and learning of Native children (Estrin and Nelson-Barber, 1995).<sup>10</sup> For decades, federal school policies embraced the assimilation of Native students into the Euro-American way of life, forcing them to abandon their language and culture; and through the boarding school system, often their families and communities. Vestiges of these policies have continued to generate mistrust between the majority schools and Native communities by direct and indirect devaluing of the Native way of life, creating ambivalent parental attitudes that question the value of educational opportunities available in mainstream systems which compromise their child's Indian identity (Estrin and Nelson-Barber, 1995).<sup>11</sup>

Research has found that American Indian students are disadvantaged with regard to educational achievement and school retention (McInerney and Swisher, 1995),<sup>12</sup> with dropout rates in some communities that exceed 60 percent (Nelson-Barber and Estrin Trumbull, 1995).<sup>13</sup> Typically, dropout rate statistics have remained consistently high across all three systems of Indian education--federal, state, and private (Swisher and Holsch, 1992);<sup>14</sup> and have been sustained over time--29

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*Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, ED 388484, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Washington, D.C., (1995), pp. 2-9, at 3.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid* at 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>12</sup> McInerney, Dennis M., Swisher, Karen Gayton (1995), Exploring Navajo Motivation in School Settings, *Journal of American Indian Education*, Spring (1995), pp. 28-50, at 28.

<sup>13</sup> Nelson-Barber, Sharon and Estrin Trumbull, Elsie (1995), Bringing Native American Perspectives to Mathematics and Science Teaching, *Theory Into Practice*, Vol. 34, Number 3, Summer (1995), pp. 174-185, at 174.

<sup>14</sup> Swisher, Karen, Holsch, Michelle (1992), Dropping Out Among American Indians and Alaska Natives: A Review of Studies, *Journal of American Indian Education*, January (1992), pp. 3-23, at 4.

percent (Deyhle, 1989);<sup>15</sup> 52 percent (Wells, 1991);<sup>16</sup> 22.7 percent (Deyhle, 1992);<sup>17</sup> 35.5 percent (Walkingstick Garrett, 1995).<sup>18</sup> It is known that American Indian students experience a significant drop in achievement motivation as they enter the seventh grade and are becoming aware of their Indian heritage (Wood and Clay, 1996).<sup>19</sup> Often, the underachievement of Native students is tied to a lack of success on educational assessments using standardized tests normalized for majority populations, with content that may be inappropriate to the common experience of Native children (Estrin and Nelson-Barber, 1995).<sup>20</sup> Teacher dependence upon standardized assessment results places the American Indian child at a disadvantage when educational decisions and performance expectations are based upon test outcomes (Dingman et al., 1995).<sup>21</sup> Indeed, some ingrained social traits have been blamed for the high incidence of Native students identified for special education services. Behaviors of Native children that have lead majority educators to assume mental slowness include the avoidance of eye contact during teacher/student interactions, and their penchant for silence rather than responsiveness during the instructional dyad (Wood and Clay, 1994).<sup>22</sup> Nelson-Barber and Estrin (1995) have attributed the educational difficulties of American Indian children to a unique cultural

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<sup>15</sup> Deyhle, Donna (1989), Pushouts and Pullouts: Navajo and Ute School Leavers, *Journal of Navajo Education*, 6 (2), pp. 36-51.

<sup>16</sup> Wells, R. H. (1991), *Indian Education from the Tribal Perspective: A survey of American Indian tribal leaders*, Canton, NY: St. Lawrence University (1991).

<sup>17</sup> Deyhle

<sup>18</sup> Walkingstick Garrett, Michael (1995), Between Two Worlds: Cultural Discontinuity in the Dropout of Native American Youth, *The School Counselor*, Vol. 42, January (1995), pp. 186-195, at 187.

<sup>19</sup> Wood, Peter B., Clay, W. Charles (1996), Perceived Structural Barriers and Academic Performance Among American Indian High School Students, *Youth and Society*, Vol. 28 No. 1, September (1996), pp. 40-61, at 45.

<sup>20</sup> Estrin and Nelson-Barber (1995), at 5.

<sup>21</sup> Dingman, Sherry M., Mroczka, Mary A., & Brady, James (1995), Predicting Academic Success for American Indian Students, *Journal of American Indian Education*, Winter (1995), pp. 10-17, at 11.

<sup>22</sup> Wood and Clay (1994) at 168.

heritage that places Native students at a significant disadvantage due to differences in learning styles, cognitive processing, and a community orientation which values harmony and cooperative effort over individual success and praise (Estrin and Nelson-Barber, 1995).<sup>23</sup>

If indeed Native student underachievement in the mainstream school community is precipitated by unique differences in cultural orientation that impair learning behavior and successful individual performance expected in the majority environment, the preliminary issue for contemporary research would be to identify *what* and *how* differences in cultural orientation affect the behaviors of teachers and students to impede or induce the successful internalization of educational expectations.

In order to identify *what* and *how* differences in cultural orientation affect the schooling of Native children, it was essential to first examine research that addressed the impact of diverse cultures on student outcomes generally. Using the theory of “cultural discontinuity” to examine and clarify what adverse affects resulted from the cultural conflict of minority students in majority school situations, it became apparent that clarifying and understanding cultural continuity was also necessary if one could make the distinction between classroom situations that fostered or impeded student understanding of educational expectations due to the influence of culture.

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<sup>23</sup> Nelson-Barber and Estrin (1995), at 176-182.

## **What is Cultural Discontinuity”?**

Vergun (1992) in reviewing findings of the National Conference on Educational Reforms and At-Risk Students identified three key areas of school reform that must be addressed by members of the educational community if schools are to enhance opportunities for at-risk students to succeed. Important areas of school reform included: understanding and appreciating cultural differences of students; addressing the student’s personal needs; and expanding parent/community involvement in the educational process. As basic as these elements seem to school reform in America, Vergun (1992) found them to be critical in changing the child, parent, and community perceptions of the school environment from one of hostility to acceptance (Vergun, 1992).<sup>24</sup> Earlier research by Spindler (1987) had established that teachers seeking to become effective agents for the transmission of culture and socialization skills among minority students must learn something of the neighborhood and the homes of the students to bridge the cultural gap (Spindler, 1987).<sup>25</sup>

Speaking specifically to the needs of the American Indian students, Franklin et al. (1995) listed four factors that were found to contribute to improved relationships between schools and American Indian communities, which could potentially empower Indian students. These factors were: (1) including American Indian language and culture as a part of the school program; (2) encouraging partnership and

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<sup>24</sup> Vergun (1992) at 8.

<sup>25</sup> Spindler, George, (1987), *Education and Cultural Process: Anthropological approaches*, Chapter. 11, pp. 160-172, Waveland Press, Prospect Heights, Ill. (1987).

participation from American Indian parents and communities; (3) actively promoting intrinsic rewards for the use of their Native language, and (4) advocating for students in the school assessment process (Franklin et al., 1995).<sup>26</sup>

Strong similarities exist in the community and family lives of American Indian students at-risk and those of urban poor minority populations. Twenty-four percent of all American Indian families live below the poverty line, and for those children living on Indian reservations, the incidence of poverty escalates to 45 percent. American Indian students have the highest drop-out rate of any minority population, estimated to be between 24 to 48 percent, and Indian students were found to experience a special education disability rate of 11 percent compared to 7 percent of Hispanic students, and 9 percent of African Americans (Franklin et al., 1995).<sup>27</sup> Many Indian children cope with serious psychosocial problems, such as alcohol and substance abuse, family violence and substandard living conditions in homes without electricity, water or central heating. Added to the school difficulties arising from their low socioeconomic status, American Indian children have been reared in a cultural milieu that differs markedly from the school environment which values individual competition, verbal expression and personal recognition associated with educational achievement (Franklin et al., 1995).<sup>28</sup>

Early research investigating school performance postulated that some cultural groups do better academically because their cultures are congruent with the culture of

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<sup>26</sup> Franklin et al. (1995) at 184.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid at 183.

the educational institution (Ogbu, 1990).<sup>29</sup> For instance, white middle-class children are thought to integrate successfully within the majority school culture because the governance structure maintaining the educational system shares a common cultural orientation with mainstream American values (Ogbu, 1982).<sup>30</sup> Conversely, children from diverse cultural orientations are often found to be disadvantaged because they are at odds with the school environment (Ogbu, 1982<sup>31</sup>; Dehyle, 1983<sup>32</sup>; Erickson, 1987<sup>33</sup>; Moore, 1994<sup>34</sup>; Garrett Walkingstick, 1995<sup>35</sup>; Wood & Clay, 1996<sup>36</sup>). Ogbu (1982) first looked at universal discontinuities (to be features of schooling that are inherently discontinuous with the home and community), and concluded that for all children there is an initial discontinuity between home and school in language use, contextual learning, and styles of learning. Schools created for the purpose of aiding and abetting modernization among indigenous cultures (or in the case of American Indian students--assimilation goals of federal policy), have disrupted the inter-generational transmission of traditional cultural information (Ogbu, 1982; Spindler, 1974).<sup>37</sup> Where curricular content has been alien to the existing culture of the community, there is little reinforcement in the home, family or community, which has

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<sup>29</sup> Ogbu, John U., (1990), *Minority Education in Comparative Perspective*, *Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 59, No. 1, pp. 45-57, at 46.

<sup>30</sup> Ogbu, John U., (1982), *Cultural Discontinuities and Schooling*, *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, Number 4, pp. 291-297, at 298.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid* at 291.

<sup>32</sup> Dehyle, Donna, (1983), *Between Games and Failure: A Micro-Ethnographic Study of Navajo Students and Testing*, *Curriculum Inquiry*, 13:4 (1983), pp. 347-376, at 373.

<sup>33</sup> Erickson, Frederick, (1987), *Transformation and School Success: The Politics and Culture of Educational Achievement*, *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, Vol. 18, pp. 335-356, at 355.

<sup>34</sup> Moore, Kenneth Jerald, (1994), *Florida Seminole School Dropouts*, *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, Vol. 22, July 1994, pp. 165-172, at 168.

<sup>35</sup> Walkingstick Garrett, Michael, (1995), *Between Two Worlds: Cultural Discontinuity in the Dropout of Native American Youth*, *The School Counselor*, January 1995, Vol. 42, pp. 187-195, at 188.

<sup>36</sup> Wood and Clay (1996), at 54.

<sup>37</sup> Ogbu (1982) quoting: Spindler, G. D. (1974), *The Transmission of Culture*, In *Education and Culture: Toward an Anthropology of Education*, G. D. Spindler, ed. pp. 279-310, New York; Holt, Rinehart and Winston, at 305-306.

resulted in isolation of the school from the cultural system it is intended to serve (Ogbu, 1982; Spindler, 1974).<sup>38</sup>

In refining the concept of “cultural discontinuities,” Ogbu (1982) identified “primary discontinuities” as being cultural developments that were in existence before members of a given minority population came into contact with American or western white middle-class culture. Primary discontinuity was thought to exist where immigrant populations migrating to America maintain their cultural differences despite dissonance with the majority school culture. This group is successful in maintaining a clear understanding of their ideal cultural frame of reference, thus learning the mainstream culture of the dominant group does not threaten their own cultural or linguistic origins (Ogbu, 1990).<sup>39</sup> Conversely, Ogbu (1982) found that “secondary cultural discontinuities” develop after members of two populations have been in contact, or members of a given cultural population have begun to participate in an institution (such as a school), that is controlled by another cultural group. Hence, secondary cultural discontinuities develop as a response to a contact situation, where stratified domination is occurring in a majority controlled institutional setting (Ogbu, 1982).<sup>40</sup>

Designating nonimmigrant minority populations as “castelike minorities,” Ogbu (1982) characterizes the cultural confrontation of secondary discontinuities as derived from: (1) their incorporation into majority society involuntarily and

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<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> Ogbu (1990), at 48.

<sup>40</sup> Ogbu (1982) at 298.



permanently; (2) where they face a job ceiling or unequal access to improved economic status; and (3) they tend to formulate their economic and social problems in terms of collective institutional discrimination, which they perceive as more than a temporary situation. Included in the category of castelike minorities were Black Americans, Indians, and Hispanics (Ogbu, 1982), who, as subordinate groups, were “prohibited through legal or extralegal means from behaving in certain ways, or denied access to privileges, rewards or positions considered to be the prerogatives of the dominant group.” Responding to these limitations, some castelike minorities develop survival strategies, and through collective struggle, adopt language and communication styles, social relations and interactional modalities which constitute a distinctive lifestyle that is in opposition to white culture (Ogbu, 1982).<sup>41</sup> Because castelike minorities come to the learning situation with an oppositional mindset in response to their treatment and perceived subordination by the proprietors of the learning situation, they are discouraged from maximizing the internalization of different values, social competence, cognitive skills and strategies that rule behaviors for achievement in an educational setting (Ogbu, 1987).<sup>42</sup>

Cultural discontinuity has been used to explain the variability of school performance among minority populations. Ogbu (1987) identified three factors that contribute to the school failure of minority students to include: society, school and the community. Disparities in historical practices have denied minorities access to desirable jobs and positions in adult life, which is the result of an inferior education

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid at 299.

<sup>42</sup> Ogbu (1987) at 318.

that was available to this group (Ogbu, 1987).<sup>43</sup> Because minority children could not adequately perform nor academically test high enough to challenge the superiority of white education in the employment market, this economic reality was perceived by the group as permanently fixing their place in the social structures of school and community. School and classroom forces that operate to limit the achievement of minority children, include lowered expectations of teachers and administrators, and the extensive labeling of minority children as having educational “handicaps.” The denigration of minority cultures by the dominant group (which ascribes to themselves the only “proper moral values, cultural norms, good manners, good and correct speech, and good and correct posture”) was considered a significant factor that contributed to the perception of inferiority, thus permitting the exploitation of minorities by the majority (Ogbu, 1987).<sup>44</sup>

The explanation for the variability in the school performance of diverse cultural groups, became more specific as distinctions were made between three minority categories: *autonomous minorities* (Jews and Mormons), groups so designated primarily in the numerical sense; *immigrant minorities* (Chinese and Punjabi) people who moved more or less voluntarily to America for their economic well-being, social improvement or political freedom; and *castelike or involuntary minorities* (Black Americans, American Indians, Native Hawaiians, and Mexican Americans) people originally brought into this country involuntarily through slavery, conquest or colonization (Ogbu, 1987).<sup>45</sup> Characteristics of cultural differences

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid at 317.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid at 319-320.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid at 320-321.

across the three types were then subdivided into two additional groups by derivation: primary cultural differences (voluntary minorities)--those that existed before the two populations (minority and majority) came into contact; and secondary cultural differences (involuntary or castelike minorities)--that arose after the two populations became engaged in a contact situation, where domination of one group over another could occur (Ogbu, 1987).<sup>46</sup>

Cultural discontinuity in education is experienced by all subgroups through the interactional process between the majority and minority cultures. How different minority students respond is related to their ability to accept their situation as temporary, adapt to their treatment by the dominant group, and establish new secondary cultural mechanisms for coping, perceiving and feeling in regard to their relationship with white Americans or their place in the social hierarchy (Ogbu, 1987).<sup>47</sup> Much research has been devoted to identifying characteristics of involuntary minorities, which describe differences in cognitive processing, mode of communication, interaction and learning styles (Ogbu, 1987).<sup>48</sup> Distinctive characteristics of involuntary minorities have been related to the development of the phenomena called "cultural inversion," or the tendency for minority members of the population to adopt certain forms of oppositional behaviors considered to be legitimate in preference to "acting majority." Cultural inversion sometimes serves as a basis to refute negative stereotypes created by the dominant group, and is associated

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid at 320.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid at 323.

with establishing a dichotomy of opposing frames of cultural reference through which minorities articulate ideal ways of orienting different behaviors (Ogbu, 1987).<sup>49</sup>

Immigrant populations (or voluntary minorities) perceive their social identity as primarily different from the social identity of white Americans; whereas involuntary minorities develop a new sense of social identity in opposition to the culture of the dominant group as a reaction to the way they have been treated as a subordinate in society. The dominant group may practice deliberate exclusion from true assimilation, as was the experience of Black Americans or forced assimilation (as with American Indians). Both types of treatment may be perceived by the minority population as collectively administered through institutionalized practices and relatively enduring (Ogbu, 1987).<sup>50</sup> Immigrant minorities see their adaptation to cultural barriers as temporary differences to overcome in order to achieve long-range goals, so learning new cultural behaviors does not threaten the predominance of their own culture, language or identity. Conversely, involuntary minorities perceive cultural differences in the school environment as barriers that serve as markers of their proscribed identity to be maintained, but not overcome. Furthermore, caste-like minorities tend to equate educational endeavors with the learning of the “white” cultural frame of reference. Hence, activities that promote academic success or the incorporation of the conventional school attitudes may be threatening to the oppositional stance that helps them to maintain group identity and loyalty within their minority population (Ogbu, 1987; Ogbu, 1990).<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid at 322.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid at 323; Ogbu (1990) at 48.

Spindler (1987) learned that, in some circumstances, the schooling of Black children in the dominant educational systems is patterned for them at an early age, and is often imbued with lowered performance expectations. Teacher perceptions about student poverty and cultural disadvantage create irrevocable “givens” regarding the ability of Black children, which then justify the child’s underachievement and miseducation (Spindler, 1987).<sup>52</sup> Although Spindler’s (1987) research of the Harlem School was initiated over ten years ago, cultural discontinuity between the school and home is still perceived to negatively affect minority students with cultural and linguistic differences (Guild, 1994).<sup>53</sup>

Similarly, where historical and contemporary educational systems have sought to obliterate Native American culture, both actually and figuratively (McQuiston & Brod 1985),<sup>54</sup> high Native student drop-out rates have demonstrated the negative effect of these assimilation policies (Franklin et al., 1995<sup>55</sup>; Deyhle, 1995<sup>56</sup>). This type of subtractive educational program that seeks to replace Native language and culture with English language and culture has been shown to cause minority students to fail (Reyhner, 1992; Cummins, 1989). Conversely, the empowerment of minority students was thought to be facilitated by the incorporation of the unique cultural and linguistic heritage of the student into the school curriculum (Reyhner, 1992;

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<sup>52</sup> Spindler (1987) at 161.

<sup>53</sup> Guild, Pat, (1994), The Culture/Learning Style Connection, *Educational Leadership*, May 1994, pp. 16-21, at 18-19.

<sup>54</sup> McQuiston, John M. and Brod, Rodney L., (1985), Structural and Cultural Conflict in American Indian Education, *Education Digest*, 50 (4), pp. 48-58, at 54.

<sup>55</sup> Franklin et al. (1995), at 184.

<sup>56</sup> Deyhle, Donna (1995), Navajo Youth and Anglo Racism: Cultural Integrity and Resistance, *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 65, No. 3, Fall 1995, pp. 403-444, at 419-420.

Cummins, 1989).<sup>57</sup> However, when the educational system is structured as a mechanism of assimilation, and the only path to success for Indians, is to become “non-Indian,” it is a path that is almost universally rejected (Deyhle, 1995).<sup>58</sup>

### **Cultural Discontinuity for American Indian Students**

Cultural discontinuity in the education of Native Americans describes differences between the school environment and Native communities as a “chasm that exists between mainstream expectations and the cultural values of Native Americans” (Garrett Walkingstick, 1995).<sup>59</sup> Research has demonstrated that although American Indian children enter school eager and willing to learn, beyond the fourth grade, their academic performance rapidly declines as they move forward in the mainstream school culture (Sanders, 1987).<sup>60</sup> Kasten (1992) characterizes differences in values between Native American students and mainstream school systems as diametrically opposed to what Indian children learn at home (Kasten, 1992).<sup>61</sup> To explain the inherent differences between Native and non-Native cultural values and beliefs, Garrett and Myers (1996) in their studies of counseling techniques for Native American clients, established a conceptual paradigm they termed the “Rule of Opposites.” The Rule of Opposites demonstrates how traditional Native Americans understand the import and interpret the Circle of Life, its nature, meaning

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<sup>57</sup> Reyhner, John (1992), American Indian Cultures and School Success, *Journal of American Indian Education*, October 1992, pp. 30-35, at

<sup>58</sup> Deyhle, Donna (1995), at 419.

<sup>59</sup> Walkingstick Garrett (1995) at 187.

<sup>60</sup> Sanders, D. (1987), Cultural Conflicts: An important factor in the academic failures of American Indian students, *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 15, pp. 81-90.

<sup>61</sup> Kasten, Wendy C., (1992), Bridging the Horizon: American Indian Beliefs and Whole Language Learning, *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, Vol. 23, pp. 108-119, at 109.

and universal truths which are imbedded as lessons encountered throughout life. Some of these lessons reveal the discordant worldviews that Native students bring to mainstream classrooms which place them at a disadvantage within the majority educational culture. Within the traditional system, lessons are transmitted through storytelling to uncover truths such as "everything and everyone has a purpose on Mother Earth" (Garrett & Myers).<sup>62</sup> As explained by an Elder, the truth conveyed in this lesson--"Don't ever try to be what you're not, and don't ever let anyone else tell you that you are either"--(Garrett & Myers, 1996),<sup>63</sup> is in direct opposition to the assimilation philosophy espoused in most subtractive education programs that compel Native children to relinquish an Indian identity in deference to acting "white" in order to become academically successful in the dominant group (Deyhle, 1995).<sup>64</sup>

Cummins (1986) explained minority underachievement as a consequence of the power and status relations between minority and majority groups that influence student performance (Cummins, 1986).<sup>65</sup> He also found that a lack of identification between the home and school cultures becomes an institutionalized barrier to the academic success of minority individuals (Cummins, 1984).<sup>66</sup> Deyhle's (1992) later research among Navajo and Ute youths agreed that structural barriers play a significant role in affecting the school dropout rates of Native students from these two groups. Cultural conflicts that arise due to racial and economic tensions in the

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<sup>62</sup> Garrett, Michael Tlanusta and Myers, Jane E., (1996), *The Rule of Opposites: A Paradigm for Counseling Native Americans*, *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, April 1996, Vol. 24, pp. 89-104, at 91.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid* at 96.

<sup>64</sup> Deyhle, 1995, at 407.

<sup>65</sup> Cummins, Jim (1986), *Empowering Minority Students: A Framework for Intervention*, *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 56, No. 1, February 1986, pp. 18-36, at 21.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid* at 22.

community and school; differences in child-rearing patterns; and maintenance of cultural integrity and resistance are all factors in the decision of Native students to leave school prior to graduation (Deyhle, 1992).<sup>67</sup>

Moore (1994) supported the cultural conflict theory as the basis for the underachievement of Seminole students, assigning responsibility for excessive dropout rates among this Indian group to the cultural discontinuity they experience as they move from reservation elementary schools to majority systems in the upper grades (Moore, 1994).<sup>68</sup> American Indian student dropout statistics are a national problem estimated to be between 30 to 50 percent annually (Backes, 1993),<sup>69</sup> with little done to abate its increase despite a national effort generated by Congress in 1988 through the School Dropout Demonstration Program, which addressed minority student dropouts generally (Moore, 1994).<sup>70</sup>

Wood and Clay (1996) explored cultural discontinuity theory to explain the poor performance of American Indian students in light of mainstream assumptions concerning the value of education and its purpose in upward mobility. Their study results indicated that where Indian children maintained a weaker commitment to the dominant culture (Anglo beliefs, attitudes and values) it was evident that there was a

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<sup>67</sup> Deyhle, Donna (1992), *Constructing Failure and Maintaining Cultural Identity: Navajo and Ute School Leavers*, *Journal of American Indian Education*, January 1992, pp. 24-47, at 25.

<sup>68</sup> Moore, Kenneth Jerald (1994), *Florida Seminole School Dropouts*, *Journal of Multicultural Counseling, and Development*, Vol. 22, July 1994, pp. 165-172, at 168.

<sup>69</sup> Backes, John S. (1993), *The American Indian High School Dropout Rate: A Matter of Style?*, *Journal of American Indian Education*, May 1993, pp. 16-29, at 17.

<sup>70</sup> Moore (1994), at 169.



concurrent decline in their average grades (Wood and Clay, 1996).<sup>71</sup> Similarly, Fuchs and Havighurst (1973) observed that Indian student achievement dropped dramatically in the seventh grade, which they correlated with the period in which Native students developed an awareness of their own cultural heritage and recognized their "Indianness" (Fuch & Havighurst, 1973).<sup>72</sup> Wilson (1991) cited racial prejudice manifested by teachers in the different treatment of Sioux Indian students compared to white students in exercising discipline, enforcing school rules, providing assistance to students during instruction, and lowering of expectations for Indian student performance (Wilson, 1991).<sup>73</sup>

Some behavior strategies Ogbu (1987) identifies as coping mechanisms of involuntary minority parents/communities in helping children to adapt in majority schools may shed light on the attitude of Indian students toward the majority education system. These coping skills include: active or passive confrontation; verbal encouragement but non-teaching involvement with children's education/school learning; continual quest for "better education" through collective struggle; unconsciously teaching children ambivalent attitudes about education and success in adult life or in the opportunity structure; weak control of children's use of time; a weak socialization of children to develop good academic work habits and perseverance at academic tasks; and a weak sanction of academic instrumental

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<sup>71</sup> Wood, Peter B. and Clay, W. Charles (1996), Perceived Structural Barriers and Academic Performance Among American Indian High School Students, *Youth & Society*, Vol. 28, No. 1, September 1996, pp.40-61, at 53-54.

<sup>72</sup> Wood and Clay (1996) citing Fuchs, E. & Havighurst, R. J. (1973), To Live on This Earth: American Indian Education, *Journal of American Indian Education*, National Forum, 71, 2-4.

<sup>73</sup> Wilson, Peggy (1991), Trauma of Sioux Indian High School Students, *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, Vol. 22, pp. 367-383, at 375-76.

behavior and academic responsibility (Ogbu, 1987).<sup>74</sup> Characteristics of involuntary minority children include: poor academic or work habits and attitudes; minimum efforts and time on academic tasks; settling for average grades; sporadic study and homework behaviors; preferences for peer solidarity to schoolwork; submission to peer pressure; distrust for school authorities; and resistance to following school rules and standard practices (Ogbu, 1987).<sup>75</sup>

From Ogbu's (1987) prospective, American Indians as involuntary minorities have realized the barriers to be faced in the economic mainstream of American society. From generations of experience, they know that these limited economic opportunities available to them are not temporary (Ogbu, 1987).<sup>76</sup> Institutionalized racism has erected structural barriers in white schools that have induced culturally-based resistance behaviors among Native students to affect performance and achievement (Deyhle, 1992).<sup>77</sup> However, this does not fully explain the oppositional reaction of other Indian student populations, such as youths within the Navajo Nation, where the community has consistently maintained a strong cultural identity and an Indian values orientation for centuries. In this traditional community Deyhle (1995) indicates success for Navajo students is tied to family and reservation economic and cultural networks. Hence, Anglo notions of success--such as obtaining higher education, school credentials, individual careers and thus economic prosperity--are not embraced by the Navajo people. While Deyhle (1995) characterized only a small segment of the Navajo cultural ethos as "oppositional," she found that the Navajo

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<sup>74</sup> Ogbu (1987), at 332.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid at 333.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid at 318.

<sup>77</sup> Deyhle (1992), at 31.

people are faced with domination by their Anglo neighbors daily and resist because of a culture that is rich and enduring through centuries of cultural conflict. (Deyhle, 1995).<sup>78</sup>

A byproduct of such conflict has left most of the Navajo communities with deep, ingrained mistrust for the educational institutions that serve them (Deyhle, 1995).<sup>79</sup> Much of this mistrust can be attributed to centuries of federal policies that focused on assimilation, and thus devalued the American Indian culture through the schooling process. American Indian students have felt "embattled as they attempted to negotiate their way through the American educational systems, public or private, and including the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) facilities (Noley, 1992).<sup>80</sup> For centuries, federal removal policies estranged Indian children from their language, culture, society and religious ways of life (Locust, 1988).<sup>81</sup> Many American Indians believed the true intent of these policies was to facilitate cultural genocide. Although the federal and state governments are no longer officially using boarding schools as a primary vehicle for the Americanization of Native children, Indian youths still see the present institutional racism found in majority education systems as a parallel to the cultural genocide of the past in that the devaluation of the Indian culture continues to undermine the psychological well-being of Native children (D'Andrea, 1994).<sup>82</sup> Such

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<sup>78</sup> Deyhle (1995), at 408.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid at 416.

<sup>80</sup> Grayson, Noley (1992), *Educational Reform and American Indian Cultures*, American Institutes for Research in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, California; Arizona State University, Tempe (1992); ED 362 341, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Wash., D.C.

<sup>81</sup> Locust, Carol (1988), *Wounding the Spirit: Discrimination and Traditional American Indian Belief Systems*, *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 58, No. 3, August 1988, pp. 315-330, at 316.

<sup>82</sup> D'Andrea, Michael (1994), *The Concerns of Native American Youth*, *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, Vol. 22, July 1994, pp. 165-173, at 173.

attempts to alter the Indian orientation of children through the educational venue remain suspect, and stand as a symbol of the continued adversarial relationship that exists between white educators, the white community and Indian people (Deyhle, 1995).<sup>83</sup>

From the outset, white institutions failed to accept the Indian culture as intellectually equal to the Euro-American culture. This attitude has facilitated the perception that Native language and culture are a problem to be eradicated (Deyhle, 1995)<sup>84</sup>; and blatantly devalued traditional practices representative of the child's "Indianness" (Trumbull Estrin and Nelson-Barber, 1995).<sup>85</sup> Acculturation, as an institutionalized process, has continued to create gaps between Native children, the school and the cultural continuity learned within family environment (Walkingstick Garrett, 1995).<sup>86</sup> When the socialization of culturally diverse children is inconsistent with school expectations and patterns, the child is required to persistently adapt to the culture of the school environment in order to succeed (Guild, 1994).<sup>87</sup> Many Indians recall that the underlying philosophy of assimilation, which characterized Anglo institutions, forced them to adopt Anglo values and religious beliefs, molding their conformance to normative Anglo behaviors. Native students who resisted

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<sup>83</sup> Deyhle (1995) at 415-416.

<sup>84</sup> Deyhle (1995) at 412.

<sup>85</sup> Trumbull Estrin, Elise and Nelson-Barber, Sharon (1995), *Issues in Cross-Cultural Assessment: American Indian and Alaska Native Students*, U.S. Department of Education, Office of Research and Improvement, Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC), ED 388 484, Wash., D.C. pp. 1-9, at 2.

<sup>86</sup> Walkingstick Garrett, Michael (1995), *Between Two Worlds: Cultural Discontinuity in the Dropout of Native American Youth*, *The School Counselor*, Vol. 42, January 1995, pp. 187-195, at 189.

<sup>87</sup> Guild, Pat (1994), *The Culture/Learning Style Connection*, *Educational Leadership*, May 1994, pp. 16-21, at 19.

assimilation to hold onto their culture and remain immersed in the Indian community were routinely described as failures by school personnel (Deyhle, 1992).<sup>88</sup>

It is recognized that not every involuntary minority characteristic identified by Ogbu (1987) are shared by all American Indian students. However, enough similarities exist between the Native American educational experience and that of other American minority children to suggest that institutional barriers in the majority school environment have seriously impacted the potential achievement of Native children as well. Wilson (1991) indicates that Native student limitations in academic performance are the consequences of macro-structural factors which impede the integration of diverse cultures in mainstream programs. The trauma and frustration experienced by Native students generated by a racially abrasive school environment escalates the cultural conflict between Native and non-Native teachers/students to induce Indian students to retreat from this type of systemic rejection in order to emotionally survive. Wilson (1991) also found that the lack of understanding of this cultural conflict by school personnel contributes to Indian student failure in the form of lowered student performance expectations, and feelings of hopelessness that induce educators to be inattentive to Indian student needs for assistance or instruction (Wilson, 1991).<sup>89</sup>

Cultural discontinuities may have been an important factor affecting the education of Native children for many generations. For instance, it is recognized that

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<sup>88</sup> Deyhle (1992) at 33.

<sup>89</sup> Wilson (1991) at 379.

majority educational institutions have been found to be suppressive and discriminating against the belief systems of American Indian children. Deyhle (1995) pointed out that discrimination can take many forms--some overt in which Anglo teachers speak openly about disliking Navajo students (Deyhle, 1995).<sup>90</sup> In the Wax (1967) study of Oglala Sioux dropouts, it was found that many had experienced abuse from other students; and that although many did not want to leave school, they felt "pushed out" or "kicked out" by the school personnel (Deyhle, 1992; Wax (1967)).<sup>91</sup> Wilson (1991) indicated that Sioux students dropped out of school because they were not treated well and were unable to alter their school situation. Faced with negativism, these students left in order to preserve their culturally ordered self concept escaping an environment of institutionalized racism (Wilson, 1991).<sup>92</sup>

Locust (1988) indicates, it is not enough for schools to understand Indian beliefs, school personnel must also understand how such beliefs have manifest themselves in Indian attitudes and behaviors in the classrooms (Locust, 1988).<sup>93</sup> Many fundamental Indian beliefs are seen as incongruous by majority educators. For instance, harmony within oneself, one's family, community and environment is a paramount value in most American Indian cultures. Thus avoiding disharmony is not only desirable, but essential because disharmony is negative and pervasive and can

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<sup>90</sup> Deyhle (1995) at 412.

<sup>91</sup> Deyhle (1992) at 12, citing Wax (1967), Oglala Sioux dropouts and their problems with educators, in Everett T. Kesch et al. (Eds.), *Education and school crisis: Perspectives on teaching disadvantaged youth*, pp. 247-257, New York, N.Y.; Wiley & Sons.

<sup>92</sup> Wilson (1991) at 381.

<sup>93</sup> Locust (1988) at 318.

result in unwellness (Locust 1988; Garrett et al, 1994).<sup>94</sup> In Navajo culture, illness is an imbalance that can only be healed by restoring harmony within the body (Little Soldier, 1992).<sup>95</sup> Being respectful and kind are inherent aspects of living and feeling, not considered ways of acting by Indian students. When forced to assimilate unfamiliar values that seek to replace traditional beliefs, Native children experience internal conflict. Schooling in the majority situation rewards assertiveness such "asking questions, interrupting, speaking for others, telling others what to do or arguing" all of which conflict with what Native children have been taught regarding being respectful of others (Walkingstick Garrett, 1995).<sup>96</sup>

In the majority setting, the disparity between the cultural expectations that school personnel hold for Indian students and parents in relation to the control of children have created dissension and hostility between the school and tribal members. In the Indian community because maintaining harmony is important, it is logical for Native children to want to escape the disharmony of a potential school reprimand when such situations arise. Parental support to alleviate the child's discomfort to allow them to remain at home rather than face the reprimand is perceived by school personnel as condoning the offense. This demonstration of different values does not mean that Indian parents are authorizing the child's circumvention of behavior consequences. Rather, in Native culture, avoiding disharmony is considered such an

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<sup>94</sup> Locust (1988) at 319; Garrett, J. T. Garrett, Walkingstick Garrett, Michael, The Path of Good Medicine: Understanding and Counseling Native American Indians, *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, Vol. 22, July 1994, pp. 134-144, at 140.

<sup>95</sup> Little Soldier, Lee (1992), Building Optimum Learning Environments for Navajo Students, *Childhood Education*, Spring 1992, pp. 145-148, at 147.

<sup>96</sup> Walkingstick Garrett (1995) at 190.

important cultural value to remaining in spiritual balance (Locust, 1988).<sup>97</sup> This avoidance of disharmony can even be extend to positive situations where a child may wish to escape personal recognition or praise for individual educational achievement because such recognition distinguishes him from his Indian peer group (Walkingstick Garrett, 1995<sup>98</sup>; Estrin & Nelson-Barber, 1995).<sup>99</sup>

Another example of differing values between the majority and Indian cultures is revealed through the importance of family and community interdependence. Among Indian society, the family is considered the cornerstone of the community. In the extended family system Indian children develop socialized behavior patterns based on the values of the communal culture, and are reliant upon these relationships to provide guidance in formulating normative responses as they move through the stages of life (Red Horse, 1980).<sup>100</sup> In Native cultures, survival of the individual is harmonious with the continuation of the community. The tribal network functions to delegate social responsibility, teach reciprocity and behavior constraints (Walkingstick Garrett, 1995).<sup>101</sup> The child is considered an integral part of the family group, and the family in turn serves as an important psychological support system throughout the child's life (Little Soldier, 1985).<sup>102</sup> Family responsibility was one of many reasons Indian students gave for early school departure (Deyhle, 1992).<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Locust (1988) at 323.

<sup>98</sup> Walkingstick Garrett (1995) at 192;

<sup>99</sup> Trumbull Estrin & Nelson-Barber (1995) at 3.

<sup>100</sup> Red Horse, John G. (1980), Family Structure and Value Orientation in American Indians, *The Journal of Contemporary Social Work*, pp. 462-467, at 462-63.

<sup>101</sup> Walkingstick Garrett (1995) at 188.

<sup>102</sup> Little Soldier, Lee (1985), To Soar with the eagles: Enculturation and acculturation of Indian children, *Childhood Education*, pp. 185-191.

<sup>103</sup> Deyhle (1992) at 28.



Misunderstanding the need for Indian children to remain close to family on the reservation and be involved in their own way of life, school officials disdainfully viewed this behavior as “going back to the blanket [where] they will sit in their hogan (with) nothing to do” (Deyhle, 1992).<sup>104</sup>

Although Native Americans are a homogeneous group, there are various stages of cultural commitment that characterize the behaviors of individuals in relation to their values and beliefs. Walkingstick Garrett (1995) describes four of these stages as; (1) the *Traditional*--speaking and thinking in their Native language, practicing only traditional values and beliefs; (2) *Transitional*--speaking both Native language and English, selecting what of their cultural heritage to retain and practice, and to what extent they identify with the mainstream culture; (3) *Bicultural*--accepted by the dominant society, while able to know, accept and practice both mainstream and traditional values and beliefs; (3) *Assimilated*--accepted by the dominant society, embracing only mainstream culture and values (Walkingstick Garrett, 1995).<sup>105</sup> He notes that two categories of Native students--transitional and bicultural--experience the greatest difficulty in adapting to cultural discontinuity in schooling. It is this group of students that experience feelings of isolation, rejection and anxiety when confronted by majority programs that force them to accept a value system which is incompatible with that of their home community (Walkingstick Garrett, 1995).<sup>106</sup> Deyhle's (1992) dropout studies with Ute and Navajo school leavers concur that those Native students in border communities where the cultural heritage was less evident

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<sup>104</sup> *Ibid* at 33.

<sup>105</sup> Walkingstick Garrett (1995) at 188.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid*.

among the Indian population suffered a higher rate of school separation than those from the Navajo school located within the Indian reservation (Deyhle, 1992).<sup>107</sup> Wilson's (1991) study of Sioux Indian students entering an off-reservation high school in a majority system described the cultural conflicts that arose from institutionalized racism, personal rejection from non-Native teachers and students, which similarly encouraged Native youths to leave prior to graduation (Wilson, 1991).<sup>108</sup>

Luftig (1983) related that as Native children progress through mainstream systems, a negative correlation emerges to demonstrate that the longer Native students remain in school they concurrently experience an accompanying decline in self-concept (Luftig, 1983).<sup>109</sup> Wood and Clay (1996) found that among Native students, three factors impacted academic performance: (1) socialization into the dominant culture; (2) percent of American Indian blood; and (3) personal self-esteem. They noted that average grade was reciprocally related to having a strong self-concept (Wood and Clay, 1996).<sup>110</sup> Luftig (1983) also explained how the self-concept of Native children is affected by what Indian students believe their teachers feel about them. He indicated that the academic underachievement of American Indian students correlated with the sense of alienation they experienced in mainstream classrooms (Luftig, 1983).<sup>111</sup> Indeed, Deyhle (1992) similarly found how Native students perceived their teachers felt about them often resulted in "feelings of rejection,"

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<sup>107</sup> Deyhle (1995) at 28.

<sup>108</sup> Wilson (1991) at 371.

<sup>109</sup> Luftig, Richard L. (1983), Effects of Schooling on the Self-Concept of Native American Students, *The School Counselor*, March 1983, pp. 251-260, at 252.

<sup>110</sup> Wood and Clay (1996) at 54.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid* at 253.

instructional neglect and feelings of hopelessness sufficient to "push" them out of majority high schools (Deyhle, 1992).<sup>112</sup> In a later study, other causes for school failure of Navajo students were identified by school administrators to include: a lack of self-esteem, inadequate homes, inadequate preparation for school, lack of parenting skills, poor individual attitude and motivation (Deyhle, 1995).<sup>113</sup> Nelson-Barber and Trumbull Estrin (1996) cautioned that assumptions about deficits based on cultural disadvantage are destructive because they locate the cause for school failure in the individuals rather than the educational systems that serve them. Native students are disadvantaged by majority systems because the way that education is provided may differ markedly from the systems and strategies utilized in their unique cultural orientation (Nelson-Barber and Trumbull Estrin, 1996).<sup>114</sup> Van Hamme (1996) links the underachievement of American Indians to the incompatibility of their cultural values and their experiences in the mainstream classrooms (Van Hamme, 1996).<sup>115</sup> Walkingstick Garrett (1995) lists a few of these differences to illustrate how cultural discontinuity can impact Native student performance. Mainstream views value leadership qualities, assertiveness or aggression to attain personal goals in competition between students. Native students value cooperation and working together in the community, and leadership among tribal communities is recognized on the basis of the most respected person who acts the most friendly, generous considerate and modest (Walkingstick Garrett, 1995).<sup>116</sup> Traditional training of

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<sup>112</sup> Deyhle (1992) at 43.

<sup>113</sup> Deyhle (1995) at 416.

<sup>114</sup> Nelson-Barber, Sharon, Trumbull Estrin, Elise, *Culturally Responsive Mathematics and Science Education for Native Students* (1996), ED 388 483, Regional Educational Laboratory Network, U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Wash. D.C.

<sup>115</sup> Van Hamme, Linda (1996), *American Indian Cultures and the Classroom*, *Journal of American Indian Education*, Winter 1996, pp. 21-33, at 24.

<sup>116</sup> Walkingstick Garrett (1995) at 190.

Native children does not include encouraging them to ask questions or verbally analyzing situations. In the majority classroom, not asking questions is viewed as inattentiveness, indifference or a lack of interest (Walkingstick Garrett, 1995).<sup>117</sup> For many Navajo students, the disparity between what Anglo teachers understood of Navajo culture and stereotypically assume based on racially prejudicial attitudes continues to disrupt the educational opportunity and potential achievement of Native children by "placing a ceiling on Indian learners" in the mainstream situations (Deyhle, 1995).<sup>118</sup>

### **Cultural Continuity In Education Programs for Native Students**

Cultural continuity has been defined as a process where adults pass their knowledge of their own culture to the next generation through community socialization (Williamson, 1987).<sup>119</sup> For Native children living in a traditional society, learning was a natural process, an everyday cultural experience intended to ensure cultural continuity and survival of the mental, spiritual, emotional and physical well-being of individuals, the cultural unit and new generations to come (Armstrong, 1987).<sup>120</sup> Throughout the cultural history of indigenous populations, the basis of educational information incorporated the groups' collective knowledge about living in harmony within society and their environment. The impetus for selecting ways of teaching and learning traditional skills within the culture reflected both a need for

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid at 192.

<sup>118</sup> Deyhle (1995) at 415.

<sup>119</sup> Williamson, Karla Jessen (1987), Consequence of Schooling: Cultural Discontinuity Amongst the Inuit, *The Canadian Journal of Native Education*, Vol. 14, II. 60-69, at 60.

<sup>120</sup> Armstrong, Jeannette C. (1987), Traditional Indigenous Education: A Natural Process, *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, Vol. 14, pp. 14-19, at 14-15.

efficiency and cooperation. Linear distribution of educational duties across family, clan and inter-generational units allowed for children to learn in an interactive mode, assisted by parent or surrogate mentors, in age-related skills' development activities that were tied to community and social responsibility. Living in a synchronous relationship with their environment, Indian children learned seasonal and climatic cycles, religious ceremonies tied to spiritual, practical and utilitarian values, and the essentials of social order, law and self-discipline (Armstrong, 1987).<sup>121</sup>

Education for Native students in the majority situation reflects a very different emphasis in learning and skills development than had been established in the traditional culture, which may hold the answer to the underachievement of American Indian students. Where schools for Native children have been modeled after the majority culture, curriculum bears little relationship to the Native community; the language of instructional choice becomes English; learning styles are often incongruent with traditional ways of knowing, and fundamental misunderstandings develop between educators, students and the community (Williamson, 1987).<sup>122</sup>

As a way of learning what does work in the education of Indian children, McAlpine et al. (1996) shifted the focus of educational research away from negative aspects of cultural discontinuity, to examine how cultural continuity serves to facilitate academic success. It was found that cultural continuity tends to occur where Native teachers, immersed in the language and sociocultural history of the

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<sup>121</sup> Armstrong (1987) at 16.

<sup>122</sup> Williamson (1987) at 62.

community, can effectively communicate educational information and behavior requirements in teaching Native students (McAlpine et al., 1996).<sup>123</sup>

The concept of cultural consonance for improving services is not unknown in other disciplines. Practitioners in the field of social work have long recognized that improved understanding of American Indian values facilitates the effective delivery of counseling services (Red Horse, 1980).<sup>124</sup> Spindler (1987) indicates that in any social setting, social actors carry on a culturally constructed dialogue that is expressed in behavior, words, symbols, and the application of cultural knowledge to make instrumental activities and social situations “work” for them. He defined education as “cultural transmission;” and as such, “cultural transmission requires cultural learning, so that cultural learning and transmission are never separated” (Spindler, 1987).<sup>125</sup> Where teachers and students differ in their implicit expectations of appropriateness in behavior, they act in ways that each can misinterpret. Because each culture has predetermined expectations that are derived from experience outside of school in the speech communities, culturally distinctive ways of speaking differ from one network to another. Therefore, if children from diverse cultures have different ways of speaking and listening in the communication process, these differences can lead to systematic and recurrent miscommunication in the classroom (Erickson, 1987).<sup>126</sup> Considerable documentation exists that interactional difficulties are related to cultural

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<sup>123</sup> McAlpine, Lynn, Eriks-Brophy, Alice, & Crago, Martha (1996), Teaching Beliefs in Mohawk Classrooms: Issues of Language and Culture, *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, Vol. 27 (3), pp. 390-413.

<sup>124</sup> Red Horse (1980) at 462.

<sup>125</sup> Spindler, George & Spindler, Louise (1987), Cultural Dialogue and Schooling in Schoenhausen and Roseville: A Comparative Analysis, *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, Vol. 18, pp. 3-17.

<sup>126</sup> Erickson, Frederick (1987), Transformation and School Success: The Politics and Culture of Educational Achievement, *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, Vol. 18, pp. 335-356, at 347.

differences in communication styles (Erickson, 1987<sup>127</sup>; Erickson and Mohatt, 1977<sup>128</sup>; Philips, 1983).<sup>129</sup>

The importance of trust in the teacher/student relationship cannot be undervalued where the success of minority students in majority educational situations is considered. The success of the Mohawk teachers, using Native language to connect culture and curriculum, past and present, is rooted in common trust that helps students establish a common cultural framework to construct their Native identity (McAlpine et al., 1996).<sup>130</sup> In the educational setting it is essential that teachers and students establish and maintain trust in each other, for to learn new concepts requires risk as learning moves the student past his level of competence (Erickson, 1987).<sup>131</sup> Studying the resistance behavior of Black students in classrooms in which the teacher negatively sanctioned the children's use of black English vernacular, Erickson (1987) learned at year end that the children had adopted a more exaggerated form of dialect than had been present at the beginning of the year. Where teachers and students are engaged in regressive relationships, mutual trust is sacrificed and they fail to bond with each other (Erickson, 1987).<sup>132</sup> An important route to maintaining trust and earning the child's assent to learn is to adapt the instruction in the direction of the students' home cultural communication style. Even where the cultural style of

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Erickson, F. and Mohatt, J. (1977), *The Social Organization of Participant Structure in Two Classrooms of Indian Students*, Unpublished paper read at AERA, New York.

<sup>129</sup> Philips, Susan Urmston (1983), *The Invisible Culture, Communication in Classroom and Community on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation*; Longman, New York and London.

<sup>130</sup> Philips, Susan Urmston (1983), *The Invisible Culture, Communication in Classroom and Community on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation*; Longman, New York and London.

<sup>131</sup> Erickson, F (1987) at 344.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid at 347.

classroom interaction is discontinuous, if there is trust, the child can develop new cultural styles without initiating resistance to learning (Erickson 1987).<sup>133</sup>

Contrasting majority classroom values that foster individual and independent effort, American Indian children have been taught to work cooperatively and collectively, and to reflect on what they were learning from life's daily lessons (Estrin & Nelson-Barber, 1995<sup>134</sup>; McAlpine et al., 1996<sup>135</sup>; Locust, 1988).<sup>136</sup> In the learning process, rather than abstracting broad generalizations from experience and then using them to explain new experiences, Indian children are known to understand new information and experiences in terms of the full tapestry of their continuous cycle of life; matching their more specific bodies of knowledge with an immediate event or experience (Nelson-Barber & Estrin, 1996).<sup>137</sup> Wright et al. (1996), investigated whether Inuit preschoolers entered school with competent intellectual skills; and if so, did the subsequent process of education in the school environment serve to disrupt or slow their cognitive development. Results demonstrated that Inuit children enter school well above the 75th percentile (as compared to the 50th percentile of U.S. norms for all age groups), when tested on the Raven Coloured Progressive Matrices. Wright et al. (1996) attributed their superior performance to cultural learning received in the Arctic environment, which develops acute spatial and

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Estrin & Nelson-Barber (1995) at 4.

<sup>135</sup> McAlpine et al. (1996).

<sup>136</sup> Locust (1988) at 327.

<sup>137</sup> Nelson-Barber & Trumbull Estrin (1996) at 29.



visual skills. He suggested that the nonverbal parenting style of many Native people, with its emphasis on “learning through looking” and participation, may have also resulted in their superior development of a visual learning style, which enhances the children’s strong spatial skills (Wright et al., 1996).<sup>138</sup>

Nelson-Barber and Estrin (1995) indicate that in order to understand how Indian children learn, educators must first understand what the Indian community values. For instance, in the Navajo culture, the focus of learning is on process because they believe change is ever-present. Interrelationships and motion are of primary significance, and seen in a context where space and time are not perceived as being separate from time or motion. Indian children have different ways of knowing that are diverse from the learning styles of majority students. Their cultural orientation shapes the types of learning, knowledge, and ways of thinking and doing that are valued by their community (Nelson-Barber and Estrin, 1996).<sup>139</sup> How Indian children learn is not an isolated, individual psychological process that is so often tested in the mainstream assessment function (Estrin & Nelson-Barber, 1995).<sup>140</sup>

Studies have shown that “when children do not understand the intent of a question or the teacher’s purpose in asking it, the child may respond in ways that do not reveal what they actually know” (Philips, 1983).<sup>141</sup> Simple misinterpretations of intent and literal meaning can escalate across time into entrenched, emotionally

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<sup>138</sup> Wright, S. C., Taylor, D. M., Ruggiero, K. M. (1996), Examining the potential for Academic Achievement Among Inuit Children, Comparisons on the Raven Coloured Progressive Matrices, *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, Vol. 27, No. 6, Nov. 1996, pp. 733-753, at 748.

<sup>139</sup> Nelson-Barber & Trumbull Estrin (1996), at 26.

<sup>140</sup> Estrin & Nelson-Barber (1995), at 4.

<sup>141</sup> Philips, Susan Urmston (1983), at 97.

intense conflict between teacher and student (Erickson, 1987).<sup>142</sup> Small communication stylistic differences are not trivial when they are not being treated as trivial by the actors in the educational process (Ogbu, 1987).<sup>143</sup> Philips (1983) in studying the Warm Springs Indian Reservation children's ways of communicating in the classroom found that Indian students respond less often to questions posed by the teacher testing student comprehension, are reprimanded more often than non-Indian students for not paying attention, and attributed these behaviors to being unaccustomed to the domination and control of talk by a single individual (teacher) (Philips 1983).<sup>144</sup>

Cultural learning influences the development of school-related social skills which eventually lead to academic success. Student self-concept has been shown to be positively related to school achievement in elementary school children (Luftig 1983).<sup>145</sup> While Anglo children respond to teacher praise that leads to increased popularity with peers, these techniques have not been successful with Native American students (Estrin Trumbull & Nelson-Barber, 1995).<sup>146</sup> However, where Native teachers, working with Native students, exhibit cultural understanding and consonance with the child's community orientation, very different results were found (McAlpine & Taylor, 1993).<sup>147</sup> Aboriginal teachers created a relatively risk-free environment, where the Native child was free to learn by working with other children.

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<sup>142</sup> Erickson (1987) at 347.

<sup>143</sup> Ogbu (1987) pp. 312-334.

<sup>144</sup> Philips (1983) at 114.

<sup>145</sup> Luftig (1983) at 252.

<sup>146</sup> Estrin Trumbull & Nelson-Barber (1995), at 4.

<sup>147</sup> McAlpine et al. (1996), at 18.

Students were encouraged to talk with other students, and teachers tended to not call on students, thus avoiding the negative effect of creating preferences among the children. Social control appeared to be shared between the teacher and students, and through the use of routines, children kept busy (McAlpine & Taylor, 1993).<sup>148</sup>

There was reason to believe that the cultural orientation of American Indian teachers, parents and children similarly affects their socialized behaviors, and could be observed in the Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi Head Start preschool situations. For instance, McAlpine & Taylor (1993) suggested that the Native cultural orientation of Cree, Inuit and Mohawk teachers influenced the manner in which they structured their classroom instruction, discipline and learning environment (McAlpine & Taylor, 1993).<sup>149</sup>

Similarly, Powless and Elloitt, (1993) in studying the attitudes of Native and non-Native parents and teachers within an Oneida Head Start Program suggested that “shared community values” might be the basis for a noted positive concurrence on the importance rating for assertive behaviors exhibited by preschool Indian children. When Indian parent/teacher and White parent/teacher evaluations were compared from two preschool (Native and non-Native) situations, results showed that Indian parent/teachers had higher correlation when rating the ten social skills for preschool development within the Assertion subdomain than did White teacher/parent ratings of non-Native children. Since most of the social skills evaluated in the Assertion

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<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> McAlpine et al. (1996) at 16-18.

subdomain involved the development of initiated verbal responses, this study seemed to indicate a concurrence between the Indian teacher/parent might be associated with their common cultural orientation from membership in the Indian community (Powless and Elliott, 1993).<sup>150</sup>

Other research suggests the Indian way of learning involves less verbal interaction in the classroom than reflective observation. Wolcott (1987) identified several characteristics of learning exhibited by Kwakiutl Indian children of British Columbia. Pupils set their own pace; classroom assignments were shared as group tasks; students collaborated as partners; peer interactions lead to child cross-talk, sometimes disrupting class decorum; and over-performance was restrained through the socialization, with more capable students helping slower children (Wolcott, 1987).<sup>151</sup>

Wright et al. (1996) has suggested, traditional Inuit parenting skills influence the child's observation-oriented style of learning. In the Inuit community, children are expected to watch and wait, a style of learning that promotes the development of spatial abilities and analytic intelligence (Wright et al., 1996).<sup>152</sup> Native children are not encouraged to ask questions as they learn. Instead, they are expected to watch,

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<sup>150</sup> Powless, Donna and Elliott, Stephen N. (1993), Assessment of Social Skills of Native American Preschoolers: Teachers' and Parents' Ratings, *Journal of School Psychology*, Vol. 31, pp. 293-307, at 303.

<sup>151</sup> Wolcott, Harry F. (1987), Chapter: The Teacher as an Enemy, Spindler, George (1987), *Education and Cultural Process: Anthropological Approaches*, Prospect Heights, Ill.

<sup>152</sup> Wright et al. (1996), at 748.

listen and wait and the answer will come to them (Nelson-Barber and Estrin, 1995).<sup>153</sup> Phillips (1983) observed older Indian children engaged in an intentional learning exercise where they utilized “watching behaviors” of others prior to attempting the task. During this exercise the children appeared to rely less on verbal explanations than their own observations in learning the new skill (Phillips, 1983).<sup>154</sup>

Teacher behaviors are thought to be similarly effected by their cultural orientation, and is not limited to the instructional mode. Cultural orientation is also thought to involve how teachers structure the learning environment, develop disciplinary expectations, and interpret student behaviors (Spindler, 1987).<sup>155</sup> Eriks-Brophy and Crago (1993) in studying how Inuit teachers adapted classroom discourse practices to harmonize with student communication patterns found that Native teachers allowed group consensus rather than pressuring students for individual responses (Eriks-Brophy and Crago, 1993).<sup>156</sup> McAlpine and Taylor (1993) found that Inuit, Cree and Mohawk teachers allow students to learn from each other and self-manage their behavior (McAlpine and Taylor, 1993).<sup>157</sup> Native American culture in particular was found to stress the intergenerational transmission of culture to renew and reinforce their traditions and community life (McQuiston & Brod, 1985).<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Nelson-Barber, Sharon, Estrin Trumbull, Elise (1995), Bringing Native American Perspectives to Mathematics and Science Teaching, *Theory Into Practice*, Vol. 34, No. 3, Summer 1995, pp. 174-184, at 177.

<sup>154</sup> Phillips (1983) at 65.

<sup>155</sup> Spindler, George & Spindler, Louise (1987), Cultural Dialogue and Schooling in Schoenhausen and Roseville: A Comparative Analysis, *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, Vol. 18, pp. 3-17.

<sup>156</sup> Eriks-Brophy, A. and Crago, M. (1993), *Transforming Classroom discourse: Forms of Evaluation in Inuit IR and IRe Routines*, Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting, Atlanta, Georgia, April 12-16.

<sup>157</sup> McAlpine and Taylor (1993), at 16-18.

<sup>158</sup> McQuiston, J. M., & Brod, R. L. (1985). Structural and Cultural Conflict in American Indian Education, *Education Digest*, Vol. 50, No. 4, pp. 28-31.

Culturally-based ways of knowing can be traced to differentiation's in the ways children discriminate, classify and interpret the natural phenomena they experience or observe. They are also affected by the child's environment and linked to the demands of their daily life (Nelson-Barber and Estrin, 1995).<sup>159</sup> For example, children learn not only the language and stories of their cultures, they also learn the theory of the language and its cognition. Hence, they learn what is important to know and for what purpose to learn it. Thus, to understand the child's classroom learning priorities, the educational system must acquire an understanding of community values and norms (Nelson-Barber and Estrin 1995).<sup>160</sup>

### **American Indian Children and The Preschool Experience**

There is virtually no dispute that early intervention preschool education programs provide economically disadvantaged students an experience which later enhances opportunities for success during their elementary grades (Sheehan et al., 1991).<sup>161</sup> Likewise, research has long recognized that socioeconomic status (SES) significantly effects the school achievement of children from low SES backgrounds (Coleman et al., 1966<sup>162</sup>; Caldas, 1996).<sup>163</sup> Preschool programs with strong parent-

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<sup>159</sup> Nelson-Barber & Trumbull Estrin (1995), at 177.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> Sheehan, R., Cryan, J.R., Weichel, J., Bandy, I.G. (1991), Factors Contributing to Success in Elementary schools; Research Finding for Early Childhood Educators, *Journal of Research in childhood Education*, Vol. 6, No. 1.

<sup>162</sup> Coleman, J.S., Campbell, E., Hobson, C., McPartland, J., Mood, A., Weinfield, F., & York, R. (1966), *Equality of Educational opportunity*, Wash., D.C.

<sup>163</sup> Caldas, S. J., Reexamination of Input and Process Factors on Public School Achievement, *Journal of Educational Research*, March/April 1993, Vol. 86. No. 4.

education components experience a diffusion effect that assists later-born siblings to achieve beyond preschool and their into primary years (Seitz and Apfel, 1994).<sup>164</sup>

Another important factor in the success of low SES preschoolers is the availability of verbal stimulation. Levenstein and Levenstein (1971) assessing the outcomes of the Verbal Interaction Project initiated by the Family Services Association of Nassau County found significant improvements in the I.Q. of low SES preschoolers exposed to the verbal interactions of parents, trained to provide mother/child talk as an additional component to the preschool education program (Levenstein and Levenstein).<sup>165</sup> Mistry and Martini (1993) found that problems in Hawaiian children's poor school achievement could be traced to poor verbal skills (Mistry and Martini, 1993).<sup>166</sup> Philips (1983) investigating the essence of language socialization among the Warm Springs Indian children, asserts that Indian children are enculturated in their preschool years into modes of organizing the transmission of verbal message that are culturally different from those of Anglo middle-class children. This difference makes it more difficult for them to respond to verbal messages conveyed during the competitive conversation models expected in majority classroom interactions (Philips, 1983).<sup>167</sup> As Powless and Elliott (1993) indicate where there is Native teacher, parental and communal agreement on school readiness skills that should be emphasized in teaching Indian preschoolers, it is likely

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<sup>164</sup> Seitz, V. and Apfel, N. (1994), parent-focused Intervention: Diffusion Effects on siblings, *Child Development*, Vol. 65, pp. 677-683.

<sup>165</sup> Levenstein, P. and Levenstein., Fostering learning potential in preschoolers, *Social Casework: Feb.* 1971, pp. 74-78.

<sup>166</sup> Mistry, J., Martini, M. (1993), Preschool Activities as Occasions for Literate Discourse, *Coming Home to Preschool: The Sociocultural Context of Early Education*, Abex Publishing Corporation, Norwood, N. J. pp. 247-275.

<sup>167</sup> Philips (1983), at 115.

that such beliefs are grounded in the common community culture (Powless and Elliott, 1993).<sup>168</sup> Nelson-Barber and Estrin Trumbull (1995) also indicate that children learn in the culture what knowledge is important, for what purposes, when and how it is acquired and shown (Nelson-Barber and Estrin Trumbull, 1995).<sup>169</sup>

Roberts (1993) in his review of the under-performance of Hawaiian children in the traditional western-style school classrooms, saw culture as a “powerful shaper of behavior,” which interrupted the Hawaiian child’s development of language skills associated with school success. Roberts (1993) characterizes the underachievement of Hawaiian children to be more a function of the inability of the educational system to build on the strengths brought to the educational environment (Roberts, 1993).<sup>170</sup> Farran and Darvill (1993) in studying mother-child interactions in attempting to link maternal behaviors to child outcomes to explain the poor verbal test performance of Hawaiian preschoolers suggested that early intervention efforts must be congruent with the values and parenting practices of the culture in which the parents and children reside (Farran and Darvill, 1993).<sup>171</sup>

If being verbal is considered less important in the development of preschool social skills for American Indian children as Powless and Elliott (1993)<sup>172</sup> and Estrin

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<sup>168</sup> Powless and Elliott (1993) at 306.

<sup>169</sup> Nelson-Barber and Estrin Trumbull (1995) at 177.

<sup>170</sup> Roberts, Richard (1993), Applied Research and Program Development: Orthogonal or Complimentary Behavior, *Coming Home to Preschool: The Sociocultural Context of Early Education*, Series Editor, Irving E. Sigel, Ablex Publishing Corporation, Norwood, N. J. pp. 1-10.

<sup>171</sup> Farran, D. C., Darvill, T., Volume Editor: Richard N. Roberts; Mother-Child Interactions and the Development of Verbal and Perceptual Skills in part-Hawaiian Preschool Children, *Coming Home to Preschool: The Sociocultural Context of Early Education, Advances in Applied Developmental Psychology*, Vol., 7.

<sup>172</sup> Powless and Elliott (1993) at 305.



and Nelson-Barber (1995)<sup>173</sup> suggest; and Native children are taught in their cultures to use visual skills to "learn through looking" (Wright et al., 1996)<sup>174</sup> rather than asking questions (Nelson-Barber and Estrin, 1995),<sup>175</sup> then it was likely that such skills might be de-emphasized in the early intervention and Head Start programs serving Anishinabe children where the culture of the parents, teachers and volunteer workers represented community norms.

Other differences in the administration and structure of the Native education programs that the literature highlights is the manner in which the Native teachers and children respond to the requirements of classroom management issues and differences in learning situations. As Nelson-Barber and Estrin (1995) point out, Navajo and Chipweyan adults do not pay overdue attention to children or correct them because this would require continuous monitoring. Rather children in the Navajo culture are taught by adults through guidance and facilitating (Nelson-Barber and Estrin, 1995).<sup>176</sup> The correctness of behavior for a Native child is determined and assessed by the norms of the sociocultural context in which it occurs (Walkingstick Garrett, 1995).<sup>177</sup> Inuit, Cree and Mohawk teachers utilize shared classroom control with students, which included the opportunity to converse and learn from peers (McAlpine and Taylor, 1993).<sup>178</sup> Similar findings were described by Powless and Elliott (1993) in their study of Oneida Head Start teachers and parents, which indicated that both groups were not concerned with "controlling" children. These results were

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<sup>173</sup> Estrin and Nelson-Barber (1995) at 5.

<sup>174</sup> Wright et al. (1996) at 748.

<sup>175</sup> Nelson-Barber and Estrin Trumbull (1995), at 177.

<sup>176</sup> Nelson-Barber and Estrin (1995) at 178.

<sup>177</sup> Walkingstick Garrett (1995) at 194.

<sup>178</sup> McAlpine and Taylor (1993) at 16.

interpreted to reflect the cultural values in the community, from which the Native teachers and students were drawn, that allowed children to explore their environment with few constraints (Powless and Elliott, 1993).<sup>179</sup>

An optimum learning situation for Native students appeared to be one in which cooperative structures and group learning were emphasized. The value of cooperating and sharing is a community orientation that is common among many Native societies and transmitted to children at an early age (Walkingstick Garrett, 1995).<sup>180</sup> It is a reflection of the need for individuals to achieve balance and harmony in their lives (Walkingstick Garrett, 1994).<sup>181</sup> In classrooms with Native teachers and students, allowing children to confer with other children, independent of teacher interference, has created a risk free environment in which these children are free to interact and learn from their peers (McAlpine and Taylor, 1993).<sup>182</sup> Most Traditional cultures tend to value cooperation, sharing and contribution to the group benefit rather than reward individual competition (Van Hamme, 1996).<sup>183</sup> In cooperative group situations among the Warm Springs Indian children, verbal participation of students was not only greater, but qualitatively different. The element of cooperation extended to equality among the children where each shared responsibility to alternately lead instructional conversations, executed without teacher intervention (Philips, 1983).<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> Powless and Elliott (1993) at 306.

<sup>180</sup> Walkingstick Garrett (1995) at 192.

<sup>181</sup> Walkingstick Garrett (1994) at 138.

<sup>182</sup> McAlpine and Taylor (1993) at 18.

<sup>183</sup> Van Hamme (1996) at 27.

<sup>184</sup> Philips (1983) at 120.

This literature provided a baseline of information to the project that was of significant value in that it revealed what components of Native cultures were essential to examine once the informants opened the discussion to include any of these areas. Using this background in the interviews process assisted in the development of structural questions. From the open-ended grand tour inquiry, discussions became much more focused to elicit the full body of cultural knowledge that would lead to greater understanding of a particular phenomenon. By observing the behaviors of participants as they functioned in the responsibilities of the programs, I was able to discern whether the articulated values and beliefs gleaned from the interviews were indeed used in the daily interactions and behavior governance of children in the centers studied.

## **GUIDED QUESTIONS**

This study sought to determine how Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi members define cultural values and beliefs that constitute “being a part of the Ojibwa, Odawa or Potawatomi.” Further, the study explored how “being Ojibwa,” “being Odawa” and “being Potawatomi” affected individual actions in the preschool setting. As members of these Indian Tribes, the informants had lived within each of their respective Tribal territories, and participated in the social milieu that exists within that particular community. Individuals were both traditional and non-traditional, which connotes following the “Traditional Indian Way of Life.” Because the Traditional Indian Way of Life embodies all aspects of membership in an Indian society (political, social and religious belief systems), the respondents presented differing religious views, but nonetheless converged on social and political issues. This study was designed to elicit from informants their interpretations of what “being Ojibwa, Odawa or Potawatomi” means; and, in the context of their values and beliefs, to explain how “being Ojibwa, Odawa or Potawatomi” directs their behaviors as teachers, parents or community volunteers in supporting the social and educational development of Ojibwa, Odawa or Potawatomi children as they learn to function in the preschool classroom.

Of utmost importance to this study was to determine how Indian values and “being Ojibwa, Odawa or Potawatomi” imbued the interactive communications between parents/teachers and children. The research focused on discovering patterns of “meaning making” through the utterances of adults and children as they moved

through the preschool process. Equally important was the reflection of cultural values (as defined and identified by informants) and were used in personal, procedural and process communications of dyadic exchanges and preschool learning activities. The research was alert for alternative word usage, symbolic representations and inferential meaning within the cultural context of “being Ojibwa,” “being Odawa” or “being Potawatomi;” and used descriptive and structural questioning to elicit domains and categorical divisions within the alternative understanding of informants.

Some questions revealed valuable information on the cultural content and transmission process to improve observational opportunities and facilitate a better understanding of how their particular cultural values and beliefs were used in the context of the school environment. The following were the types of guided questions used in this research study:

1. How would you describe “being Ojibwa,” “being Odawa” or “being Potawatomi?” What does being “Ojibwa, Odawa or Potawatomi” mean to you?
2. What behaviors or actions would you describe to be associated with “being Ojibwa,” “being Odawa” or “being Potawatomi;” or “acting Ojibwa, Odawa or Potawatomi” in your daily life--at home, at work or in the community?

3. How does having an Ojibwa, Odawa or Potawatomi worldview affect your behavior or participation in the programs as you interact with Ojibwa, Odawa or Potawatomi children in the preschool situation?
  
4. What would you describe to be a “common cultural belief or value” as it exists in the community; and how do (Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi) adults perceive and treat children? Is it possible to observe this phenomenon in the instructional/communication process of Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi parents/teachers and children?

## CHAPTER TWO - METHODOLOGY

### Sample

The informant group comprised a total of twenty-four individuals that included teachers, parents, staff and Elders from each Tribal community. As originally planned, the study was to interview two parents and two teachers from four different Head Start, Early Head Start and In-Home Parent Child Training programs, for a total of twelve individuals. The Inter-Tribal Council of Michigan approved the ethnographic research project, authorizing interviews and observations at the Bay Mills (Ojibwa) Head Start and Early Head Start Center on the Bay Mills Indian Reservation; the (Odawa) In-Home Parent Child Training Program in Petosky; the (Ojibwa) Lac Vieux Desert Early Head Start Center in Watersmeet; and the (Potawatomi) Early Head Start Center in Hannahville Indian Reservation. Very early in the study, it was explained that the appropriate name for all three tribal groups was the Anishnabe people. Hereafter, unless identifying a specific program or community, this terminology will be used.

The purpose of the study was to discover what informants would describe as "*being*" Anishnabe (Ojibwa, Odawa, and Potawatomi), and to observe "*how*" these cultural values and beliefs are used in the preschool classrooms. Once the ethnographic study was underway, it became apparent that informants demonstrated substantial differences in the capacity to relate cultural values and beliefs. An early decision was made to expand the research groups to include Elders and grandparents

from each of the four communities to gain insight into the original culture. This data was used as a baseline to authenticate cultural values and beliefs where informants were unable, or had minimal ability to, articulate cultural knowledge. Given that the purpose of this study was to learn from informants what it meant to "*be Anishnabe*" and subsequently to observe how "*being Anishnabe*" was used in the classroom, it was crucial to the success of the project to have available sufficient cultural information to make that determination once the observational phase began. Understanding "*what*" and "*how*" informants defined cultural values and beliefs would allow the research to focus on specific behaviors identified during the interview phase.

It was also important to be able to assess what aspects of the culture had been integrated into the curriculum and structure of the program. Ethnographies are analytical descriptions or re-constructions of present or past cultural knowledge that recreate the shared beliefs, practices and behaviors of a distinctive group. Making comparisons between historical and contemporary cultural programming is a valid means of determining the status of cultural knowledge within a community program (Le Compte and Preissle).<sup>185</sup>

Interviewing multi-generation informants revealed how the culture had transitioned from the original "*traditional way of life*" to its dynamic status. Many Elder informants confided that the loss of their culture had occurred through

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<sup>185</sup> Le Compte, Margaret D., Preissle, Judith (1983), *Ethnography and Qualitative Design in Educational Research, Second Edition*, Academic Press, New York, N.Y. (1983), at 2.



bicultural exposure during the *"removal"* and *"boarding school experience."*

Overall, many informants suffering their loss of *"Indian identity"* indicated that acculturation had occurred through majority educational experiences, inter-racial marriages, relocation to urban areas, and religious conversion. Generally, informants blamed the boarding school education for interrupting family integrity, citing the removal of parents or grandparents outside the family environment during childhood. The removal, separation and alienation from the original culture often left many children emotionally traumatized and disassociated from their Indian communities. This phenomena was particularly evident where parents or grandparents had been educated a distance from their reservations and remained in the boarding school situations throughout their childhood. Many informants indicated, after receiving a basic education, the children were adopted "out," returning as estranged adults, unable to speak the language or practice traditional beliefs. Several of these individuals were in the process of recapturing their cultural identity by relearning the language, studying the culture, and participating in traditional societies.

Another phenomenon that emerged during the interviews was the distinct difference between informants who had escaped the removal process to remain with families throughout their formative years. Many of these informants, who had parents or grandparents raised in the Indian communities, had retained the language and cultures, shared it with younger generations, and were still serving as resources for cultural knowledge within the communities. These individuals served an important function in the study because they had preserved much of the original culture absent bicultural assimilation.

The expanded interview groups numbered a total of twenty-six (26) individuals. The breakdown of informants per community included: the Bay Mills Sault Ojibwa Head Start and Early Head Start Programs, ten (10) informants (two teachers, two staff, four parents, two grandparents); the Odawa In-Home Parent Child Training Program there were eight (8) informants (three teachers, three parents, two grandparents, and one unrelated Elder); the Lac Vieux Desert Early Head Start Program in Watersmeet, the only center under the direction and control of a non-Native administrator there were five (5) individuals interviewed (one Native teacher, one Native staff person, one parent and two Elders); and at the Hannahville Early Head Start Program, there were three persons interviewed (one Native teacher, and two parents).

It was important that informants were currently involved in the education program and that among this group a number could provide an historical perspective of the Center's institutional practices. Using contemporaneously involved informants enhanced the accessibility of expressive language to describe culturally influenced activities, and ensured that informant's would be familiar with cultural determinants that imbued classroom behaviors (Spradley, 1979).<sup>186</sup> The Inter-Tribal Council Director, Ann Story, completed recruitment of participants from a general outreach throughout the Centers. In the correspondence the research project was described and a general solicitation to participate was made to parents, teachers and staff. The request for participation was reissued to all employees and parents shortly before my

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<sup>186</sup> Spradley, James P. (1979), *The Ethnographic Interview*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. Orlando, Florida (1979), at 48.

arrival. Included in this communication was a copy of the consent form, my letter describing project goals, and a request for members to participate in the study. Subsequent identification of Elder informants was facilitated by referrals received from interviewees during the process.

Retrospective analysis is inherently limiting to the reliability of data in a study designed to identify contemporary and historical patterns of preschooler behaviors (Sheehan et al., 1991).<sup>187</sup> Other ethnographic research has successfully utilized key informants from former participant group years to explain phenomenological events in institutional histories (Walker, 1993).<sup>188</sup> However, Spradley (1979) recommends the use of currently involved informants to ensure that fresh knowledge is available, and to improve the recall of recent events in program operations (Spradley, 1979).<sup>189</sup> In the case studies, using inter-generational participants who were currently or recently involved assisted the project in revealing cultural content and process of the Inter-Tribal preschool programs.

Studies that have utilized prior knowledge from past participants have relied upon the triangulation method to verify present informant data. Through program records and oral histories, the current research was able to triangulate the data received from key informants within the inter-generational groups.

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<sup>187</sup> Sheehan, R., Cryan, J.R., Weichel, J., Bandy, I.G. (1991), Factors Contributing to Success in Elementary schools; Research Finding for Early Childhood Educators, *Journal of Research in childhood Education*, Vol. 6, No. 1.

<sup>188</sup> Walker, Vanessa Siddle (1996), *Their Highest Potential, An African American School Community in the Segregated South*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C.

<sup>189</sup> Spradley (1979), at 48.

Equally important was the guarantee of confidentiality issued to each informant as a condition to his or her involvement. A number of informants made reference to the guarantee in the consent agreement. At the initial stages of each interview, the consent agreements were extensively discussed to ensure that participants understood the voluntary nature of their involvement. Although some teachers and staff seemed especially concerned that the guarantee of anonymity would shield them from recognition in making contextual references in the dissertation, once assurances were provided that pseudonyms would be used, their level of discomfort was assuaged (Addendum 1, page 413).

### **Site Selection**

Before arriving on the scene, a formal request had been sent to the Inter-Tribal Council to permit the research among their Head Start, Early Head Start Program, and In-Home Parent Child Training Programs, which was granted without delay. The four centers identified for research were chosen for their variety of Tribal communities, program content, geographical location and availability during the summer months. The inclusion of the In-Home Parent Child Training Program was very important to the goals of this project because it allowed the case studies to observe parent/child interactions in an atmosphere outside the classroom environment. Following the advice of the Director, the letter sent to potential participants had described my Indian heritage, provided a synopsis of the research project, and described informant involvement. This correspondence had been forwarded, with the letter from the Director, to all center employees, parents and

guardians, requesting their cooperation and extending authorization to use scheduled work time for the interview process.

Generally, informants self-selected by returning the consent form and communicating a willingness to participate. The response was more than adequate and every effort was made to interview all of those individuals who had agreed to be involved in the research. In some cases, a few of the volunteers were otherwise unavailable and never did make it to the interview process. However, those informants that did agree to an interview, took as much time as was necessary to communicate their knowledge, feelings and concerns. Many spent some time during the interview process asking about the study, my commitment to assisting Indians through this research; and what was likely to become of the information provided. Assurances were given that all of the information would remain confidential, available only to the University Dissertation Committee and myself for the duration that it is kept as a record of the research project. Many were very helpful in referring others to the project for interview, indicating their expertise and potential contribution. Some informants contacted Elders in the community, asked them to participate and facilitated an introduction.

Completing research among minority communities presents unique methodology problems in qualitative studies (Anderson, 1993).<sup>190</sup> Racial and class differences instigate social distancing that often interferes with the reliability of the

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<sup>190</sup> Anderson, Margaret L. (1993), *Studying Across Differences: Race, Class, Gender in Qualitative Research*, *Race and Ethnicity in Research Methods*, edited by: Stanfield, John H. II, Dennis, Rutledge, M.; Sage Publications, Newbury Park, California,(1993) at 40.

ethnographic results (Anderson, 1993).<sup>191</sup> Mistrust and hostility from prior exploitation are especially characteristic of Native communities that have been accessed for socio-cultural research. The misinterpretation of cultural values and beliefs of the Anishnabe people by European anthropologists holding majority worldviews are legend in the oral histories of the Ojibwa (Wub-E-Ke-Niew, 1995).<sup>192</sup> Therefore, an important consideration in the design of this study was to be cognizant of a need to establish contact in the community through an Anishnabe insider prior to beginning any research activity. Before proceeding with the study, it was critical to identify my Indian status, reveal the intentions of the project and build credibility within the community. Having a cousin who was teaching among the Ojibwa in Michigan provided the necessary introduction to the Inter-Tribal Head Start Director. Coming from the same Indian reservation as this Tuscarora Nation cousin, I was immediately accorded Indian status in the Michigan Indian communities, and recognized as a Native researcher by the Inter-Tribal Director. This recognition enabled Tribal members to build trust and assisted in the approval of the research project among an otherwise inaccessible population. The subsequent acceptance of members of the communities allowed this research project to proceed unencumbered by doubt or hostility, and garnered respect for the project's goals which that may not have been afforded a majority researcher.

Acting as a facilitator for this project, the Program Coordinator, Tiffany Menard, an Anishnabe member, not only served as my guide and facilitator, but also

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<sup>191</sup> Ibid at 41.

<sup>192</sup> Wub-E-Ke-Niew (1995), *We Have A Right To Exist*, Tribal Publications, at 5.

opened up her home to me for the duration of the study. Her stature and respect among Tribal members was crucial to building trust and rapport with informants and among the people. Recognition as an Indian researcher was extremely beneficial during the interview process because informants were comfortable and relaxed; and often explained very personal suffering that would not have been discussed in any another Native/non-Native research situation. In fact, during the interviews participants in the study sometimes revealed that it was "because you are an Indian, that I'm willing to talk to you."

In deciding site selection, Native Center management was considered an important element, as was the presence of Native teachers, parents and staff. Since the case studies were to intended to discern the status of cultural values and beliefs held by community members, and subsequently discover how that cultural knowledge was used in the preschool situation, it was also important to look at a cross-section of geographical locations that included both urban and reservation-based programs. Hence, the Petosky Odawa Indian community, which was situated within a non-Native city, held the potential to reveal how urban communities had preserved their cultural knowledge; and demonstrated how their culture had adapted through assimilation. Mindful that the In-Home Parent Child training would permit observations in the home environment, I was particularly interested in examining how the transmission of cultural knowledge might occur between parents and children.

A final consideration in choosing these particular sites for research was the potential to access multi-generational members from sizeable Indian populations

surrounding each center. Another important consideration in the selection of these sites was geographical locations that provided a mixture of both rural and urban Indian populations. Contributions from Elders found at these sites were unique to their life experiences and varied due to the geographical location of their home communities. For instance, some Elders had worked at fishing, gathering wild rice, or in the timber industry to make a living as young adults. Others had made the decision to leave their communities to find work in distant cities. This variety of life stories significantly enriched the database and offered new avenues of potential inquiry and verification for the results collected.

Elder traditional values and beliefs, forged during the removal and boarding school experience, appeared to be affected by a conscientious commitment of the individual to stubbornly retain their language and culture in the face of great suffering and adversity. The locus and economic status of the Native community was a primary determinant in whether the children had been removed and placed outside the families. Where industry or commercial employment had been available as an optional subsistence activity, it was far less likely that families had been forced to allow their children to be removed. Hence, there was extensive diversity within a somewhat homogeneous Elder group on the issue of removal that was dependent upon geographical location of the site involved.



## Data Collection

### *Interviews*

As proposed, the case studies were to collect data from taped interviews with Indian teachers, parents and staff. The process was structured as an open-ended discussion to allow individuals the choice of *what* to tell and *how* to tell it. Prior to opening the discussion, I provided a brief biographical profile, giving individuals background information on my Indian heritage that identified my ancestry as Six Nations Mohawk. During this preliminary discussion, it was important to assist informants in becoming comfortable and relaxed, to help them feel confident that this research was not intended to exploit the opportunity to learn about their culture; nor breach the trust placed in me to accurately report what had been found. Such assurances were critical for participants to voluntarily reveal traditional beliefs and values in the interviews. Trust and intimacy in discussions are essential to the ethnographic process, where informants can speak freely in a risk-free environment (Spradley, 1979).<sup>193</sup> Conversely, mistrust engenders reluctance and sometimes hostility between the researcher and informant (Anderson, 1993).<sup>194</sup> Given the long history of persecution Annishnabe children experienced for expressing traditional values and beliefs during the boarding school years, it was vitally important for them to have confidence that such topics would not result in any judgment or disdain (Wub-E-Ke-Niew, 1995).<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> Spradley (1979), at 78-79.

<sup>194</sup> Anderson (1993), at 43.

<sup>195</sup> Wub-E-Ke-Niew (1995), at 5.

After introductions, I completed the preliminary discussion with a description of the research project goals, emphasizing its purpose and potential contribution to Indian education. I thoroughly explained the anticipated participation of informants in the project. Many individuals had already been exposed to the consent document (Addendum 1) in a letter sent by the Inter-Tribal Head Start Program Director. Each was asked if they understood the voluntary nature of their involvement in the project. To ensure that individuals would not be reluctant to communicate a desire to no longer engage in the interview process at some future point, it was explained that their consent could be unilaterally withdrawn at any time in the future without punitive consequences. Each was provided sufficient information regarding the use of interview material, and assurances made that any references in the research data would preserve their confidentiality. The ultimate disposition of transcripts was also discussed to the satisfaction of the informants. The extensiveness of this preparation was warranted to ensure that before participation, informants understood and had indeed given *informed consent* prior to signing the form (Spradley, 1979; Le Compte and Preissle, 1993).<sup>196</sup>

Next, the audio-taping process was explained, emphasizing that all interviews would be transcribed and integrated into the final document in a summarized, anonymous format. The placement of some quoted material from the transcribed data in the dissertation text was again discussed, with reassurances provided to all individuals that excerpts would be edited to maintain confidentiality.

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<sup>196</sup> Spradley (1979), at 36, 37; LeCompte and Preissle (1993), at 108.

Since the interviews were held in seclusion from other center employees or parents, privacy did not become an issue, and most informants quickly relaxed, appeared to be at ease throughout the process. As Anderson (1993) had postulated, being a minority (Native) seemed to mitigate the usual mistrust and hostility engendered by majority researchers among minority populations (Anderson, 1993).<sup>197</sup> Many informants were forthright about the fact that had I not been an Indian, they would not have participated in the research project. Several were curious to learn if the cultural values and beliefs they had identified were similarly a part of the Mohawk Traditions. Many expressed knowledge of Indian history to place the Annishnabe and Six Nations people under the same Algonquin grouping. In analyzing the data, the importance of having a strong Indian heritage was evident in the manner and composition of in-depth questioning that was able to elicit information vital to this study. For example, most informants had covert negative views about the non-Native communities and schools in which they had been educated. Revealing these closely held views was difficult, especially in circumstances where the individuals had a biracial or bicultural background. It is likely, informant attitudes disclosed during these interviews would not have been shared with majority researchers (Anderson, 1993).<sup>198</sup>

The interpretation of an ethnographic record is significantly enhanced through the use of multi-media devices (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993),<sup>199</sup> and can be

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<sup>197</sup> Anderson (1993), at 41.

<sup>198</sup> Anderson (1993), at 41.

<sup>199</sup> LeCompte and Preissle (1993), at 230.

preserved intact for future review (Erickson , 1992).<sup>200</sup> Although videotaping was originally contemplated but discarded, audiotaping, observations and note taking proved to be effective tools in creating a permanent record.

Using a micro-cassette device, which participants either held or placed on the surface in front of them, I was able to record three to four hours of taped interview sessions per informant. As previously mentioned, the interview process was designed to allow individuals to first "tell me their story" through an open-ended invitation to "tell me about yourself." Storytelling among Native people is quite a common method of communication to demonstrate an idea or emotion, and the transcripts were replete with rich examples of this type of Native communication style. Annishnabe members have inter-generationally transmitted oral histories, and negotiated treaties with foreign governments through the medium of story-telling, conveying distinct sociological differences in their belief systems when dealing with non-Native people (Wub-E-Ke-Niew, 1995).<sup>201</sup>

Giving informants an opportunity to tell their own oral history provided them a sense of control over the interview process in that they could lead the discussions in whatever direction they chose (Spradley, 1979).<sup>202</sup> All individuals, in "telling their story," incorporated particular incidents related to the status of their cultural knowledge. For instance, some grappled with a "bicultural" or "biracial" childhood that had robbed them of an opportunity to learn the "traditional ways" as a youth.

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<sup>200</sup> Erickson, E. H. (1992), *Ethnographic Microanalysis of Interaction*, In M. D. Le Compte et al (Eds.), *The Handbook of Qualitative Research In Education* (pp. 201-227).

<sup>201</sup> Wub-E-Ke-Niew (1995), at 5.

<sup>202</sup> Spradley (1979) at 83.

Others expressed gratitude for parents or grandparents, who had maintained the "traditional beliefs or language, despite having suffered punishment during the boarding school experience."

Once this reference to Annishnabe culture was established, I then resorted to the use of guided questions to further explore the mentioned concept, weaving the discussion further into more specific descriptions to develop a conceptual framework of the information provided (Spradley, 1979).<sup>203</sup> This type of guided and follow-up questioning enhanced the general understanding of topics discussed, and was recommended by Spradley (1979) as a tool to establish domains, and by Strauss (1987) to facilitate open-coding of primary data. (Spradley, 1979; Strauss, 1987).<sup>204</sup>

During their personal history, informants generally clarified their Tribal lineage, clan membership or land-base Tribal affiliation. Almost all were Annishnabe from the Ojibwa, Odawa or Potawatomi Nations in Michigan. However, there were a few who identified their Tribal affiliations as Wisconsin Ojibwa, or Canadian Ojibwa, from Manitoba and Ontario. These cultures were revealed to be closely associated with the Michigan Annishnabe despite their differentiated nationality.

Once their tribal identity was established most described their family of origin, present family relationships, and finally defined themselves in the context of their function within the preschool centers. From thereon, I began using the guided

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<sup>203</sup> Ibid at 86-87.

<sup>204</sup> Spradley (1979) at 90; Strauss, Anselm L., (1987), *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*, Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, New York, N. Y. (1987) at 62.

questions developed for the study to elicit the desired pertinent cultural information. I initially asked all informants "to describe what it meant to be" (Ojibwa, Odawa or Potawatomi). When specific cultural values or beliefs were mentioned, I would pursue these ideas, requesting informants to more specifically describe the significance, use or purpose of a particular term, behavior or belief (Spradley, 1979).<sup>205</sup> In circumstances where informants became less verbal, or were unable to more specifically describe what they had referenced, I sometimes rephrased or reiterated what had been said, asking for clarification to better understand the concept or phenomena expressed. However, relying on Spradley (1979), I chose not to ask repetitive questions, especially when doing so seemed to intimidate the informant, who might have already appeared insecure about the quality of the cultural knowledge they possessed or contributed (Spradley, 1979).<sup>206</sup>

When esoteric terms or phrases were used by informants to connote more expansive concepts, such as the "*laying down*" or "*putting up*" of tobacco, collateral questioning to clarify the meaning was employed. For instance, pursuing clarity, I might ask informants to describe what happens when you "put up" or "lay down" tobacco. In sharing what these phrases meant, one informant told me the story of how his family rose at sunrise each morning to attend the tobacco ceremony, in which his traditional mother would place Indian tobacco on the waters of Lake Michigan as an offering to the Creator. In telling this story, the informant had succinctly clarified the meaning of the tobacco ceremony (one of thanksgiving), and accomplished much

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<sup>205</sup> Spradley (1979) at 90.

<sup>206</sup> Spradley (1979), at 57.

more. Through the narrative, the informant told how his parent had valued, preserved and shared her traditional practices in her cultural belief system. This sharing of cultural knowledge with her children ensured its continuance for future generations. The nuances apparent in telling his story, the demeanor of respect and solemnity, demonstrated an appreciation and personal reverence for this Annishnabe traditional belief. The interpretation of the nuance behaviors was substantiated when the informant later shared that he too was traditional and did "put up" and "lay down" tobacco in giving thanks to the Creator in adulthood.

Carrying to this research an inherently Native cultural perspective, I was more cognizant of the nuances of behavior and demeanor in the informant groups than a majority researcher might have been. For this reason, I was particularly careful to maintain neutrality and distance from the data in the process of understanding Annishnabe values and beliefs (Spradley, 1979).<sup>207</sup> In the research it was necessary to successfully span the boundaries of the culture to understand the behaviors and beliefs of the informants (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993).<sup>208</sup> To do this, it was necessary to transcend my own Native cultural orientation to legitimately and comprehensively report the research results from this study as informants had described their reality (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993).<sup>209</sup>

The academy has recognized that in research among traditionally excluded minority groups, scientists have encountered methodological and political barriers to

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<sup>207</sup> Ibid at 50.

<sup>208</sup> LeCompte and Preissle (1993) at 17-18.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid at 45.

conceptual understanding (Stanfield, 1993).<sup>210</sup> Often in majority research among minority populations, where inequities exist in the wealth and power of different social and racial groups, the research process is affected by race and class oppression. The social attitude of researcher to the researched are inherently dominated by the control and exploitation of the privileged class however subtle or concealed within the substance of professional ideologies (Anderson (1993); Blauner and Wellman, 1973).<sup>211</sup> Anderson (1993), Blauner and Wellmen (1973) support the implication that minority researchers would be less likely to experience distrust, hostility or exclusion within the minority communities, and thus may better interpret the nuances of culture and racial oppression expressed in the group ethos (Anderson, 1993; Blauner and Wellmen, 1973).<sup>212</sup> In examining the data generated by these studies, it was apparent that this research substantially benefited from the mutual understanding and respect for cultural constructs esoteric to the Annishnabe informants. Having had prior knowledge of social protocol in Indian communities, language usage, and an understanding of the mysticism generally pervasive in Native beliefs, significantly enhanced my ability to ask more comprehensive questions in the collection of data. It was also apparent that having a minority researcher facilitated the freedom of expression that allowed informants to describe the inadequacies of majority systems, which they believed had failed to provide an adequate education because of prejudice and racism.

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<sup>210</sup> Stanfield, John H. II, *Epistemological Considerations, Race and Ethnicity in Research Methods*, edited by: Stanfield, John H. and Dennis, Rutledge M., Sage Publications, Newbury, California at 26.

<sup>211</sup> Anderson (1993) at 40; citing Blauner, R. and Wellman, D. (1973), *Toward the decolonization of social research*; In J. Ladner (Ed.), *The death of white sociology*, New York, Vintage.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid* at 40.



During the research, a wealth of cultural information emerged from the life stories that detailed painful and humorous incidents of poverty and prejudice, which many Annishnabe members had to endure. In the course of the project, I learned many positive aspects about the cultural values and beliefs, which formulated behavioral expectations to strengthen community life. For instance, informants revealed how the Annishnabe value children, respect Elders, offer community support, non-effusively and unobtrusively by simply "being there" for each other. Making sense of the interview text required multi-level understanding and cooperation between the researcher and the informant. In order to expand the range of thinking in the process to progressively approach in-depth conceptualizations, informants were guided from personalized concrete experiences to the expression of community or cultural norm. In this process, I found that the initial development of personal rapport (Spradley, 1979)<sup>213</sup> invaluable enhanced communications in this type of guided discussion (Spradley, 1979)<sup>214</sup> Demonstrating receptiveness and appreciation of their contributions, regardless of the content or process used to convey cultural knowledge, freed the informant to openly converse in a risk-free environment (Spradley, 1979).<sup>215</sup> It was enormously helpful to be cognizant of the need to maintain non-interference behavior during the research process (Garrett Walkingstick, 1995<sup>216</sup>; and avoid dominance or control of the ongoing dialogue (Philips, 1983).<sup>217</sup> These are highly valued cultural norms associated with conversational diplomacy among other Native speakers (Philips, 1983),<sup>218</sup> and

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<sup>213</sup> Spradley (1979) at 57.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid at 78.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid at 80-82.

<sup>216</sup> Garret-Walkingstick (1995) at 190.

<sup>217</sup> Philips (1983) at.59-60.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid.

appeared to exist among the Annishnabe people as well. Encouragement of informant efforts was executed with a minimum of interjection and interpolation during the discourse (Spradley, 1979).<sup>219</sup>

Once the tapes were transcribed, copies of interview transcripts were sent to informants for verification. The first communication with informants was distributed in November 1999, and each individual was requested to review and verify the transcript contents. As a result of this mailing, a limited number of telephone calls (three) from informants was received that indicated their review and verification of materials was complete. After waiting six weeks, calls were made to the remainder of the informants, and requests for verification of the transcripts were again communicated. When this effort proved fruitless, a second copy of individual transcripts was sent to informants, with an attached verification statement for their signature. This form (Addendum 2 at 413) included three options for approving the text: *approving the data as it appeared; approved, with changes as indicated in the text; and not approved for use in the dissertation.*

From this mailing, a total of twelve verification statements were received, six of which had minor alterations with an agreement to use in the dissertation. With the three previous telephone confirmations received, a total of fifteen informant Verification Statements have been completed and returned. The verification process serves to clarify that the deductive process used in the research interpretation; and that the analysis has been accurately formulated as a true reflection of the meaning

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<sup>219</sup> Spradley (1979) at 83.

intended by the informant (Strauss, 1987).<sup>220</sup> This procedure is essential to avoid erroneous misconceptualizations of cultural knowledge, which Annishnabe people have experienced in the past (Wub-E-Ke-Niew, 1995).<sup>221</sup> Once the transcripts had been integrated into the text in confidential form and the dissertation process was complete, presentation of results and distribution of copies to the Inter-Tribal communities were sent. The step is intended to uphold the commitment to the communities to provide them with whatever information this study discovered that might be useful in planning the curriculum of the current Head Start programs.

### *Observations*

The purpose of observations in this research was to discern how informants actually conveyed the cultural beliefs and values they had identified in the interview process (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993).<sup>222</sup> In essence, the interviews were used to see if the Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi informants were actually "*doing*" what they "*said*" they were "*doing*." (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993).<sup>223</sup>

Following the guidelines of LeCompte and Preissle (1993), research observations focused on who was in the group or activities; what was happening in the activity, specifically what behaviors appeared repetitive or routine; was there an observable social context or rule to explain the relevance of the activity, or nuance of

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<sup>220</sup> Strauss (1987), at 11.

<sup>221</sup> Wub-E-Ke-Niew (1995) at 5.

<sup>222</sup> LeCompte and Preissle (1993), at 196.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid at 197.

behaviors displayed (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993).<sup>224</sup> Particular attention was given to the manner in which members of the group interacted with one another. Relying on informant terminology, observations looked for the implementation of social values and beliefs as participants had identified them.

Emphasis was given to examining: the use of verbal or non-verbal cues in the communication process within the group; ways in which the cultural values and beliefs were transmitted between actors--and the symbolism prevalent in stories, personal exchanges or individual demeanor. Observations also examined if there was a discernable format or protocol in conversations or social situations where adults and children interacted (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993).<sup>225</sup>

In the context of the physical environment: observations examined how the program was structured in support of the educational purpose; and if cultural content was integrated into the curriculum, language, materials, toys and furnishings. Did the luncheons feature Native foods, special observances or ceremonies? Were the program guidelines formulated through collaborative efforts of parents and the community of the Tribal groups? Was the input visible in the symbolic representations or overt communication of traditional values or beliefs espoused by informants in the program? Answering these questions was an ongoing process as the observations continued throughout this project and data was reviewed and analyzed.

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<sup>224</sup> Ibid at 200.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid.

### ***Site Observations***

Observations were conducted at all four site locations on an intermittent basis throughout the project. Teachers and Early Head Start Directors were notified of proposed observations in advance, given projected dates and times that these visits were likely to occur at a particular location. Observations were held intermittently and alternated with interviews, which consumed several part days. Informant availability was dependent upon the individual's work schedule, and were fit into periods when children were otherwise occupied (lunch, naptime and after school hours).

Observations included classroom activities, adult/child and parent/child interactions during instruction, playtime, lunch and naptime situations. Remaining on-site all day, I often ate with the children, teachers, childcare workers, and parents. Primarily listening to adult/child conversations, it was also possible to observe peer-to-peer interactions in various situations. Each morning and afternoon, the children had a recess period in which they played outside. The programs are well funded and a number of toys and other types of equipment were available for their use. The childcare workers and teachers alternately participated in the monitoring duties in all situations.

During activities, I often observed teachers and parents speaking Ojibwa or Odawa to the children, some of who appeared to be fluent in the language. I subsequently learned that these children had begun speaking their Native language

prior to entering the Centers, and were in the process of becoming bilingual speakers through the Head Start and Early Head Start programs.

Parents had an open invitation to visit all of the centers, eat lunch with their child or children, and assist in putting Early Head Start infants or toddlers to sleeps. Some centers housed multiple programs--Head Start, Early Head Start and Tribal Day Care. Hence, when a parent came for lunch at the center, all of their children, regardless of the age group, would eat with them at a family table. Lunches were served family-style, and children were encouraged to serve themselves, clean up after their meal, and assist each other in these tasks. During these sessions, I was able to observe parenting styles, kinds of conversations between parents/children, and disciplinary techniques. Lunchtime was particularly good observational opportunity because conversations between children and adults (teachers, staff, and parents) were varied and stimulating, with topics that ranged from play activities to family news. Listening to the dyadic cadence was important to discern patterns of speech and the conversational diplomacy exercised by participants. Watching teachers model behaviors, observing peer teaching and cooperative learning situations was especially beneficial in understanding what informants were describing as respect and consideration for others in the society.

Toddlers from the Early Head Start Program were, likewise, expected to participate in the lunchroom responsibilities, and all age groups had to assist in cleaning up mats and blankets after naptime. Generally, parents stayed after the lunch hour to attend to their smaller children during naptime. Centers encouraged

this participation, especially when the child first enters the program. However, cradling and cuddling children during rest time in the Early Head Start Program was the routine responsibility of all "free" hands. Parents, directors, teachers and childcare workers alike joined in the comforting of infants and toddlers at naptime, often rocking them and singing to them in English or Ojibwa. Watching small children learn how to take direction from the childcare workers, or accept responsibility for self-discipline, provided a glimpse of the application of cultural values espoused by informants in the situations. Here observations focused on intonation, gesticulation and other forms of nuance behaviors to understand what levels of communication were involved in the exchange, and the tenor of the relationship that appeared to be fostered by the interactive behavior.

Differences were noticed between center operations in both program structure and implementation. For instance, the music chosen by the Bay Mills Ojibwa and Hannahville Potawatomi Centers at naptime featured distinctive Native flute selections, while the Lac Vieux Desert Ojibwa chose modern pop favorites, such as Barbra Steisand, to induce the children to sleep. Toys, furniture, decor, curriculum materials, activities and instructional techniques differed and were observable among centers. Similarly, teachers and staff varied between program sites, as did the amount of community involvement apparent during observational sessions.

Mothers and fathers were visible participants in at least three center programs--the Bay Mills Head Start and Early Head Start, the Hannahville Early Head Start, and the Petosky In-Home Parent Child Training effort. In some cases, parents

alternated responsibilities according to their work schedules. At Bay Mills, it was especially evident that fathers were equally involved. Fathers were often present during lunch times, helping their toddlers and throughout the day as well. Since there was an extraordinary amount of paternal involvement, the observations at this site were particularly valuable to the project. For example, observing male/female role differentiation in the treatment of children; examining parent/teacher relationship differences between male/female visitors; the reaction of children to male/female direction assisted the project to interpret cultural information being provided by informants. Since the Head Start and Early Head Start programs strongly encouraged the participation of both parents, seeing a strong presence of both males and females was not unusual.

The project was originally designed to utilize videotaping in the observational phase as a means of creating a permanent record for analytical review. In the interest of brevity, given that the projected timetable of research activities included several hours of audiotaping and center observations, the Dissertation Committee decided that the videotaping should not be included. However, audiotapes were created during specific sequences of observational activities at the centers. In particular, where adult/child interactions were scheduled, these sessions were observed in person, audiotaped, and copious notes taken to create a record of sensory data. Things like demeanor, voice intonation, facial expressions and gestures were recorded and memos produced from these notes (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993).<sup>226</sup> Ongoing review of research data allowed the interview process to continuously identify new

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<sup>226</sup> Ibid at 206.



areas of questioning with informants and assisted in the preparation of the interviewer for future interviews (Spradley, 1979).<sup>227</sup>

The observations were evenly distributed across program visits, and interview opportunities and available classrooms determined scheduling. In some instances, scheduling allowed for daylong sessions, so that the children were followed from Head Start arrival to aftercare. When first in the classroom, the children were immediately interested in research activities. Most watched at a distance until familiarity with my presence was established. Once the children became acclimated to a stranger in the room, they soon lost interest and re-engaged in preschool activities.

Observations in the In-Home Parent Child Training Program afforded an opportunity to be able to view both the parent/child and teacher/child interactions in a relaxed atmosphere. Since this segment of the research occurred near the City of Petosky, most homes were situate in the urban area, but were clustered within a small radius colloquially known as "Indian Town" (actually Harbor Springs, Michigan). Children in this group ranged in age from infancy to three years old. Some were biracial mixes (Indian/white, Indian/Hispanic), while others full-blood Odawa. The greater Odawa population resides in the areas surrounding Traverse Bay, where the Little and Grand Traverse Band of Odawa have a reservation land-base. Many of these families had relocated for employment and remained in Petosky for several generations.

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<sup>227</sup> Spradley (1979), at 135.

During the in-home sessions, parents were interviewed in less private circumstances, which may have presented limited opportunities for a candid exchange. Attempting to avoid interruption of the instructional program, I waited until the child and teacher were engaged in an activity to briefly question the parent, or in some cases, arrange a subsequent interview session. Where the child was small and the interactions between the teacher/child/parent were simultaneous, I observed the nuances of the structured dialogue; primarily listening for cultural clues imbedded within these interactions. I attended to the behavior and attitude of conversants, listing for esoteric terminology, and observing how both adults responded to the infant.

When visiting the Lac Vieux Desert (Ojibwa) Program, administered by non-Native personnel, I observed distinct differences in program operations. In this Early Head Start Center there was an abundance of non-Native staff, including the Director, childcare workers, cooks and support personnel. Program options for observation involved little structured activity, in situations where children and adults appeared to interact randomly. The atmosphere was custodial in nature, with many adult-to-adult conversations, very little adult/child talk.

The Potawatomi Early Head Start Program again included both infants and toddlers engaged in various activities. This center is located in the Hannahville Indian School; a reservation elementary program run by the Potawatomi Tribe that is almost entirely staffed by Potawatomi members. Here, observations alternated with interviews to accommodate the work schedules of informants and parents.

Teacher interviews were completed first to facilitate the accumulation of cultural data prior to entering the observational phase in each setting. Following this procedural design allowed the research to compile and analyze the cultural information before observing the phenomena in the physical situation.

Parent/grandparent interviews were generally interspersed among observational opportunities, and most were held in the family residence after program hours. These interview settings accommodated the need for observation of various socialized family relationships between the informant, child and other extended family present.

### *Community Observations*

Immersion in the culture can assist researchers to identify thematic structures found in the data collected (Spradley, 1979).<sup>228</sup> Attending social gatherings, participating in the cultural life of informants provides perspective and insight into themes that may remain at the tacit level. Observing informants practicing values and beliefs in the cultural scene can lead the analysis beyond the theoretical assumption to the identification of related social behaviors (Strauss, 1993),<sup>229</sup> and what is observed can later be clarified in subsequent interviews. Seeking to understand Annishnabe culture as it is practiced by informants outside the classroom in the social milieu, the project incorporated observations in the community as the data was analyzed and concepts developed.

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<sup>228</sup> Ibid at 190.

<sup>229</sup> Strauss (1993), at 196.

Becoming more familiar with the communities, I was invited to attend the Hannahville Potawatomi Pow Wow held on their reservation. Many community members from the Ojibwa and Odawa Tribes also attended this social gathering with their children and extended families. Although I did not take notes, nor tape-record any of these situations, I annotated present sensory information in my fieldwork journal, which were later recorded as memos. Watching the dance contestants, listening to personal discussions and meeting new members, I had the opportunity to absorb the social atmosphere of the Potawatomi community. Similarly, eating meals at the Sault Tribe Restaurant with Tribal members offered a unique opportunity to observe family conversations in a relaxed environment, which supplied a different context in understanding cultural norms.

At these community social gatherings, I was accompanied and introduced by the Inter-Tribal Program Coordinator, who was well known throughout the communities. Because the original project design did not include community observations, these occasions were not planned in advance. As opportunities to visit community gatherings occurred spontaneously, they were structured with minimum preparation. Accessing the observational opportunity to focus on specific overt behaviors associated with identifiable values and beliefs prompted sensory perception data, which were used to further explain and interpret primary data retrieved from the interviews. The community excursions were extremely helpful in obtaining feedback from members regarding the ongoing project, and generated individual interest to serve as an interview informant.

Community participation became an important aspect of the fieldwork experience as it significantly assisted in getting to know informants out of the interview situation (Philips, 1983).<sup>230</sup> Visiting the reservation businesses (restaurants, gas stations, food marts, gift shops, and casinos) presented an opportunity to meet individuals involved in the contemporary Sault Ojibwa community life, which added a dimension of contrast to better understand the transitional nature of the culture and differences in the way adults and children interact in a social setting (Philips, 1983).<sup>231</sup>

While in the Odawa community, I accepted an invitation to be an "honored" guest at the Odawa Elder luncheon in Petosky. Engaging individuals in friendly conversations, I learned what some Odawa Elders would identify as "strong community values" they specifically associated with "being Odawa." These conversations gave me guidance in what areas of potential inquiry interviews might pursue when later speaking with Elders from the community. Many of these Elders were eager to share their cultural knowledge, and although they were not then made a part of this study, some provided insights into understanding and recognizing cultural norms. Several of these individuals had grown up during the boarding school era, and suffered unspeakable indignities, which had stripped them of their language and cultural beliefs. Many Elders joked and teased, (similar to a typical social experience with Elders in the Mohawk or Tuscarora setting). Their historical perspective was invaluable in understanding the acculturation process, which occurred in the urban

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<sup>230</sup> Philips (1983), at 19.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid.

Indian community. This information assisted the analysis in finding documentation to triangulate historical references and establish a baseline of information from which subsequent questioning could generate new avenues of discussion.

The luncheon presented observational opportunities to search for characteristic behaviors in the way Elders were treated by Odawa community members. Having specifically identified *"respecting Elders"* as a community value, Odawa informants had subsequently defined *"respect"* as *"serving them first"* and *"attending to their needs."* In this particular situation, many of the described behaviors were very apparent, and seemed to govern the protocol of luncheon service despite the fact that tribal dignitaries--the Tribal Chairman and Tribal attorney--were also present.

Using community observations as a mechanism to verify specifically described behaviors also proved to be an effective means to identify topics that needed to be clarified. For instance, at another community gathering, the Sault Council meeting, a number of community members (and informants) were in the audience and frequently engaging in discussions with Tribal Councilpersons. Observational focus at this meeting was to capture behaviors that reflected the "harmony," which had been described by the Ojibwa informants to influence social relationships among the people. Phraseology used by informants had often referenced the concept of "harmony," to say that in Ojibwa values "everyone is respected;" and "everyone is equal." Research has shown that the concept of "harmony" is a highly valued state of homeostasis within Native communities

(Garrett et al., 1995<sup>232</sup>; Locust, 1987<sup>233</sup>). Thus, when observations within the programs appeared to reflect the value or harmony among participants, it was decided that more structured questioning might be necessary to fully understand how the Ojibwa informants defined harmony as it was being demonstrated in the various settings. It was noted that group members appeared to accept and respect individual input during the adult/child and adult/adult interactions. Again, these behaviors provided fodder for future interview sessions with teachers, parents and elders.

During the final vote count of the Tribal Council elections, the community gathered at the new hockey arena built for the youth on recaptured Tribal lands within the reservation. Children of all ages, having access to the entire space, ran about, playing, eating and joining parents to alternately watch a hockey game in progress or the election. This observational occasion provided an opportunity to examine the often-expressed cultural precept of "community responsibility for all children," and the "extended family" concept that delegated parental authority over children to everyone in the community. These unique opportunities to observe the social behaviors of participants in a cultural milieu removed from the preschools were invaluable in the interpretation of informant data during the analytical process.

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<sup>232</sup> Garrett, J. T. and Garrett Walkingstick, Michael (1995), The Path of Good Medicine: Understanding and Counseling Native American Indians, *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, Vol. 22, July 1994, pp. 134 to 144, at 138.

<sup>233</sup> Locust, Carol (1988), Wounding the Spirit: Discrimination and Traditional American Indian Belief Systems, *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 58., No. 3, August 1988, pp. 315-330, at 322.

## DATA ANALYSIS

### *Domain Analysis*

Spradley (1979) defines a domain as a symbolic category of meaning in ethnographic research that is composed of other categories of cultural knowledge (Spradley, 1979).<sup>234</sup> Domains are distinguished as having two or more included folk terms, in which "*cover terms*" are linked in a single semantic relationship to all included terms in the set (Spradley, 1979).<sup>235</sup> "*Cover terms*" are terms or phrases that explain the relationship maintained by the folk terms in the set. In completing domain analysis, the datum were first searched for cover terms that seemed to group folk terms into categories of cultural knowledge. When larger groups of categorical knowledge became apparent (domains), investigation into what folk terms were related to that concept occurred next. Listing potential domains and the folk terms that applied created a conceptual understanding of how the folk terms expressed characteristics of the cultural phenomena.

For instance, in examining the conceptual set of a "*traditional ceremony*" it was found that informants had identified "tobacco offering," "sweating," "smudging" and "feast celebrations" as some of the elements within the conceptual framework. In subsequent questioning, informants revealed that each of these descriptors applied to some portion of a ceremonial process. "*Offering tobacco*" was described as a

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<sup>234</sup> Spradley (1979), at 100.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.



process that included: "**putting it up**" or "**laying it down**" on the water; "**sprinkling it into a fire**;" and "**giving back by placing it where you have taken something from Mother Earth.**" "**Sweating**" referenced a spiritual experience that involved "**purification for rebirthing the soul**;" in the "**womb of the sweatlodge**;" during meditation and spiritual communication with the Creator. Similarly, "**smudging**" was described as a ceremony in which: "**cedar or sage are burned**;" "**to send prayers to the Creator**;" asking for "**blessings upon a place or person.**"

The semantic relationship between folk terms in the domain of "traditional ceremonies" (offering tobacco, sweating, smudging and feast celebrations) were connected by characteristics that explained "**ways of doing a ceremony.**" Thus, "ways of doing a ceremony" was designated a cover term to describe this category of cultural knowledge included in the definition of "ceremonies" (Spradley, 1979).<sup>236</sup>

Within the domain of "ceremonies," there were several other cover terms that applied to the conceptual set. For instance, "**types of ceremonies**" was a cover term given to denote various occasions when ceremonies were celebrated within the communities. Focusing on how these folk terms were connected, each was listed within the conceptual domain according to their purpose or function in the cultural concept. "**Seasonal Celebrations**" were used to recognize the rebirth, growth, maturation and death of all living things on Mother Earth. "**Smudging**" ceremonies were used to enlist the Creator's blessings upon a function, place or person, as when the Bay Mills Head Start Center opened or at the start of each school week in the

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<sup>236</sup> Ibid at 101-102.

Hannahville Elementary School. Thus, using the cover term, "*types of ceremonies*," provided the analysis a designation to explain the purposes associated with different ceremonial occasions (Spradley, 1979).<sup>237</sup>

Spradley (1979) indicates that determining domain boundaries is an essential step in the analytical process. Finding what is "inside" or "outside" the domain establishes clarity and structure of the conceptual set (Spradley, 1979).<sup>238</sup> In this research, I found concepts that appeared to overlap and relate to other domains. For instance, investigating the conceptual set of behaviors that described what appeared to be a domain of cultural beliefs shared by many informants as "*Annishnabe people care about each other*," the analysis sought to delineate what concepts were inside or outside this category of cultural knowledge that constituted the domain. Establishing categories of behaviors to denote what described "*caring*" to informants, it was found that "*caring*" could be demonstrated by: "*being respectful*" to Elders; "*supporting others*" in time of need; "*loving children*" and being responsible for them; "*being connected*" to each other; and "*accepting others*" unconditionally. Each of these categories of behaviors was found to be elements in the domain of "caring." Using the cover terms to define subcategories in the domain of caring, the analysis was able to distinguish the "*ways*" people care (loving, being respectful); "*reasons for*" caring (being connected, supporting others); and "*who*" cares (members of the community).

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<sup>237</sup> Ibid at 102-103, 112-115

<sup>238</sup> Ibid at 101.

These cover terms separated the categories of cultural knowledge within the set, and were helpful in describing the relationships that existed between elements. However, the elements were not mutually exclusive to other domains. For instance, *"accepting others,"* and *"being respectful"* were also elements in the domain of *"harmony."* Thus, to examine the categories more succinctly, thematic analysis was used to create an analytical framework in which cognitive principles such as *"Anishnabe people care about each other"* could be adequately desegregated and described, while maintaining the integrity of an integrated social framework of cultural beliefs (Figure 2 at 410).

### *Componential Analysis*

Sometimes, the characteristics of domain components are conflicting. Analytically, in defining domains, the relationship between cover terms usually complement the definition of the cultural phenomena. That is, the features of the domain embrace the meaning being conveyed by the conceptual set (Spradley, 1979).<sup>239</sup> Where there is conflict in the definitional meaning that is internal to the domain structure, informants have differed on their interpretation of the cultural knowledge. In that event, the analytical method must adopt alternative techniques that are capable of incorporating the contrasting data (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993).<sup>240</sup> Thus, in establishing domain boundaries to distinguish what is "inside" or "outside" the conceptual set, the analytical process must go beyond to determine *if*

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<sup>239</sup> Ibid at 109.

<sup>240</sup> LeCompte and Preissle (1993), at 47.

there are contrasting categories of cultural knowledge that are in conflict within the domain; *why* they are contradictory; and *what* is the essence of the disagreement (Spradley, 1979).<sup>241</sup>

To analyze contradictory conceptual sets, LeCompte and Preissle (1993) advocate clearly delineating domain parameters to distinguish and contrast definitions of cultural phenomena (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993).<sup>242</sup> They indicate that by using standard, non-idiosyncratic terminology and analytic frames of reference, research can generate clear characteristics that designate group membership which are capable of being compared across and within group structures (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993).<sup>243</sup>

In these case studies, the original research purpose was to discover what cultural values and beliefs informants might identify as "being" Annishnabe (Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi). From the generative descriptions, observations could then examine the use of identified cultural values and beliefs in the preschool process. As intra-tribal informants had differences in personal characteristics and life experiences, it was anticipated some variance would be evident. Due to intercultural exposure and assimilative experiences, members might express differences in their descriptions of the same cultural phenomena. The divergence would signal a dynamic culture in transition, and paradigms could incorporate these changes in categorical dimensions.

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<sup>241</sup> Spradley (1979), at 177.

<sup>242</sup> LeCompte and Preissle (1993), at 47.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid.

As was the case, patterns of discontinuous conceptualizations emerged across inter and intra-tribal informant groups. It became apparent that the research results were generating three distinct categories of cultural understanding for the same conceptual phenomena. It was also clear that these contradictions arose from the informant's cultural interpretation of what "*being*" or "*not being traditional*" meant to them. In between these two extremes of "being" and "not being traditional," a third stage of transition, "becoming traditional," also was present within the informant groups. The phenomena of cultural realignment displayed values and beliefs that appeared to be in flux within most of the communities.

Using standard, non-idiosyncratic terminology to express an analytical framework of cultural knowledge (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993),<sup>244</sup> I designated the three stages of cultural knowledge as: the "*lost culture*"; the "*recaptured culture*"; and the "*preserved culture*." Presented with the challenge to accurately reconcile contradictory definitions from informants, it was decided that using componential analysis would afford an opportunity to incorporate contrasting data within the conceptual sets (Spradley, 1993).<sup>245</sup>

An example of why componential analysis became necessary in decoding cultural information, and how it was completed, can best be described by using the conflicting definitions of what constituted the conceptual framework of the "*ghost supper*." Some informants had used the folk term, "ghost supper," to describe a

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<sup>244</sup> Ibid.

<sup>245</sup> Spradley (1979), at 174.

traditional ceremonial practice of "*feeding the spirit*" in preparation for the journey in "*crossing over*" to the "*spirit world*." Sometimes alternately called the "*dead feast*," the "ghost supper" was identified as a part of the "*traditional burial practice*," which was also instrumental in feeding the community as they gathered for support of the family. An informant later identified the "ghost supper" as an annual feast celebration to commemorate the death of family members, held on All Souls Day in November. When asked to further describe this practice, the informant referenced their association with the Catholic religion, which had dictated the discontinuance of the "*pagan practice*" of the dead feast. Substituted in its place was the annual All Souls Day celebration, which was authorized by the Catholic Church.

The cultural conflict described by this informant involved the substitution of a traditional practice for one approved by the new religion. As it was explained, many parents having been placed as children in a Catholic Boarding Schools, had converted to Catholicism, raised their families Catholic, and remained a part of that religion for several generations. At some point, recognizing that this bicultural exposure had created a dichotomy in their cultural belief system, the informant had re-instituted the traditional "ghost supper" as part of the traditional burial practices. This bifurcated description allowed the research to glimpse two different stages of cultural knowledge, and understand how the transformation had occurred. Having the "ghost supper," complete with the practice of "feeding the spirit" in the "dead feast," this informant was practicing what they described as a "traditional burial."

In completing a componential analysis, the researcher endeavors to discover what attributes have been conceptualized by informants and map these on a schematic representation. This process analyzes the "*psychological reality*" of the informant's world, a method that is akin to the analytical framework involved in the domain analysis used previously to formulate the larger units of cultural knowledge (Spradley, 1979).<sup>246</sup> This process develops a constellation of conceptual differences within the paradigm that link the diverse elements to a central folk term. The diversity was then expressed as attributes in a contrasting set. In other words, the conceptual diagram that mapped the "ghost supper" had many conflicting attributes that reflected the adaptation of Annishnabe traditional burial practices to develop a new conceptual set, which included substituted practices authorized by the Christian religion.

The second technique, generally used to examine formal or logical differences among elements in a conceptual set, is process rather than results driven; and utilizes the conceptualizations of the researcher in place of salient attributes designated important by the informant. The focus of this type of componential analysis ascertains the "*structural reality*" even where the resultant construct may not be inclusive of all informant perceptions (Spradley, 1979).<sup>247</sup> This process can best be demonstrated again by examining the contradictory definitions of the "ghost supper" practice.

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<sup>246</sup> Ibid at 175.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid.

Using contrast questions, it was possible to develop many different attributes for the variant conceptual sets of values and beliefs held by informants. Constructing a graphic representation on a matrix, salient attributes were generated for each folk term. The result was a dimension of contrast that expressed the variance of informant perceptions. Displaying the elements of contrast allowed the research to visually distinguish between contrasting items, and identify multiple semantic relationships within the sphere of conceptualization informants had established (Spradley, 1979).<sup>248</sup> This type of analysis was particularly appropriate to contrast sets of differing conceptual knowledge between the three periods of cultural transition. Examining the concept of "traditional burial practices" on the matrix, in the period labeled "*preserved culture*" one could distinguish the attributes of the concept described by informants as being traditional--the four-day fire, the viewing and wake at home, the ghost supper, at which the community gathers for family support and to eat for the dead, where the spirit is fed for the journey in crossing over. Contrasting the "*lost culture*" period, the attributes of the traditional burial included--the annual All Souls Day celebration to honor the dead, no four-day fire, viewing at a funeral home, no dead feast or feeding of the spirit, but a modified ghost supper where the community gathers at a local community center to eat after the burial. Examining how the integrated traditional burial was described, which was representative of the conceptual framework of those "*recapturing the culture*"--a four-day fire, viewing and wake at home, no All Souls Day celebration, community gathering daily until burial to comfort and console the family, with a ghost supper which occurs at the community hall after the burial. When this information was displayed on a matrix, it

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<sup>248</sup> Ibid at 177.



was possible to distinguish the three different sets of conceptual cultural knowledge that demonstrated the diversity existent within the informant groups. (Table 1 at 410).

### ***Theme Analysis***

Cultural themes demonstrate relationships among domains and the elements of the entire cultural landscape (Spradley, 1979).<sup>249</sup> In cultural knowledge, "a theme declares or implies a position, that controls behavior or stimulates activity, which is tacitly approved or openly promoted in a society" (Spradley (1979), quoting Opler, 1945).<sup>250</sup> Cultural themes define a complex system of meaning integrated into a larger pattern of cultural orientation. This larger conceptual pattern has been alternately explained by researchers as cultural belief or value systems, orientation, symbols, ethos and the worldview of a society (Spradley, 1979).<sup>251</sup>

In ethnographic research, cultural themes serve as cognitive principles, that either tacitly or explicitly recur in a number of domains, linking many subsystems of cultural meaning. Expressed as an assertion, the cognitive principle represents what people believe is truth or reality in their life experience. These assertions may have the character of being specific to a given situation. When an assertion has a high degree of generality and can apply to numerous situations, the assertion is expressed as a cultural theme (Spradley, 1979).<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> Ibid at 189.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid at 185; Opler, Morris E. (1945), Themes as dynamic forces in culture, *American Journal of Sociology* 53: 198-206, (1945).

<sup>251</sup> Spradley (1979) at 189.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid at 186.

In this research, thematic analysis was crucial to understanding and interpreting the cultural data generated by informants. A cognitive principle expressed as an asserted truth--"*Annishnabe people respect Elders*"--was a cultural value, which was integrated across numerous domains. For instance, "*Respecting Elders*" was related to the identified subsystems of cultural orientation established as "*caring behavior*" within the communities. Asserted truths that *Annishnabe people "care" for their Elders* were expressed as: *helping Elders* around the house, chopping work; running errands; or bringing them meals. "*Respecting Elders*" was also integrated into the cognitive principle that "*elders are extended family*," being accorded the status of grandparent, uncle or aunt without a consanguineous relationship. "*Respecting Elders*" was evidenced by informants giving deference to Elders for their wisdom. The cognitive principle that "*Elders have wisdom*" was verified through the status given elders in the community: as someone to give counsel or dispense advice; someone who possesses spiritual balance; and someone with knowledge of the Creator's instructions. "*Respecting elders*" was a part of the domain designated the "*Role of Elders*." Elders in the community were accorded respect as teachers of the oral history, language and culture, especially in relation to their responsibility to care for and teach children. Finally, Elders were viewed as spiritual guides, with responsibilities that continued long after having "crossed over to the other side."

The cognitive principle, "*Annishnabe people respect Elders*," was extensively integrated and embedded within the cultural values and belief systems. The principle had relationships with the domains of "caring," "extended family,"

"role of Elders," and the "inter-generation" transmission of cultural values and beliefs. Therefore, this cultural construct was identified as a *thematic structure* within the Annishnabe culture (Figure 3 at 412).

As Spradley (1979) indicated, some thematic constructs are universal in their relationship within the larger context of domain structures. These serve to define a set of cognitive principles that can be generalized to many aspects of the social milieu. In some instances, universal themes explain the social conflict or contradictions evident within the culture. Others may describe mechanisms of socializing children, or managing intra-societal relationships among adult members (Spradley, 1979).<sup>253</sup>

Informants identified the concept of "*Life Cycles*" to connote multiple meanings with the cultural ethos of their group. A composite of several components, "*Life Cycles*" was intimately related to the "*Sacred Circle*" or "*Medicine Wheel*," "*the Four Directions*," and "*Seasonal Celebrations*." Analyzing the "Sacred Circle," informants had described the concept as "*the way they live*." Life cycles represented a holistic conceptual paradigm that integrated the spiritual, physical, mystical and practical aspects of the Annishnabe way of life. Informants defined "*living within the circle*" to mean: experiencing life as an Indian; being sufficiently connected to others to recognize human needs; and caring enough to act upon them in a spiritual way. In the context of spiritual wellness, "*living within the circle*" meant: "*not being* spiritually unbalanced; keeping a good mind; living in harmony with

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<sup>253</sup> Spradley (1979) at 199-200.

everything." ***"Living within the circle"*** allowed people to be themselves, to be accepted for simply "being Annishnabe." Coming into the circle, members could leave behind what happens in outside society and live within the Annishnabe traditions. Children were placed in the center of the circle because in Annishnabe culture children are considered a gift from the Creator, to be loved and cared for in a good way. The Spiritual theme was intimately connected to each of the explanations given for the definition of the sacred circle (Figure 2 at 411).

Moving from the "Sacred Circle" outward, informants identified four transitional periods, of spiritual and physical growth, the ***"Four Directions,"*** that express the developmental stages of people as they are born and mature to adulthood. These growth periods were marked by spiritual and social expectations associated with human developmental cycles. Each stage coincided with the traditional celebrations that recognized the seasonal changes of all life on the earth. The ***"Feast or Festival Celebrations"*** marked the spiritual recognition of the Creator's gifts to mankind.

The integration of Spirituality throughout the conceptual format of the Life Cycles paradigm (Sacred Circles, Four Directions and Seasonal Changes) demonstrated the connection between this thematic structure and all other elements within the conceptual set. Its presence interpreted the hidden meaning within the culture that explained values and beliefs, which prioritize spiritual balancing, and harmony in human and natural relationships among the Annishnabe people. From these predominant themes, an integrated schematic diagram was developed (See

Figure 2 at 411) to represent the inter-relationship of the thematic structure of "Spirituality" across the domains within the Life Cycle concept. The ordered and cyclical character of these merging thematic elements connoted that the universal cultural assumption of "spirituality" pervaded the cultural map.

Finally, the Sacred Circle was also symbolic of Mother Earth, the giver of all life, which nourishes all living things in Anishnabe traditional beliefs. Living on Mother Earth thus required living within the traditions, or following the "*Red Way*." In completing the "cycle of life" living within the traditions, informants indicated one prepares themselves for the "crossing over" to the "spirit world" where the spirit is reborn, to re-enter the life cycle and attain greater awareness of life's spiritual lessons.

The integration of cultural knowledge that was visible using thematic analysis enhanced the ability of the research to understand phenomenological representations within the society. Demonstrating how symbolic structures were established and used by informants within their environment as cultural determinants significantly enabled the research to comprehend the holistic order of Anishnabe reality.

## **CHAPTER THREE - TRIANGULATION OF RESULTS**

### **The Lost Culture**

In analyzing the data, a pattern emerged that separated the stages of cultural knowledge maintained by informants into three subcategories of cultural retention. These stages of substantive knowledge varied across inter-tribal and generational groups, and appeared related to the nature of bicultural exposure informants had experienced throughout their lives. In many instances, some informants were able to not only articulate the original traditional culture, but also identified assimilated elements, which had been culturally appropriated through transitional adaptation. Finding Anishnabe traditional people with linkages to the oral history of the original culture helped explain beliefs and values which had been dynamically altered over the years. These individuals provided a knowledge base from which ethnohistorical research could enlighten the character of the original culture; examine what external forces had affected inalterable changes to Anishnabe beliefs and values; observe how the transitional cultural adapted through proceeding generations of bicultural exposure.

While this research study did not intend to engage in an exhaustive anthropological discourse of Anishnabe ethnohistory, aspects of the interpretation and clarification of present research data required that a more comprehensive investigation of the original culture was necessary before any academic discussion could be approached regarding its current description of the culture found. In that

pursuit, the following ethnohistorical discussion intends to examine the Anishnabe (Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi) values and beliefs, which were found to exist during first contact; and will subsequently evaluate post-contact changes, as they were recorded, in time to create a bridge of knowledge to the contemporary culture.

Ethnohistorical reconstruction utilizes multiple resources to obtain knowledge of an ancient culture to examine its origin, evolution and the survival of ideological, sociological and technological concepts in modernity (Hickerson, 1970).<sup>254</sup> Working in reverse order from the current status of an aboriginal culture, the ethnohistorical process seeks to identify various factors impacting social systems to discern the nature and affect such changes have had on cultural transition (Hickerson, 1970).<sup>255</sup> Hickerson (1970), in studying the Chippewa of Lake Superior and northern Lake Huron, uses the *space-time equivalence in history analysis* to reconstruct past Chippewa culture and its subsequent evolution for the historical period of 1640 to 1670 (Hickerson, 1970).<sup>256</sup> The premise of this method is that past cultures can be reconstructed through the research of historical documentation to reveal, evaluate and infer periodic factors responsible for the evolution of the culture (Hickerson, 1970).<sup>257</sup> In the process, cultural stages become evident and the ethnohistorian can observe the process of change as it unfolds over the contact period (Hickerson, 1970).<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> Hickerson, H. (1970), Edited by George and Louise Spindler, *The Chippewa and Their Neighbors: A Study In Ethnohistory*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. (1970) at 6.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid, at 17.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid, at 22, 37.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid at 17.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid.

The datum in these case studies demonstrated that a continuum of the aboriginal traditions has remained active in the modern Anishnabe cultures of the Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi; and that such traditions have in fact experienced a resurgence among inter-generational informants in recent years. Elements of the aboriginal knowledge were found in the ideological, sociological and technological present culture of all three Tribal informant groups. It appeared that these elements of the aboriginal culture had experienced evolutionary changes, and that they were likely being articulated in a modified form. Unsure as to what stages of cultural transition the spectrum of differentiated elements truly represented, a search of historical documentation ensued to clarify and potentially triangulate the oral history being related in interview transcripts through ethnography and the historical record. The starting point of the ethnohistorical search began with the investigation into the origin story as told by informants from each Tribal population.

### **The Anishnabe Origin Story**

Giving the traditional history of the Ojibwa, Odawa, and Potawatomi informants immediately clarified that the name by which all three tribes were universally known was the "Anishnabe," which was translated to mean "first or original man." This Ojibwa term was explained by Danziger (1978) to describe all three tribes, who were known separately as the Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi (Danziger, 1978).<sup>259</sup> McClurkin (1991), in writing the history of the Odawa,

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<sup>259</sup> Danziger, Edmund Jefferson, Jr. (1978), *The Chippewas of Lake Superior*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma (1978).



explained that the Alliance of the Three Fires designated the Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi, which were also known as the Anishnabek, translated to mean "the Good People" or "Real People" (McClurkin, 1991).<sup>260</sup> Similarly, Clifton (1984) in describing the Potawatomi culture gives another name (which was frequently used by informants in all three groups) to identify the Potawatomi people as the "Neshnabek," or "True Humans" (Clifton, 1984).<sup>261</sup>

The Anishnabe, once unified tribe was located on the northeastern Atlantic coast, where they had lived for several years. Around 800 A.D., the prophecies began warning of a light-skinned race of people, who would come to their lands, to ultimately overcome and destroy the Anishnabe way of life. Heeding the warnings to move from the coast, the tribe began a long migration westward, adhering to the instructions of the prophets "to follow the meat" to "a place where the food grows on the [water] bottom" (Research Transcripts, S. M., 1998).<sup>262</sup> Arriving first on the eastern shores of Lake Huron, the Anishnabe established villages on Manitoulin and Mackinac Islands (Research Transcripts, S. M., 1998).<sup>263</sup>

To ensure their continued survival, the Anishnabe separated, form into three different groups then called the Ojibwa, Odawa and Boodwei'nimi, who would thereafter be known as the Alliance of the Three Fires. At the time of the separation, each Tribe was given original instructions to maintain the Anishnabe as a people, and

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<sup>260</sup> McClurkin, James (1991), *Gah-Baeh-Jhagwah-Buk, The Way It Happened*, Michigan State University Museum, East Lansing, Michigan (1991), at 3.

<sup>261</sup> Clifton, James, A., (1991), *The Pokagons 1683-1983*, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay, Wisconsin 1991, at 1.

<sup>262</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S.M. at 4.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid at 5.

were delegated different responsibilities to carry out with those instructions. First, the Ojibwa were designated the "Keepers of the Spiritual Teachings" (Research Transcripts, S. M., 1998).<sup>264</sup> Through the development of the Midewiwin Society, or "Grand Medicine Society," the Ojibwa would preserve the Anishnabe spiritual teachings in writing on Birch Bark Scrolls, which were then to be buried for safekeeping.

When the time was right, these scrolls would once again be found, and the original teachings would be brought back to the people (Research Transcripts, S.M., 1998).<sup>265</sup> The Odawa were given instructions to provide for the people, and it would be this tribe that would later become the hunters and traders, bringing Anishnabe trade goods first to inter-tribal markets, and later European trading centers. Finally, the Boodwei'nimi (Potwatomi) assumed responsibility for maintaining the sacred fires, which would "keep the sacred hoop together" (Research Transcripts, S.M., 1998).<sup>266</sup> In the interim, the Midewiwin Society was to continue the spiritual teachings among the Anishnabe until the Birch Bark Scrolls could once again be found, and the original instructions given back to all the Anishnabe people (Research Transcripts, S.M., 1998).<sup>267</sup>

When the Three Fires separated, the Ojibwa moved north and west, finally stopping on Madeline Island in Lake Superior. The Odawa went east to Mackinac

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<sup>264</sup> Ibid.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid at 3.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid at 1.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid at 3.

Island; and the Boodwei'nimi first moved south to lower Michigan, and eventually onto what is now known as Wisconsin (Research Transcripts, S.M., 1998).<sup>268</sup>

### **Reconstructing the Culture from Oral Histories**

In reconstructing the proto-historical period of aboriginal cultures, oral traditions can be used in conjunction with archeological and historical evidence to document migrations of ancient cultures (Hickerson, 1970).<sup>269</sup> Oral traditions, without written language, can be beneficial to understanding cultural values and reasons for Tribal relocations if they can be related within an historical context and used as a frame of reference to provide essential basis for understanding the nature of tribal actions (Hickerson, 1970).<sup>270</sup>

When the oral tradition is relied upon to provide insight into early cultures, or to infer the basis of changes occurring to that culture from exogenous factors, the number of years between the time the culture existed and the oral history was generated, becomes an important consideration. Hickerson (1970) indicates that oral histories which go beyond a period of 70 to 100 years are inherently less reliable, unless the group being studied has, in the modern context, maintained aspects of the aboriginal knowledge, which is reflected in their oral history. For example, one could impute authenticity of an oral history of clan structures that are documented in historical and ethnological materials when clans remain a part of the social

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<sup>268</sup> Research Transcripts, S.M. 4, 5.

<sup>269</sup> Hickerson (1970), at 33.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid at 32.

organization of a tribal community. The present representation of the historic culture that survived time and space lends credibility to the oral history by its retention as a cultural element in the modern world even though it may continue on the periphery rather than in the mainstream of Native society (Hickerson, 1970).<sup>271</sup>

Attempting to establish connections between the migration story given in the oral history, it was necessary to examine the earliest records of proto-historic occupation of the aboriginal Anishnabe communities, to discern if their presence in the region during that period of time could be established. In locating precontact populations to a specific area, the available archeological and historical evidence constrains both the search and the result. For instance, Vescey (1983) dates the emergence of a hunting culture of the Great Lakes region at about 1200 A.D. Although this type of culture is similar to the later Ojibwa nomadic way of life known to exist in the Great Lakes area, their presence could not be validated. Using peripheral evidence of subsistence activities known to be typical of the Ojibwa culture, Vescey (1983) implies the possibility does exist that the early culture might in fact have been Ojibwa occupation; but without documentation this research was unable to conclusively determine that the Anishnabe had occupied the Great Lakes during the prehistoric era (Vescey, 1983).<sup>272</sup> Similarly, Bishop (1974) infers that geographic clustering of Algonquin Tribes in the northern Great Lakes during the early contact periods implies the likelihood of an Ojibwa occupation in this region during the prehistoric era. Here again, the ethnohistorical research using oral history

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<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>272</sup> Vescey, Christopher (1983), *Traditional Ojibwa Religion and Its Historical Changes*, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa., at 8.

and peripheral knowledge of the subsistence activities which were characteristic of the Anishnabe nomadic groups provides only circumstantial basis to support this research conclusion (Bishop, 1974).<sup>273</sup>

In locating a prehistoric Potawatomi culture in the Great Lakes region, Clifton (1977) associated the distinctive cultural characteristics of the early Potawatomi communities with the physical evidence found at the Dumaw Creek and Moccasin Bluff archeological sites. In so doing, he referenced their migratory habits, subsistence activities and linguistic similarities to illustrate compatibility between archeological discoveries and the later Potawatomi cultures (Clifton, 1977).<sup>274</sup>

Using similar procedures, this study examined the cultural values and beliefs which informants had described to exist in the present culture of the Anishnabe community. Patterns of cultural knowledge revealed in the oral history demonstrated gaps in the base of information available to informants regarding traditional values and beliefs. These gaps appeared to be explained by differences in informant acculturation experiences, geographic location, and the ability of the individual to have retained a strong traditional culture. This uneven distribution of intra-tribal knowledge in the multi-generational groups suggested that an investigation into the historic culture might reveal patterns of transitional evolution that could be compared to the oral history to better explain and understand the status of values and beliefs being described by informants in the present study.

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<sup>273</sup> Bishop, Charles (1974), *Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade*, Holt Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Toronto: Montreal, at 3, 7.

<sup>274</sup> Clifton, James, 1977, *The Prairie People: Continuity in Potawatomi Indian Culture*, Regents Press of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, at 32-33.

For purposes of this historical investigation, the study examined two prominent areas of social organization within the body of traditional knowledge, values and beliefs, which were those aspects of the culture that were investigated during the informant interviews. These topics of discussion had digressed from "*what it meant to be Ojibwa, Odawa or Potawatomi*" to include the effect of bi-cultural exposure on community values; changes in Anishnabe spiritualism arising from the interpolation of Christian values and beliefs; and the effect of the educational systems (namely the boarding school experience) on the Anishnabe traditional way of life. While it was understood that the social, political and religious elements of cultural structures among the Anishnabe are interactively involved in the formulation of community values and beliefs, their treatment as discrete cultural elements allowed the study to review systemic changes in the process of transition that affected the entire essence of the traditional way of life.

### **Traditional Beliefs**

#### ***Great Spirit or Master of Life***

In the present study, informants had described a "Creator" to whom they attributed the beginning of all things known to the Anishnabe people. In trying to ascertain the transitional status of a belief in a monotheistic deity from the historic culture, this research examined the missionary records from the early historic period. Early contact between the Jesuit missionaries and Algonquin tribes in New France allowed the observation of the traditional belief system in its aboriginal form. The

Jesuits found the Algonquin had a dual system of beliefs that encompassed a "Great Spirit," who was described as an all-ruling Deity, omniscient and omnipresent. In this system of duality, the Algonquin interjected belief in spiritual beings with supernatural powers that were thought to inhabit all animate and inanimate objects in the material world. These supernatural spirit beings, Manitous, existed in birds, beasts and reptiles; and were honored by the Algonquin in feasts, ceremonies and offerings of tobacco (Parkman, 1867).<sup>275</sup> The Manitous, possessed life and intelligence, with the power to favorably or adversely affect the daily lives of the families, individual hunter, warrior, leader, or communal welfare of the entire tribe (Parkman, 1967).<sup>276</sup>

Schoolcraft (1851) came to understand the duality in the beliefs the Ojibwa people through his exposure as the Indian agent in the Michigan and Northern Departments, which had included the Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi Indian communities. He had the unique opportunity to directly observe and discuss philosophical concepts with individuals, families and tribal representatives, and through this interaction learn the framework of Anishnabe cosmology. In this cosmology, Schoolcraft (1851) saw that the Ojibwa ascribed a reverence for all living things, and gave recognition to a "Great Spirit" whom they believed possessed divine intelligence. Using the words "Gezha Manedo" or Merciful Spirit, to describe the "Great Spirit" concept, the Ojibwa explained the "Wagheaud," as a "Maker" or "Creator" of all things. Schoolcraft (1851) also noted that the Ojibwa cosmology

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<sup>275</sup> Parkman, Francis (1867), *Jesuits in North America in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century*, Musson Book Co., Toronto, Canada, at 60-61.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid* at 64.

contained opposing forces of evil, which they called Mudje Moned. The Mudje Moned were regarded as subordinate spirits, which had been created, not pre-existent to the Creation of mankind Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>277</sup>

Like the Jesuits, Schoolcraft (1851) understood the Ojibwa to venerate Manitou spirits and other supernatural power beings which they believed inhabited the earth. Forces such as the wind, the sun, summer and winter, came from the Four Cardinal Directions, and were able to bring good or bad fortunes to all aspects of Ojibwa life. Manitous spirits had the power to moderate weather and climate, that allowed or deprived the Ojibwa of game, assisted in the growth of seeds and gathering of wild foods. The gifts of the Manitous were acknowledged by the Ojibwa through fasts, ceremonies and offerings of tobacco, giving thanks to the forces of good fortune. These spiritual beings were described as an integral part of the mythological framework of the Ojibwa that told the story of Creation, instructed the people in ways to sustain life, and served to ground a traditional worldview in which Mother earth was given reverence as the origin of all thing (Schoolcraft, 1951).<sup>278</sup>

There were other supernatural spirits that Schoolcraft (1851) characterized as evil and cloaked in darkness (such as the bitter north wind) because they had the power to threatened the continued existence of mankind. Hence, it was necessary to placate the evil spirits using ceremonies and rituals to avoid bad fortune that could befall the community (Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>279</sup> Alexander Henry (1809), an English

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<sup>277</sup> Schoolcraft, Henry R. (1951), *The American Indians, Their History, Conditions and Prospects*, Wanzer, Foot and Company, Rochester, N. Y. (1851), at 204.

<sup>278</sup> Ibid.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid at 215.



trader at Fort Michilimackinac, who spent several months in captivity with the Ojibwa witnessed the Manitou ceremony during a period when the winter camp was threatened with starvation. Henry (1809) described the Ojibwa cosmology to have system of beliefs that honored a "Great Spirit" or "Master of Life," yet relied upon and venerated Manitou spirits, whom the Ojibwa believed controlled the outcome of the hunt (Schoolcraft, 1851; Henry, 1809).<sup>280</sup>

Contrary firsthand information was found in the journal of Joseph N. Nicollet, a geographer and scientist, who lived among the Lake Superior bands for several years exploring the Mississippi Headwaters. Nicollet (1836) did not find that the Ojibwa believed in a "Great Spirit" or "Master of Life," but rather embraced and venerated numerous spirit power beings they believed could alter the course of the daily lives. Nicollet (1836), who was fluent in the Ojibwa language, and had the unique privilege of attending their traditional ceremonies. He described the Ojibwa cosmology as a system of beliefs that recognized Manitou spirits, whom the Ojibwa believed assisted them in war, finding game, and bringing the blessings of good health and fortune. He also witnessed the ceremonies and rituals of thanksgiving and supplication. Specifically addressing the possibility that the Ojibwa believed in Christianity, Nicollet (1836) indicated the Ojibwa had no use for the white man's religion because such things "did not apply to the Indians as they had no need for them." (Nicollet, et al., 1970).<sup>281</sup>

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<sup>280</sup> Schoolcraft, 1851, Henry, Alexander, Henry, Esq., *Narrative of the Captivity of Alexander Henry, Esq.* (1809), at 417.

<sup>281</sup> Nicollet, Joseph N., edited by Coleman, Martha Bray (1970), *The Journals of Joseph N. Nicollet, A Scientist on the Mississippi Headwaters With Notes on Indian Life, 1836-37*, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota, 1970, at 252-53.

Subsequent ethnographers and historians have similarly disagreed with the assumption that the Anishnabe believed in a Great Spirit or Master of Life. Clifton (1977) in explaining the Potawatomi beliefs indicated that Kitchimanito, which was sometimes misconstrued by Europeans as a "Great Spirit," in the Potawatomi language actually meant a "very supernatural power" (Clifton, 1977).<sup>282</sup> Densmore's (1929), ethnography of Chippewa customs, indicated that none of his informants had used the terms "Gijie manido" or "kind spirit" to denote God as the missionaries had alleged the Chippewa to do in describing a Supreme Being (Densmore, 1929).<sup>283</sup> Vescey (1983), in studying the Ojibwa culture concurred there was no evidence of monotheism among Ojibwa beliefs; and further indicated such misconceptions undoubtedly had happened when early Ojibwa informers had made reference to "Nanabozho," the culture hero of Ojibwa mythology (Vescey, 1983).<sup>284</sup>

Pflug's (1998) later ethnography of Odawa religious practices, indicates that informants divulged belief in a system of "Manitos spirits," and also recognized two Masters of Life in their cosmology--one being brown and beardless, who created Indians; the other, being white and bearded, who had created the French (Pflug, 1998).<sup>285</sup> Thus, for the Odawa, a Master of Life concept in their cosmological framework did not preclude all other venerated spiritual beings. The Jesuits in earlier observations had known the Odawa routinely invoke the assistance of a "Maker of Heaven" at their feasts, but to also recognize the "Makers of Earth and

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<sup>282</sup> Clifton (1977), at 364-65.

<sup>283</sup> Densmore, Frances (1929), *Chippewa Customs*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 86, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1929, at 87.

<sup>284</sup> Vescey (1983), at 79.

<sup>285</sup> Pflug, Melissa A. (1998), *Ritual and Myth in Odawa Revitalization: Reclaiming a Sovereign Place*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, at 46.

Winter," the "God of Waters," and the "Seven Spirits of the World" (Parkman, 1867).<sup>286</sup> The Jesuit Allouez, living the Anishnabe for two years, found that the Ottawa believed in many spirits whom they invoked when they went to war or journeyed (Kennedy, 1971).<sup>287</sup> Kennedy (1971) also describes the Jesuit Ragueneau to have reproached the Ottawa for their practice of idolatry in which great power was attributed to totemic charms and spirits (Kennedy, 1971).<sup>288</sup>

This inquiry into the cosmological history of Anishnabe beliefs did not intend to resolve the debate whether the Anishnabe practiced monotheism or polytheism; but, through ethnographic and historic research, sought to examine the original beliefs and systemic changes which occurred within the culture. The purpose of this examination was to discern if transitional evolution had occurred that would have resulted in the present system of beliefs articulated by informants. By investigating opposing views, which at the very least demonstrated potential misconceptions inherent in bicultural confrontation, the study could position the original cosmological concepts in the context of the present understanding of cultural beliefs. Because informants had interjected a "Creator of all things" into the Anishnabe cosmology which was commingled with descriptions of the Midewiwin, Nanabozho, Windegos and other Manitou spirits, this study sought clarification of the conceptual framework of beliefs that were existent in the historical and present context.

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<sup>286</sup> Parkman (1867), at 69-70, note 3.

<sup>287</sup> Kennedy, John H. (1971), *Jesuit and Savage in New France*, Archon Books, Hamdon, Connecticut, at 147.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid* at 149.

That the culture has undergone transition from polytheistic beliefs to an integrated cosmology which placed a single Creator at the center of other spiritual or mythological beings, is undisputed (Vescey, 1983).<sup>289</sup>

Whether such changes reflect the influence of Christianity on a traditional belief system, or if these beliefs were always integrated as the missionaries and early observers have imputed, is less important than the fact of its continued existence. Finding that, informant's oral history of present beliefs were substantiated by historical research of the early contact period provides credibility to the authenticity of the reconstructed traditional knowledge. In this instance, the culture of the oral histories has remained a part of the traditional beliefs today, and was able to be traced through space and time through ethnologies and historical documentation. This result lends support for the premise that aspects of the traditional culture have remained vital in the sociological and ideological cosmology of the Anishnabe, even if such knowledge only survives on the periphery of the mainstream culture (Hickerson, 1971).<sup>290</sup>

### *Midewiwin Society*

In the early seventeenth century, the Midewiwin Society was at the center of Algonquin traditional social, political and religious life. The organization existed in some form among several tribes and bands across the northern Lake Superior and

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<sup>289</sup> Vescey (1983), at 82.

<sup>290</sup> Hickerson, (1971), at 23.

mid-western areas (Vescey, 1983).<sup>291</sup> As originated, the Midewiwin served as a moral standard, by which its membership learned the purpose of life and the "right" way to live a good, healthy and long existence (Densmore, 1929).<sup>292</sup> The Midewiwin, or "Grand Medicine Society," encompassed many functions in the tribal communities and the daily lives of its members. The Mide Society practiced religious rites taught by the culture hero, Nanabozho, to give life through the transmission of spirit power. Its most basic purpose was to preserve knowledge regarding the use of herbal medicines known to establish good health. The Mide taught the people the fundamentals of moderation, patience and respectful living (Roufe, 1975).<sup>293</sup>

When individuals were ill, they sought help from the Mide medicine man who provided both physical and psychological relief. The Mide ceremonies cured illness (Densmore, 1929),<sup>294</sup> drove out evil spirits (Vescey, 1983),<sup>295</sup> and enlisted the assistance of deceased relatives or the supernatural spirit power of Manitous (Roufe, 1975)<sup>296</sup>

Its ritualistic character provided group cohesion and a national tribal identity, bringing entire villages and many communities together for ceremonies once or twice a year (Vescey, 1983).<sup>297</sup> As Parkman (1867) noted, such occasions the Feast for the

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<sup>291</sup> Ibid at 174.

<sup>292</sup> Densmore, (1929), at 87.

<sup>293</sup> Roufe, Timothy and Wolff, Gerald (1975), *The Anishinabe of the Minnesota Chippewa*, Indian Tribal Series, Phoenix, Arizona, at 6.

<sup>294</sup> Densmore, (1929), at 87.

<sup>295</sup> Vescey, 1983, at 150.

<sup>296</sup> Roufe, (1975), at 14.

<sup>297</sup> Vescey (1983), at 184.

Dead would involve hundreds of people from different villages and last for several days (Parkman, 1867).<sup>298</sup>

In the Midewiwin, members recognized the spirit power of supernatural beings populating the earth in all things animate and inanimate in the natural world. Thus, the four winds held mystical power that had spiritual significance because of its capacity to bring favorable or detrimental weather, and influence climatic changes in response to the needs of the people. Their reverence for the supernatural powers had practical application in everyday life. For instance, the Anishnabe respected the power of the north wind that could assist hunters by glazing the top of the snow to support men while hobbling large game and enabling their death (Vescey, 1983).<sup>299</sup>

The Metai (Midewiwin) Society among the northern Algonquin was early described by the Jesuits as a secret society that initiated members with peculiar ceremonies (Parkman, 1867),<sup>300</sup> in which sorcerers, medicine men and diviners functioned using magic charms, songs, and feasts to obtain power over spirits and the occult. The Algonquin believed that sorcerer's had power to destroy enemies through incantations (Parkman, 1867),<sup>301</sup> using the spirits of animals and other supernatural beings on his behalf (Parkman, 1867).<sup>302</sup>

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<sup>298</sup> Parkman, (1867), at 162.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid at 73.

<sup>300</sup> Parkman (1867), at 84.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid, at 81.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid, at 83.

The Jesuits understood the Algonquin cosmology to include beliefs in spiritual beings. These spirits possessed the intelligence and supernatural powers to determine the destinies of men (Parkman, 1867),<sup>303</sup> Manitous spirits inhabited in streams, rocks and forests, as well as all members of the animal kingdom; that served as guardians to provide guidance, counsel and protection. Through rituals they could be petitioned by fasting, offerings and ceremonies (Parkman, 1867).<sup>304</sup> The Algonquin invoked the blessings of Manitous for travel, hunting, the weather, finding and procuring medicine, and curing illnesses (Parkman, 1987)<sup>305</sup> Manitous influenced the cooperation of the game to allow themselves to become useful to the hungry Ojibwa family for the success in the chase (Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>306</sup>

Diviners, who the Jesuits dubbed as "jugglers" or "conjurers," used dreams to interpret the future; were consulted by individuals to identify illnesses affecting them; and were used to find lost articles. The conjurer employed a ceremony that called forth the spirits of animals to assist in the divining function. During the ceremony the voices of animals spirits could be heard to mingle with the conjurer's chants, as he interpreted their messages to the people. Throughout the process, which the Jesuits believed had enlisted diabolical intervention, there would be great noise and confusion, while the conical lodge swayed violently (Parkman, 1867).<sup>307</sup>

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<sup>303</sup> Ibid at 63.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid at 65.

<sup>305</sup> Ibid at 66-70, and 75.

<sup>306</sup> Schoolcraft (1951), at 213.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid at 82.

## **Deluge Story**

The Algonquin believed that their origin occurred when a deluge enveloped the earth and was subsequently renewed to be repopulated. The Jesuits learned that the deluge occurred when the Water Spirit, a Serpent, became angry with Manabozho for killing the water spirit which had inhabited the lake. According to the Deluge Story, the Algonquin cultural hero, Manabozho, while hunting with his brother the wolf, suffers an accident in which his brother falls through the ice and is eaten by the Serpent Spirits. Angered by this occurrence, Manabozho sought retribution by slaying the king of serpents, who in return exacted revenge upon Manabozho to cause the waters of the lake to rise and deluge the earth.

Manabozho, clinging to a tree which had responded to his appeals to grow taller, asked a loon for assistance. Diving in the waters to retrieve a particle of earth from which to reconstruct the land, the loon perishes. Manabozho then seeks help from the muskrat, who similarly attempts to retrieve earth, but also dies and floats to the surface on his back. Upon opening the muskrat's paw, Manabozho found a particle of mud, which he then used to recreate the earth. In the recreation of earth, the Algonquin repopulate the earth to become the real people (Parkman, 1867).<sup>308</sup>

The deluge story was noted by several ethnographers researching the history of the Anishnabe people. It was part of the Ojibwa cosmology during the nineteenth century when Alexander Henry, during his captivity among the Ojibwa, was given the

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<sup>308</sup> Ibid at 65-68.



story to explain the presence of bones found in a cave by the Ojibwa family with whom he was traveling (Henry, 1809).<sup>309</sup> This deluge story was repeated to Schoolcraft (1851) by the Ojibwa, which detailed the same factual situations as had been learned by the Jesuits among the Algonquin (Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>310</sup> It was also mentioned by Vescey (1983) who explained Ojibwa traditions and the role of Nanabozho as the creator of the present world (Vescey, 1983 ).<sup>311</sup>

### *Nanabozho*

Serving as a culture hero, Nanabozho, interceded between humans and the spirit world of Manitos; was able to defeat Windegos (evil spirits that eat humans); control the Four Winds, and was responsible for teaching the Ojibwa appropriate behaviors and social values in their society. As a trickster, Nanabozho could be cruel or benevolent; and as their hero was thought by historians to have modeled the integration of new elements into the body of cultural knowledge as contact with the outer world began to change the culture of the Ojibwa (Vescey, 1983).<sup>312</sup>

Densmore described Nanabozho, as a mythological character that served the Ojibwa in the same capacity as the Master of Life (Densmore, 1929).<sup>313</sup> In Densmore's (1929) study, Winebozho (another name for Nanabozho) gave the Ojibwa remedies for treating the sick, and had taught animals various disguises to protect

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<sup>309</sup> Schoolcraft (1851), at 435.

<sup>310</sup> Schoolcraft (1851), at 205.

<sup>311</sup> Vescey (1983), at 84.

<sup>312</sup> Ibid at 86.

<sup>313</sup> Densmore (1929), at 97.

themselves and extend their lives (Densmore, 1929).<sup>314</sup> As a teacher, Winebozho provided humans examples of life's struggles and pain, as he demonstrated the functions of human need through stories and fables (Densmore, 1929).<sup>315</sup>

Schoolcraft's (1851) explanation of Manabozho (a variation of Nanabozho) concurs that he survived the deluge to recreate the earth. He further indicates that Manabozho had the power to perform any number of things with skill and dexterity. For instance, it was Manabozho who could command the Four Winds, and to whom all animals were subject (Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>316</sup>

Landes (1968) study of Ojibwa cosmology explained Nehnehbush (also another name for Nanabozho) as the most human supernatural being, who was charged with making the earth habitable for Indians (Landes, 1968).<sup>317</sup> Nehnehbush is credited with giving the Ojibwa language, and providing animals and fish for their sustenance. He provided rituals by which the Manitous animal spirits could be approached, tobacco would be smoked in their honor, and the Manitous could communicate or listen to the Indian's needs (Landes, 1968).<sup>318</sup>

Nanabozho taught the Anishnabe to offer thanksgiving for the taking of animals and the assistance given by the supernatural spirits in the hunt. Landes (1968) indicates that upon killing game, the Ojibwa observed a ritual that informed the

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<sup>314</sup> Ibid.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid at 98.

<sup>316</sup> Schoolcraft (1851), at 215.

<sup>317</sup> Landes, Ruth (1968), *Ojibwa Religion and the Midewinwin*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin (1968), at 24.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid at 25.

Manitou spirit of the hunter's courteous treatment of their benefactor (Landes, 1968).<sup>319</sup> The practice of asking the pardon of animal spirits, who had lent themselves for the use of humans, was also documented by the Jesuit missionaries wherein the hunter was known to "address a wounded bear in a long harangue of apology" once killed (Parkman, 1867).<sup>320</sup> To appease Manitou spirits, even the bones of animals were treated with great respect when disposing of the remains of beavers, lest their relatives take offense (Parkman, 1867).<sup>321</sup> Schoolcraft (1851) observed that the medicine which drew the animals to the hunter [to be killed] initiated an accountability by which the hunter would ask the pardon of the animal killed (Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>322</sup> Likewise, Henry (1809) provided a description of the manner in which an apology was delivered: [the woman] "approached, took the head [of the bear] in her hands, stroking, and kissing several times; begging a thousand pardons for taking away her life (Henry, 1809).<sup>323</sup>

### *Midewiwin Origin and Structure*

Although the origin of the Midewiwin is unknown, William Warren, who was an Ojibwa born in the early nineteenth century, provided Densmore's (1929) ethnography with the oral history of the origin of the Midewiwin religion. He placed

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<sup>319</sup> Ibid at 26.

<sup>320</sup> Parkman (1867), at 62.

<sup>321</sup> Ibid.

<sup>322</sup> Schoolcraft (1851), at 213.

<sup>323</sup> Schoolcraft (1851); Henry (1809), at 447.

places its inception on the east coast at a time when the Ojibwa were experiencing great disease and death, at approximately 1200 A.D. (Densmore, 1929).<sup>324</sup>

Conversely, Vescey (1983) indicates the Midewiwin arose during the early contact period in response to changing social conditions precipitated by a need for the development of a collective identity (Vescey, 1983).<sup>325</sup> As he explained, when multi-Clan villages congregated along the westward trade route, totemic bonds that had heretofore governed social relationships in the smaller clan villages began to deteriorate, creating a need for new ways of communicating between inter-tribal group members (Vescey, 1983).<sup>326</sup> The Mide provided the social cohesion to formulate the collective identity as an Ojibwa; the mores and values by which the people would live; and the methods of disseminating the teachings to the people (Vescey, 1983).<sup>327</sup>

The Midewiwin related an origin purpose that indicated it was given to the Ojibwa to bring the blessings of life, resolve the struggle between good and evil, which conflict the daily existence of the Ojibwa. Original teachings of the Mide stressed neighborliness, forbearance, concern for the sick, respect for all, honesty, and homage to Manitous (Landes, 1968).<sup>328</sup> The Mide taught that ethical conduct produces a long life, and that evil doing adversely affects the offender. Ethical conduct meant respect for the Mide and for women. Unethical conduct, such as

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<sup>324</sup> Densmore (1929), at 8; Warren, William, W. (1885), Collections Minnesota Historical Society, Vol. 5, St. Paul, Minnesota (1885), at 78-80.

<sup>325</sup> Vescey, 1983, at 184.

<sup>326</sup> Ibid.

<sup>327</sup> Ibid.

<sup>328</sup> Ibid at 42, 43.

lying, stealing and the use of liquor was forbidden among members of the Mide Society (Densmore, 1929).<sup>329</sup>

The Midewiwin organizational structure encompassed several degrees of membership, with the least amount of knowledge available to initiates, and the highest degree of traditional learning provided for senior members. Individuals moved through the degrees as they qualified to receive instructions on moral living and herbal healing. At each level, they were taught more herbal knowledge and healing ceremonies; learned songs for healing; and were expected to self-monitor their behaviors as members of the society (Densmore, 1929).<sup>330</sup> If straying from the "Path of Life," which was recorded on Birch Bark Scrolls as a mnemonic, members were expected to renew their spiritual power through reintegration of the right path, which allowed them to regain the necessary strength to resist any evil doing (Densmore, 1929).<sup>331</sup> The evil doer constituted a Mide member, whose use of spirit power was misplaced to convey illness or death in contravention to the precepts of good health and right living (Landes, 1968).<sup>332</sup>

During the time spent with the Ojibwa, Nicollet (1836) observed aspects of the Mide ceremonies which included the Vapor Bath, known today among the Ojibwa as the Sweat Lodge ceremony. Nicollet's (1836) original description of the Vapor Bath coincides with the modern use of the Sweat Lodge as described by Ojibwa informants in this study. The use of the Sweat Lodge ceremony was to

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<sup>329</sup> Densmore (1929), at 87.

<sup>330</sup> Ibid.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid at 89.

<sup>332</sup> Landes (1968), at 43.

cleans the body and soul of any impurities. It is similarly used among the Ojibwa as a healing ceremony.

Medicine practitioners also used the Vapor Bath to prepare for the exertion of supernatural powers (Hilger, 1951)<sup>333</sup> and for curing and purging impurities from the body (Hilger, 1951).<sup>334</sup> The Densmore (1929) and Landes (1968) ethnographies of Chippewa life demonstrate that the construction, process and use of the Vapor Bath ceremony observed by Nicollet have remained consistent within the Ojibwa traditions. As Pflug's (1998) study revealed, it is currently used among the modern Odawa as a purification ritual (Pflug, 1998).<sup>335</sup> Similarly, the informants across the groups in this study, mentioned the Sweat Lodge as an integral part of the traditional practices of the Anishnabe was frequently made across the informant groups (Research Transcripts, G.G., 1998).<sup>336</sup>

Ceremonies of the diviner were observed by various individuals in the historical documentation. Henry's (1809) account of the experience indicates it was for the purpose of divining whether there was potential danger of war against the Ojibwa from the English. This ceremony was still being practiced up to the time of the ethnologies of Densmore (1929)<sup>337</sup> and Landes (1968), both of whom substantiated its use to discern illness and disease in healing the sick (Densmore,

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<sup>333</sup> Hilger, Sister M. Inez (1951), *Chippewa Child Life and Its Cultural Background*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 186, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1951, at 83.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid* at 96.

<sup>335</sup> Pflug (1998), at 154.

<sup>336</sup> Research Transcripts (1999), G.G. at 28; N.A. at 22.

<sup>337</sup> Densmore (1929), at 44-45.

1929; Landes, 1968).<sup>338</sup> However, in the Landes (1968) ethnology, informants indicated that the Jisakan ceremony was no longer practiced because it had not been taught to the youth (Landes, 1968).<sup>339</sup>

Among the informants in this study, the Jisakan ceremony was described in the healing of individuals whose illnesses were unknown. However, there were a number of individuals who described "bear walking" and "shape shifting," both of which were related as a means of transforming individuals to enable their ability to see the future, be swiftly transported great distances, and the make observances of things without being seen (Research Transcripts, G.G., 1998).<sup>340</sup>

The "juggler," was a medicine man or sorcerer, that was greatly feared because they were believed to have the power to inflict illness or misfortune (Henry, 1809).<sup>341</sup> Le Jeune's account of the sorcerer's function included the ability to call forth the image of his enemy, bruise or chop the effigy, and intensely affect victim who would subsequently become ill or die (Parkman, 1867).<sup>342</sup> Using the Mide ceremony for potentially evil purposes was still very much feared among the Ojibwa studied by Landes (1968), as evidenced in the ethnographic text. Mide medicine persons knew how to practice sorcery, with powers potentially destructive to anyone in disfavor. In the Landes (1968) study, informants were reluctant to relate secret information regarding Mide practices for fear of retribution (Landes, 1968).<sup>343</sup>

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<sup>338</sup> Densmore (1929), at 44-45; Landes, 1968, at 186.

<sup>339</sup> Landes (1968), at 186.

<sup>340</sup> Research Transcripts (1999), M.R. at 11; G.G. at 9.

<sup>341</sup> Henry (1809), at 438.

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>343</sup> Landes (1968), 57-67.

In the present study, individuals engaged in nebulous discussions of "bad medicine," "bear walking" and "shape shifting," which will be discussed in the results sections in detail. However, no one discussed the use of the Mide for purposes of sorcery or any other destructive purpose.

### *Feast of the Dead*

The Algonquin burial practices very much resembled those of the Huron described by the Jesuit Brebeuf in 1634 (Parkman, 1867).<sup>344</sup> Impressed by the degree of attachment which the Algonquin held for their dead ancestors, the Jesuits were horrified by the spectacle of the Feast for the Dead. As it was described, families gathered from surrounding villages to prepare the reburial of hundreds of dead relatives. In ordered steps, they removed the bodies and relics of individuals from scaffolds and graves. They cleaned the bones of the dead, wrapped the remains and relics in hide bundles, which were then suspended from lodge poles surrounding a huge pit (Parkman, 1867).<sup>345</sup> Throughout the burial preparations, families expressed great sorrow and attachment to their deceased family members.

At the actual Feast of the Dead, relatives orated on the decedent's exploits, a fire was kept burning next to the pit to be used for burial, and everyone would participate in a huge feast with dancing, singing and drumming that would last for several hours. The following morning, the people gathered at the gravesite to place the corpse into the gravesite. Relics, bones and gifts were lowered into the pit at the

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<sup>344</sup> Parkman (1867), at 160; see also, note 3, at 163.

<sup>345</sup> *Ibid* at 161.



direction of the Mide leader. Bodies were covered with fur robes, which were then covered by bark, logs, stones and finally earth (Parkman, 1867).<sup>346</sup>

Throughout the ensuing years, the Feast of the Dead maintained many of its original characteristics among the Anishnabe, although not in its original form. In a nineteenth century description of a Chippewa burial provided Henry (1809) many of the procedures had remained the same as earlier accounts provided by the Jesuits. The body was placed in a gravesite with family possessions intended to assist the decedent in their transition to the spirit world. Implements of women's work, which were undoubtedly very valuable and dear to the Chippewa at that time--an axe, carrying strap, iron kettle (with meat), snowshoes and a paddle--were nonetheless relinquished in the interest of the spiritual assistance they could provide (Henry, 1809).<sup>347</sup>

Throughout the years, portions of the burial practices have somewhat remained consistent. Densmore's (1929) ethnography revealed that burials in the community studied commonly included cooking utensils, a carrying strap and axe in the grave of an Ojibwa woman. After the burial, a feast was held and giveaways of the decedent's possessions were completed (Densmore, 1929).<sup>348</sup> Similarly, Hilger (1951) understood the Chippewa to inter a corpse in a sitting position, with food, utensils and a small cache of tobacco. A fire was maintained for the duration of four days, and food left in a small structure above the gravesite for the decedent's use (Hilger, 1951).<sup>349</sup> Densmore (1929) also learned that Chippewa burials had

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<sup>346</sup> Ibid.

<sup>347</sup> Schoolcraft (1851); Henry (1809), at 450.

<sup>348</sup> Densmore (1929), at 74.

<sup>349</sup> Hilger (1951), at 80, 82.

previously used a temporary measure that included placing bodies on a scaffold during winter to preserve them for reburial in the spring. The scaffold was also used when a family member perished away from the permanent camp (Densmore, 1929).<sup>350</sup> Nicollet (1836) also detailed similar procedures when warriors had died during a campaign (Nicollet, 1836).<sup>351</sup>

Although among the Anishnabe today, burial practices have substantially changed from the earlier Feast of the Dead by the Jesuits, the community does maintain ceremonial rites that could be viewed as aspects of the original Mide ritual. The Anishnabe assist the decedent with a four-day fire to guide the spirit to the world beyond; honor the dead with a feast, hold Ghost suppers and giveaways that are reminiscent of what used had earlier occurred. The specifics of current burial procedures will be later discussed in greater detail.

### *Immortality of the Soul*

According to the Jesuit reports, the Algonquin believed in the immortality of the human soul (Parkman, 1867).<sup>352</sup> Schoolcraft (1851) found that the Ojibwa believed humans were endowed with a corporeal soul, which departed for the land of the spirits upon death. The non-corporeal or mental soul remained with the body around the grave (Schoolcraft, 1851),<sup>353</sup> and was able to see, hear and assist relatives

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<sup>350</sup> Densmore (1929), at 76; Nicollet (1836), at 109.

<sup>351</sup> Nicollet (1836), at 253.

<sup>352</sup> Parkman (1867), at 76.

<sup>353</sup> Schoolcraft (1851), at 204.

when needed (Henry, 1809).<sup>354</sup> This belief provides some insight into reasons for the placement of food at the gravesites, which is a practice that was maintained for over two hundred years (Densmore, 1929).<sup>355</sup>

Although they believed in a hereafter, the Algonquin did not always believe that death brought either reward or punishment based on moral good or evil doings on earth (Parkman, 1867).<sup>356</sup> Schoolcraft (1851) attributed the Ojibwa a belief in a soul to their understanding of a Great Spirit, whose universal mercy provided them with paradise in their future spiritual state (Schoolcraft, 1851),<sup>357</sup> Hilger's (1951) indicated the Chippewa believed spirits could go to the "camping grounds of eternal bliss...if they were Mide;" and if not Mide, "they would live outside such a place with nothing to eat but bark" (Hilger, 1951).<sup>358</sup>

In the Ghost rites, Mide medicine men described a white haired Manito, who resided by the western sun. Although no one had ever seen him, the Ojibwa believed he waited to receive those who died of old age, in the hereafter "world of beautiful sounds" (Landes, 1968).<sup>359</sup> The journey to the hereafter was thought to be hazardous and arduous, over rivers with swift currents, encountering water serpents. If one was Mide, they had no difficulty crossing it because the Midewinwin teaches individuals what to say to still the serpent Manito (Landes, 1968).<sup>360</sup>

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<sup>354</sup> Schoolcraft (1851); Henry (1809), at 450.

<sup>355</sup> Densmore (1929), at 74-76.

<sup>356</sup> Parkman (1867), at 161.

<sup>357</sup> Schoolcraft (1851), at 204.

<sup>358</sup> Hilger (1951), at 78.

<sup>359</sup> Landes (1968), at 202.

<sup>360</sup> Ibid at 198-99.

The bifurcation of Indian and white beliefs persisted despite missionary efforts to teach the Anishnabe otherwise. At every opportunity, the Jesuits offered salvation through baptism only to be rebuffed with the Indian recognition that although "heaven was a good place for Frenchman," he [the Indian] still wished to be among Indians because the French would give him nothing to eat while there" (Parkman, 1867).<sup>361</sup> Even children in the last stages of devastating illness which held the potential for imminent death, the Indian child resisted such pressure and would continue to refuse their own baptism (Parkman, 1867).<sup>362</sup> Where conversion and baptism had been accepted as a prophylactic measure to protect against diseases such as smallpox, if the Indian subsequently became ill, they quickly abandoned their adopted faith (Parkman, 1867).<sup>363</sup>

Some of the precepts of the Midewiwin were to maintain a good healthy life, which appear to reflect the struggle of the Anishnabe to regain their aboriginal identity, which had been compromised during their interaction with the outside world. In a more contemporary ethnographic study, Pflug (1998) suggests that for the Odawa, the path of the Midewiwin to a "good healthy life" included seven ways of behaving ethically that would assist individuals to achieve "pimadaziwin," defined as the good, healthy, moral collective life." These seven precepts included being pure in heart, mind and body, being humble, honest, loving and respectful. When these are achieved, the individual is endowed with the power to be Odawa, to connect with and empower others to lead a strong, healthy collective life (Pflug, 1998).<sup>364</sup> As the

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<sup>361</sup> Parkman (1867), at 177.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid at 186.

<sup>363</sup> Ibid at 227.

<sup>364</sup> Pflug (1998), at 74, 76.

Midewiwin was described in the present study, Pflug's (1998) description appears to reflect the place that the Midewiwin holds in the society today. This will be discussed more thoroughly in the results discussion chapter.

### **Social Organization**

In the early seventeenth century, the Algonquin tribal communities were divided into clan structures that were designated by a series of totemic units, each represented by a different animal, bird, reptile or water gens. Each totemic group, which included numbers of families from the same patrilineal heritage were related in consanguinity as brothers, sisters, parents, cousins and distant relationships. The symbols of each clan were used to identify group membership and as such were displayed on the lodges, possessions, gravesites, clothing and bodies of individuals members (Parkman, 1867).<sup>365</sup>

At the time of early contact, the totemic structure was a kinship community, which functioned much like a large extended family. Clan members enjoyed equal status within the groups, and clans displayed strong social cohesion and affection for one another (Kennedy, 1971).<sup>366</sup>

Life in the clan entailed a cooperative effort to provide food, shelter and necessities for the entire group. Children were born, taught social responsibilities,

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<sup>365</sup> Parkman (1867), at 41.

<sup>366</sup> Kennedy (1971), at 158.

and raised in the clan rules. Members of the same clan addressed each other as relatives, respected each other as persons, and provided assistance whenever necessary. The members migrated and reunited together to collectively engage in seasonal subsistence activities which included: hunting; fishing; gathering wild rice; fruits and nuts; planted and harvested gardens (Densmore, 1929; Roufe, 1975; Clifton, 1977)<sup>367</sup> These cooperative efforts among Clan mates encouraged social cohesion for unifying multi-clan groups into a tribal unit when necessary (Clifton, 1977),<sup>368</sup> and members shared the privileges of belonging to the economic group regardless of their ability to assist in the labor collective (Clifton, 1984).<sup>369</sup>

The totemic system of the different tribes of the Anishnabe continued to persist in contemporary periods. Among the Tribal groups, the terms "totem" and "dodem" have been used interchangeably to describe the clan family relationships that comprised the organizational structure, but have slightly different meanings in the literal translation of the words. Both of these terms come from the word "ototeman," which in Potawatomi means: "Those who are related as brothers" (Clifton, 1977);<sup>370</sup> in Ojibwa means: "My relations" (Wub-e-ke-Niew, 1995);<sup>371</sup> and in Odawa means: "I have him for my family mark." (Pflug, 1998).<sup>372</sup>

Clan names among the Anishnabe were associated with myths and legends, which were stories of the origin and mythical powers associated with each animal

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<sup>367</sup> Densmore (1929), at 119; Roufe (1975), at 20-32; Clifton (1977), at 116.

<sup>368</sup> Clifton (1977), at 116.

<sup>369</sup> Clifton (1984), at 9.

<sup>370</sup> Clifton (1977), at 33-34.

<sup>371</sup> Wub-E-Ke-Niew (1995), at 5.

<sup>372</sup> Pflug (1998), at 74.

spirit (Clifton, 1977).<sup>373</sup> The designation of the clan animal to a particular group meant that the mythological ancestor of the bear, marten, or wolf had been dreamed to have the special power needed to create the clan. It was also the symbolic representation that linked the totemic animal to the human group identity, and enjoyed a mythological connection to the animal of origin (Clifton, 1984).<sup>374</sup>

The clans of the Anishnabe are exogamous groups, with membership passed by patrilineal descent to the children of the male ancestor. Intermarriage among clan members was forbidden and considered incestuous (Clifton, 1984; Densmore, 1929).<sup>375</sup> This prohibition on intra-clan marriages extended to other inter-tribal communities as well on the basis that clanmates were related in consanguinity by the blood ties, and thus were regarded as siblings (Densmore, 1929).<sup>376</sup> In the early culture, endototemic marriages were punished by death (Landes, 1968).<sup>377</sup> In Pflug's (1998) Odawa study, informants indicated that discovery of an endototemic relationship in at least once instance led to the divorce of a long-term marriage (Pflug, 1998).<sup>378</sup> Hilger (1951) indicated that marriages to the relatives of the female parent, or "cross-cousin" unions were authorized in the Ojibwa culture (Hilger, 1951).<sup>379</sup>

White fathers passed no clan membership to their children because they had no *dodem* in a patrilineal society. In some cases, the band designated the Eagle gens

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<sup>373</sup> Clifton (1977), at 113.

<sup>374</sup> Clifton (1984), at 10.

<sup>375</sup> Clifton (1984), at 9; Densmore (1929), at 10.

<sup>376</sup> Densmore (1929), at 10.

<sup>377</sup> Landes (1968), at 35.

<sup>378</sup> Pflug (1998), at 75.

<sup>379</sup> Hilger (1951), at 153.

to the child of a white father with patrilineal right of descent, having established this totem for its association with the American Eagle and symbolism of the United States (Hilger, 1951).<sup>380</sup> It was almost impossible to adopt someone into a gens (such as when a child was borne illegitimate and had no patrilineal line. When it was attempted, it was not done formerly, nor were they considered a members of the dodem (Landes, 1968).<sup>381</sup>

Besides their use on gravesites, dodem identification emblems were important for providing instant recognition of clan affiliation when pictographs etched in bark were left to mark trails or as messages (Nicollet, 1836).<sup>382</sup> More important, they were the way that members could immediately identify themselves to strangers (Densmore, 1929).<sup>383</sup>

Throughout the year the clan groups engaged in ceremonies, seasonal celebrations and larger more inclusive tribal gatherings such as the Feast of the Dead (Clifton, 1977).<sup>384</sup> The following are some of the ceremonies that were celebrated among the aboriginal groups.

### *Naming Ceremony*

The naming ceremony was an occasion that brought the clan together.

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<sup>380</sup> Ibid at 154.

<sup>381</sup> Landes (1968), at 37.

<sup>382</sup> Nicollet (1836), at 268-69.

<sup>383</sup> Densmore (1929), at 52.

<sup>384</sup> Clifton (1977), at 117.



Nicollet's (1836) observations provides one of the earliest accounts of the naming process of the Lake Superior Ojibwa. Upon the birth of a child, the entire community received notice to join the family gathered to celebrate the baby's arrival. The essence of this ceremony was to welcome the child into the group. In that pursuit, if the child were a boy, the men whittled small replicas of objects associated with either male or female responsibilities in the community. Presenting these objects to the child, each adult gave a welcome greeting, which the parents received with singing, dancing and offers to feast with the family (Nicollet, 1836).<sup>385</sup> The child would receive a name from a godparent, who chose the name of an ancestor which might be shared until the youth reached puberty, at which time they would fast and dream their own name to use in adulthood (Nicollet, 1836).<sup>386</sup>

Densmore's (1929) informants described the naming ceremonies in similar manner, but suited to the structure of community organization of the early twentieth century. Among the Ojibwa of that period, there were four classifications of names: (1) a dream name given ceremonially by the namer; (2) a dream name acquired by the individual; (3) a namesake name; (4) a common or nickname given by a parent; (5) the name of the gens; and (6) a euphonious name given without significance. The circumstances under which a child received anyone of the categories of names, determined the presence of the spirit power received from the name; the presence of spirit power received from the dream, (usually acquired from a puberty fast); and the

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<sup>385</sup> Nicollet (1836), at 182.

<sup>386</sup> *Ibid* at 183.

presence of a dream name without spiritual significance (sometimes associated with an esteemed friend) (Densmore, 1929).<sup>387</sup>

Parents selected the namer, who would give the child a name they had received in a dream. The important outcome of the naming process was the transmission of the benefit received from the dream (that is the reception of spiritual power transmitted with the dream name through the vision). As the name was given, the spirit associated with the dream was invoked. A keepsake of the dream representation would be given to the child to carry as a remembrance of the namesake (Densmore, 1929).<sup>388</sup> Whether the child developed the full benefit of the power would be a function of their own cooperation.

When children were named by a member of the Mide, a feast was offered at the lodge of the Mide Medicine person, which included five or six relatives. When the people assembled for the feast, the namer revealed the dream and indicated the name to be issued. A small gift representing the dream subject would be given to the child at the feast or postponed until an occasion when the child needed spiritual assistance, such as when sick (Densmore, 1929).<sup>389</sup>

Hilger's (1951) naming ceremony was somewhat similar to others described in that the child was presented with an Ojibwa name by a adult at a feast occasion. At least one of Hilger's (1951) informants reiterated a dream from which the name was

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<sup>387</sup> Densmore (1929), at 52-53.

<sup>388</sup> Densmore (1929), at 54-55.

<sup>389</sup> Ibid at 55.

chosen, but made no reference to accompanying ceremonial rites which had been a part of the traditional naming practices. Prayers to the "Supreme Being" were made along with the offerings of tobacco, and the child was also baptized prior to the naming event. Hilger's (1951) description indicates that an integration of Christian and traditional concepts had occurred within the community to integrate the two systems of beliefs (Hilger, 1951).<sup>390</sup>

The transitional culture described in this account was more closely aligned with the information provided by informants in the present study. The importance of this information to this study involved the mention of ceremonial names given children through membership in the traditional society. In some cases, individuals who had been raised outside the traditions were without a name; and among those involved in the revitalization of the culture, names were being given to their children in the Medicine Lodge.

### *Seasonal Celebrations*

The cardinal directions of the universe housed the Four Winds of the four directions, which were responsible for changes in seasons and weather. According to the Ojibwa beliefs, the brothers of Nanabozho controlled the winds and could thus direct the changing of the seasonal patterns to moderate the severity of the winter (Vescey, 1983).<sup>391</sup> In Algonquin beliefs, the father of Nanbozho was the West Wind,

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<sup>390</sup> Hilger, 1951.

<sup>391</sup> Vescey (1983), at 73.

and his mother the Great-granddaughter of the Moon (Parkman, 1867).<sup>392</sup> The east, west, north and south were personified by Manitou spirits. The winds were known as a summer-maker and a winter-maker, which the Algonquin kept at bay with firebrands thrown into the air (Parkman, 1867).<sup>393</sup>

Among the Anishnabe, subsistence was dependent upon the will of the winds. When winter arrived, the Ojibwa looked to the north wind to blow hard to form a crust on the snow, that would hobble large game and support hunter weight. If the north refused to cooperate to slow game, the Ojibwa would starve. Similarly summer subsistence was dependent upon the winds for fishing success; and ceremonies were made to petition for winds that would not roil the waters. In the Creation myth, Nanabozho masters his four brothers to control the wind and assist the hunting and fishing the Anishnabe (Vescey, 1983).<sup>394</sup>

Vescey (1983) provided insight into the historical context of Ojibwa ceremonial practices that were related to seasonal cycles and human growth patterns to indicate that they represented an overbearing Ojibwa concern for adequate subsistence during each seasonal change (Vescey, 1983).<sup>395</sup> This explanation comports with what was given by informants in the present study, who connected the relationship between the four directions with seasonal changes and climate moderation. Among the Anishnabe traditions, seasonal changes are occasions for feast celebrations and ceremonies related to spiritual offerings to give thanks for the

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<sup>392</sup> Parkman (1867), at 66, 67.

<sup>393</sup> Ibid at 70.

<sup>394</sup> Vescey (1983), at 73.

<sup>395</sup> Vescey (1983), at 110.

growth and development of children as they move through the cycle of life; and the spiritual gifts of the seasonal subsistence patterns that remain a vital part of the Anishnabe cosmology within the Indian communities (Research Transcripts, J.S., 1998).<sup>396</sup>

In each seasonal period, recognition was given for the gifts received by the Ojibwa from the earth, some of which included ceremonies for: first maple syrup in the spring; the first berries of each species in the summer; the wild rice harvest in the fall; and the first successful hunt. These rituals offered thanks to the Manitos responsible for the gifts and were marked by the burning of tobacco, feasting, prayers, dances and singing (Vescey, 1983).<sup>397</sup> During the winter, life slowed and families retreated to their individual lodges, where stories of Nanabozho entertained children as elders recounted the lessons found in the myths. In midwinter, a ceremony to the Bear Manitou was held to ensure the continuation of game, and give thanks for what had already been received. In addition, each person held ceremonies to their particular Dream name Manitou for assistance in gathering food, hunting, fishing and growing (Vescey, 1983).<sup>398</sup>

The clan community offered ceremonies at each stage of development: birth (Vescey, 1983; Densmore, 1929; Hilger, 1951; Nicollet, 1836),<sup>399</sup> naming (Vescey, 1983; Landes, 1968; Hilger, 1951; Densmore, 1929; Schoolcraft, 1851; Nicollet,

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<sup>396</sup> Research Transcripts, 1999, J.S. at 11-13.

<sup>397</sup> Vescey (1983), at 110.

<sup>398</sup> Ibid.

<sup>399</sup> Vescey (1983), at 111; Hilger (1951), at 19; Densmore (1929), at 48; Nicollet (1836), at 181-82.

1836);<sup>400</sup> the child's first hunting success (Vescey, 1983; Hilger, 1951; Densmore, 1929; Nicollet, 1836);<sup>401</sup> and the puberty vision quest (Vescey, 1983; Clifton, 1977; Landes, 1968; Hilger, 1951; Densmore, 1929).<sup>402</sup> These ceremonies occurred when the tribal clans came together in the spring, and continued sporadically throughout the summer migration until winter (Vescey, 1983; Hilger, 1951).<sup>403</sup> The Midewiwin ceremony was used by the Chippewa to conciliate lesser spirits (Manitos), who had power over people, earth, sky and waters. The first Mide ceremony was held in early spring when the maple sap began to flow. The purpose of these ceremonies was to offer thanksgiving for the favors received, and request the return of health after the long winter (Hilger, 1951).<sup>404</sup> Usually, the entire village population would participate, regardless of age; and parents brought in children to restore health from chronic winter complaints (Hilger, 1951).<sup>405</sup>

The significance of the maple sugar was to symbolize good relations between people, and harmony of the people with the spirit world (Roufe, 1975).<sup>406</sup> The offering of the *first fruits* was made by having a feast in which a portion of game or the first fruits were given to Manido (Manitou). Petitions were made to the Manido asking for safety, good health and a long life. Everyone received a small portion of the first fruits, and then the assembly engaged in a village feast. Remembering the

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<sup>400</sup> Vescey (1983), at 111; Landes (1968), at 117; Hilger (1951), at 35; Densmore (1929), at 54-58; Schoolcraft (1851), at 213; Nicollet (1836), at 183.

<sup>401</sup> Vescey (1983), at 111-12; Hilger (1951), at 120; Densmore (1929), at 72; Nicollet (1836), at 192.

<sup>402</sup> Vescey (1983), at 112; Clifton (1977), at 120; Landes (1968), at 116; Hilger (1951), at 49-53; Densmore (1929), at 70-72; Nicollet (1836), at 190-191.

<sup>403</sup> Vescey (1983), at 110; Hilger (1951), at 63.

<sup>404</sup> Hilger (1951), at 63.

<sup>405</sup> *Ibid* at 64.

<sup>406</sup> Roufe (1975), at 16.

dead, portions of the food and the maple syrup were placed on graves for the spirits to eat (Densmore, 1929; Roufe, 1975).<sup>407</sup> Sugar-making required the assistance of the entire clan groups, from tapping trees, to boiling and molding sugar; men, women, and children all supported the effort (Roufe, 1975).<sup>408</sup> The first fruits feast was also mentioned by informants in the present study as one that was routinely held in the spring to give thanks for children and the maple syrup.

The next celebration to commemorate subsistence activities occurred during the summer and fall seasons to recognize the time for "budding seeds" (Roufe, 1975).<sup>409</sup> Village gardens allowed each family a small plot of ground in which a variety of vegetables were planted (Densmore, 1929).<sup>410</sup> Generally, the agricultural staples used by the Ojibwa included corn, squash, pumpkins and beans. Similarly, these plants are still considered the staples of the Anishnabe interviewed, and they were termed the "three sisters" (corn, beans, and squash). The traditional ceremony to give thanks for the "budding seeds" was yet another of the seasonal celebrations mentioned by informants in the present study.

After planting, women and older children began gathering berries of all types, which were dried and used all winter. Herbs and bark were also gathered and used for medicine. The taking of herbal roots or plants was another ceremonial occasion, in which individuals made an offering of tobacco to the four directions, explaining to

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<sup>407</sup> Densmore (1929), at 123; Roufe (1975), at 16.

<sup>408</sup> Roufe (1975), at 16.

<sup>409</sup> Roufe (1975), at 22.

<sup>410</sup> Densmore (1929), at 124.

the plant the purpose for which it was being taken (Roufe, 1975);<sup>411</sup> and giving assurances that no more of the plant would be taken than was necessary (Densmore, 1929).<sup>412</sup> Here again, informants in the present study verified that this practice is still maintained when taking something from the earth, "you must give back something, usually tobacco as an offering" (Research Transcripts, 1999).<sup>413</sup>

The autumn harvest of wild rice again brought the clan villages together for feasting and thanksgiving (Roufe, 1975).<sup>414</sup> Families move to the lakeshore and streams where the rice grew on the mud bottom. Wild rice was considered common property, with families returning each year to the same spot, and others respecting their territorial right to harvest that area. At the time of the Hilger (1951) study, the custom of planting rice had already begun to replace wild growing patches, which removed the planted areas from the public gathering domain (Hilger, 1951).<sup>415</sup> This was yet another example of how the culture had transitioned from a communal gathering society to the concept of individual dominance over property.

Prior to harvesting rice, thanksgiving was offered by placing tobacco on the water in much the same manner as when gathering herbal plants. The rice was tied into bundles, draped over the edge of the canoe, and beaten with sticks to remove the grain from the shaft. Both men and women participated in this gathering effort (Roufe, 1975).<sup>416</sup> Feasts for the purpose of giving thanks to the Manitous for the wild

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<sup>411</sup> Roufe (1975), at 15.

<sup>412</sup> Densmore (1929), at 127.

<sup>413</sup> Research Transcripts, 1999, S.M. at 28.

<sup>414</sup> Roufe (1975), at 24, 25.

<sup>415</sup> Hilger (1951).

<sup>416</sup> Roufe (1975), at 25.



rice crop involved the surrounding clan villages, all of whom participated in feasting, dancing and singing. This congregation of multi-clan groups marked the end of the subsistence gathering for the summer migration and fall seasons (Roufe, 1975).<sup>417</sup>

Fishing was another group activity that began in spring, but extended through planting and harvesting seasons into the winter months. Clan mates participated in fishing during the fall for winter provisions; and the catch was preserved by drying, smoking or freezing (Densmore, 1929).<sup>418</sup> Many informants related how their parents or grandparents remained engaged in fishing for subsistence long after group activities were discontinued. As a livelihood, fishing was one of the only a few occupations available in remote geographical areas, which allowed individuals to remain in the community and not have to migrate to an urban location in order to secure wage labor employment.

From November through spring, the Ojibwa remained in their winter quarters, which were small family camps surrounded by an established hunting territory that was respected as a clan or family premises (Roufe, 1975).<sup>419</sup> Game taken during the winter hunts was preserved by drying or freezing, and storage in a bark-lined pit in the ground (Hilger, 1951).<sup>420</sup> When game was scarce and the families near starvation, the group would hold a feast to ask the Manitou spirit to provide them sustenance. Nicollet (1836) described the "Manitokazowin" ceremony, which was used the Ojibwa to petition the Manitous to be charitable in guiding the hunters to the animals

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<sup>417</sup> Ibid.

<sup>418</sup> Densmore (1929), at 124-25.

<sup>419</sup> Roufe (1975), at 184.

<sup>420</sup> Hilger (1951), at 148.

needed for food and clothing; and to allow the animals to be killed once found (Nicollet, 1836).<sup>421</sup>

During Henry's (1809) captivity, the family experienced extreme deprivation, and likewise offered petitions to the Manitos for assistance in finding game. As was the custom, family members blackened their faces with grease and charcoal, exhibiting resignation, and displaying cheerfulness, as if the camp had sufficient food (Henry, 1809).<sup>422</sup> Although this custom has changed somewhat from that which Henry described, Densmore's (1929) study found that the community still engaged in the practice, and explained the reasons informants gave for this procedure. By blackening their faces, as an expression of anxiety and concern, Ojibwa families would signify to the Manitous spirits that the absence of food was grave and they were in need of sustenance. In Densmore's (1929) account, the husband leaves for the hunt, requesting all members of the family to darken their faces and fast until the hunt was successful. When successful, the hunter attributed the abundance of game to the good will of the spirits that had acted to provide assistance because of the family fast. When unsuccessful, offerings were made to the Manitous in further supplication for obtaining game (Densmore, 1929).<sup>423</sup> Vescey (1983) indicated this process was used to evoke the pity of the Manitou spirits. Through the outward demonstration of suffering (signified by the blackened faces and fasting), the spirits were moved by pity to grant the assistance needed to find game (Vescey, 1983).<sup>424</sup>

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<sup>421</sup> Nicollet (1836), at 211.

<sup>422</sup> Henry (1809); Schoolcraft (1851), at 436.

<sup>423</sup> Densmore (1929), at 129-30.

<sup>424</sup> Vescey (1983), at 134.

Although the present study did not find this particular practice described among the informant groups interviewed, the use of blackened faces to signify mourning or intentions to proceed with warlike activities were observed among the dancers at the Hannahville Pow Wow. Its mention was to demonstrate some consistency over time in the practices and attitudes of traditional beliefs that recognized human dependence upon spiritual forces for earthly blessings; and the ceremonial practices that however modified were intended to invoke cosmic intervention through spiritual intercession.

### *Family Relations*

In the early seventeenth century, interpersonal relationships between individuals in the clan groups were astonishing affectionate, supportive and patient to the amazement of the Jesuit observers. Most of those living in the regions around the French settlements occupied lodges housing multiple families. In these crowded cabin-like structures men, women and children lived in harmony, without dispute, quarrels or insult. Even though most existed in extreme deprivation, their generosity to each other left no child abandoned, no sick unattended, nor hunger unfed. Children in particular were "loved supremely" by parents, who "indulged them with freedoms" and "smothered them with embraces." Orphans were taken into the families of relatives and friends, cared for lovingly, and treated as equals to the children of the home (Kennedy, 1971).<sup>425</sup>

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<sup>425</sup> Kennedy (1971), at 114-15.

Most aboriginals, and especially the Algonquins, were noted for being honest, clever and intelligent (Kennedy, 1971).<sup>426</sup> LeJeune found the children to be bright and amicable, who with the opportunity of an education would recognize the value of Christianity and eventually submit to baptism in the Church (Kennedy, 1971).<sup>427</sup> Troubling qualities LeJeune thought to be related to their penchant for harmony and avoidance of confrontation, was their tolerance of things told to them known to be untrue; and their unwavering alignment with parental views on maintaining their own religious way of life (Kennedy, 1971).<sup>428</sup>

The Jesuits found the stubbornness of the aboriginal child to not accept restraints placed upon their customary freedom a challenge to the nuns responsible for their control in the mission school in New France (Kennedy, 1971).<sup>429</sup> However, freedom of thought and action in children was fostered in the very way parental instruction occurred among the Ojibwa. Nicollet (1836) found the "teaching methods of Ojibwa parents were neither repressive nor preventive" (Nicollet, 1836).<sup>430</sup> He observed that the child who could speak and walk was set free to learn from experience in their environment (Nicollet, 1836).<sup>431</sup>

In Ojibwa parenting, mothers exhibited extreme tenderness and affection for their children (Nicollet, 1836);<sup>432</sup> and rarely admonished them except during the

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<sup>426</sup> Ibid at 23, 135.

<sup>427</sup> Ibid at 136.

<sup>428</sup> Ibid at 137.

<sup>429</sup> Ibid, at 155.

<sup>430</sup> Nicollet (1836), at 193.

<sup>431</sup> Ibid.

<sup>432</sup> Ibid at 46.

weaning process, which usually occurred between two and four years of age (Nicollet, 1836).<sup>433</sup> The Ojibwa displayed gentleness and tact in parenting young children, always guarding their welfare (Densmore, 1929),<sup>434</sup> while maintaining distance to allow them the freedom to play (Hilger, 1951).<sup>435</sup> Great indulgence was shown Ojibwa children, and they were treated with kindness, love and caring (Landes, 1968).<sup>436</sup>

In earlier periods, Ojibwa children were cared for exclusively by their mothers. However, as soon as a boy attained sufficient independence (ability to walk and talk), he would accompany his father hunting, and thereafter remain in his father's care to begin learning the use of weapons and hunting techniques (Nicollet, 1836).<sup>437</sup> The child's first hunting success was celebrated with a feast, in which the entire village would participate (Nicollet, 1836; Densmore, 1929).<sup>438</sup> Ojibwa daughters were very close to their mothers, and remained in their sole care from infancy onward. Working alongside of their mothers, Ojibwa girls learned the industrial skills of women in support of the household and were expected to fully participate as soon as they were able to assist (Nicollet, 1836; Densmore, 1929).<sup>439</sup>

Schoolcraft (1851) noted that the Ojibwa children were taught religious precepts by example, from parents who lived and guided their daily lives by its

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<sup>433</sup> *Ibid* at 188.

<sup>434</sup> Densmore (1929), at 58.

<sup>435</sup> Hilger (1951), at 109.

<sup>436</sup> Landes (1968), at 13.

<sup>437</sup> Nicollet (1836), at 188-89.

<sup>438</sup> Nicollet (1836), at 192; Densmore (1929), at 62, 120.

<sup>439</sup> Nicollet (1836), at 189; Densmore (1929), at 61.

influence (Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>440</sup> Moral instruction was the responsibility of parents, grandparents and bilateral relatives. During seasonal celebrations, feast ceremonies for youths brought adolescents together for moral instruction on the "*right*" way to live. Some of these cultural values and beliefs included: always being respectful to the aged and listening to their council; never scoffing at the decrepit, deformed or blind; obeying parents; being modest in conduct; being charitable and hospitable; fearing and loving the giver of life and all good things (Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>441</sup>

In the villages, moral instruction was delivered nightly, by the "*village crier*" as he walked among the lodges issuing general admonitions and cautionary instructions. Usually an elder of exemplary status in the village, the "crier" told children: not to steal; nor use "firewater;" use very little tobacco; and never say anything disrespectful about women. To girls he specifically instructed to not quarrel; live peaceably; and not talk badly about others (Densmore, 1929).<sup>442</sup>

Hilger (1951) found among the informants in her study, that within the rubric of moral instruction, children were taught not to steal, lie, boast, tell tales or quarrel (Hilger, 1951).<sup>443</sup> When a child did steal something, he was made to take it back. In some cases, if the child were older, he would be physically punished as well (Hilger, 1951).<sup>444</sup> Lying was similarly considered an unacceptable behavior because parents felt that lying children were not liked in the community for a long time. If a child

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<sup>440</sup> Schoolcraft (1851), at 67.

<sup>441</sup> *Ibid* at 186.

<sup>442</sup> Densmore (1929), at 60.

<sup>443</sup> Hilger (1951), at 98-99.

<sup>444</sup> *Ibid* at 99.

boasted and it were untrue, they were ignored by adults. If true, the elders would listen. Quarreling among children often threatened to disrupt the peace, and was purposefully ignored to allow children to work out their own problems. Telling tales was not allowed, and when done by a child, the information was not entertained and usually parents physically punished the child as well (Hilger, 1951)<sup>445</sup>

Hilger (1951) found that Ojibwa children were instructed on appropriate behaviors whenever the opportunity arose. Most important in the society, children were taught to be kind, not to make fun of others or stare at them; and to be respectful of all people. To show respect, children were given small amounts of tobacco, which they presented to elders as a sign of their friendship. Among adults, presenting a gift of tobacco to someone when visiting was considered a polite gesture. Its acceptance by the host signified the peace and friendliness between members and within the group (Hilger, 1951).<sup>446</sup> This practice was undoubtedly related to the reverence that aboriginals held for the tobacco ceremonies, which Nicollet (1836) had observed on many occasions to be an integral part of spiritual offerings, feast occasions, tribal councils, negotiations with foreign dignitaries, celebrations for all purposes; and used in presentations as gifts upon visiting friends or departing from them (Nicollet, 1936).<sup>447</sup>

In times past, when children were non-compliant, parents used fear to coerce them into obeying. On these occasions, parents threatened them with visitations from

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<sup>445</sup> Ibid.

<sup>446</sup> Ibid at 97.

<sup>447</sup> Nicollet (1836), at 85, 112, 117, 156.

owls and other feared creatures to induce the child to refrain from unwanted behaviors. Some behaviors important enough to warrant prohibition included being disrespectful to elders; peeking into neighboring lodges at night; or begging food from others (Densmore, 1929).<sup>448</sup>

Adolescent youths were never disciplined, nor told what to do. Rather symbolic gestures and eye contact were used to inform a child what was expected of them or what needed to be done (Nicollet, 1836).<sup>449</sup> In learning new skills, children were expected to absorb new information by example without debate or argument; but when disputes arose, children reflected on what they had learned from the traditions through the elders to resolve these conflicts (Nicollet, 1836).<sup>450</sup> Mothers refrained from exercising authority of over male children as soon as they were able to be under the care of the father, but retained authority over their daughters as a perpetual right that was unopposed by the father (Nicollet, 1836).<sup>451</sup> Discipline was unnecessary from an external source because the parents were mindful of their child's behaviors and immediately addressed inappropriate actions through nonverbal communications (Nicollet, 1836).<sup>452</sup>

In subsequent periods of the culture, parents used a system of reward and punishments, usually speaking to the child when an occasion arose that needed disciplinary instruction. Although praise was issued sparingly, children were often

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<sup>448</sup> Densmore (1929), at 56-59.

<sup>449</sup> Nicollet (1836), at 193.

<sup>450</sup> *Ibid* at 193.

<sup>451</sup> *Ibid* at 188.

<sup>452</sup> *Ibid* at 189.



given a reward in the form of food or a handmade toy for good behavior (Hilger, 1951).<sup>453</sup> Disciplining in silence, mothers used hand gestures that let the child know that they were annoyed with a particular behavior. When behaviors were out of hand, the child would be sent to bed early, but usually not without food. Physical punishment was used for persistent behaviors that went unabated and was administered in the form of a switching on the legs or buttocks with a small stick. Informants also related that a small slap on the shoulders would be administered by either parent when a child refused to respond to a directive. Most indicated that such punishments were minimal, and usually had good results in that the individuals who were disciplined "turned out good" as opposed to those who did not. Not all parents approved of physical punishment, and most remembered parents "talking to them" to make them behave. Grandparents showed their disapproval of physical discipline administered by their adult child to the grandchild by using physical demeanor to demonstrate their disagreement with this type of discipline (Hilger, 1951).<sup>454</sup> Usually, when discipline was administered, despite the closeness of kinship relations, at least among the Ojibwa, the father alone had the right to punish his children; but mothers always had the right to scold the child (Landes, 1968).<sup>455</sup>

As a rule, children were taught to be respectful in their communications with elders. Respect was shown by listening and being attentive to elder advice. Children were advised that to earn respect in the community, they must respect elders, which was shown by: assisting someone blind; feeding the hungry; and helping older

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<sup>453</sup> *Ibid* at 58.

<sup>454</sup> Hilger (1951), at 59.

<sup>455</sup> Landes (1968), at 12.

individuals (Hilger, 1951).<sup>456</sup> In the cultural value of respecting and assisting elders, Hilger (1951) noted inconsistencies between how informants "were" to treat elders, and how they actually "did" treat elders. Hilger (1951) observed that elders seemed indifferent to being neglected by their children and offered no complaints against grown children for failing to provide them greater assistance (Hilger, 1951).<sup>457</sup>

Households were composed of multi-generational groups, with at least one or more grandparents living within the home. Advice across generations was freely given and well received, which sought to teach children how to live a "right life" (Densmore, 1929).<sup>458</sup> Children were expected to assist elders whenever requested. Grandparents served as guardians of their grandchild when needed. They were generally good-nature relationships characterized by kindness, respect and playful teasing (Landes, 1968).<sup>459</sup> Landes (1968) also found that communications could vary, alternating teasing with sternness, dependent upon the mood of persons involved, but for the most part relationships appeared to remain stable. Among the Ojibwa, mood extremes were generally not allowed or openly expressed, and when they arose, were not usually pursued (Landes, 1951).<sup>460</sup>

The grandparent-grandchild relationship balance was one of equals, except where very young children were concerned. The tenor of this type of communication was established by the elder. When teased by peers, a non-response in the spirit of

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<sup>456</sup> Hilger (1951), at 99.

<sup>457</sup> Ibid at 98.

<sup>458</sup> Densmore (1929), at 60.

<sup>459</sup> Landes (1968), at 12.

<sup>460</sup> Ibid.

the jest would not be acceptable, but within the inter-generational dyad between grandparent and grandchild, it was acceptable because of the closeness of the relationship (Landes, 1968).<sup>461</sup>

Children were expected to assist parents and grandparents in household duties according to their age and capabilities. They learned from experience and example, through repetition in shared activities with adult teachers. As the child matured, more was expected of them (Landes, 1968; Nicollet, 1836).<sup>462</sup> Children learned community values and expectation within the family (Hilger, 1951)<sup>463</sup> and the Clan (Clifton, 1984),<sup>464</sup> where they were taught to believe in the traditions and to participate in the tribal society (Hilger, 1951).<sup>465</sup> Parents and grandparents became the primary instructors to lecture, counsel, share ideals and beliefs. Through imitation, children learned ceremonies, subsistence activities, and social expectations appropriate to their gender. Children were not ridiculed for failures, but encouraged to do better (Hilger, 1951).<sup>466</sup>

In keeping with the spirit of freedom customary among the Anishnabe tribes, Ojibwa children had wide latitude in generating their own interests in play. Most structured play activities were determined by the peer group of the village, who were the only companions available (Hilger, 1951).<sup>467</sup> Many of the games played among

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<sup>461</sup> Ibid.

<sup>462</sup> Landes (1968), at 224; Nicollet (1836), at 190.

<sup>463</sup> Hilger (1951), at 168.

<sup>464</sup> Clifton (1984), at 10.

<sup>465</sup> Hilger (1951), at 168.

<sup>466</sup> Ibid.

<sup>467</sup> Ibid at 170.

the children carried over for several generations: marbles, hide and seek, snow snake, blindfold game, and the windego or cannibal game. Children remained outdoors most of the day during the summer, engaged in swimming or camping (Densmore, 1929);<sup>468</sup> but remained indoors for most of the colder winter months (Densmore, 1929).<sup>469</sup>

Learning was approached by the adult teacher in a relaxed manner. In the early culture, Nicollet (1936) had observed that a child's judgment to not engage in a particular learning task on any given day would be respected by the parent or grandparent, without recrimination for their reluctance to participate. The adult simply re-presented the task on another occasion, thus allowing the child to maintain the autonomy and freedom to direct their own learning process, and move forward at their own pace (Nicollet, 1836).<sup>470</sup> The training of children would remain informal among the Ojibwa, as Hilger (1951) would later observe parents to lecture, counsel and listen to children during the learning process; and children would imitate and participate with the parent or grandparent in age and gender appropriate activities (Hilger, 1951).<sup>471</sup>

Through a system of rewards and punishment (praise and scolding), and sometimes frightening with stories of ghosts and animals, children were taught the rudiments of social expectations (Hilger, 1951, at 1951).<sup>472</sup> Older children assumed

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<sup>468</sup> Densmore, 1929, at 67-70.

<sup>469</sup> *Ibid* at 58.

<sup>470</sup> Nicollet (1836), at 190.

<sup>471</sup> Hilger (1951), at 55.

<sup>472</sup> *Ibid* at 58.

responsibility for part of the parent role, forming close bonds between siblings (Landes, 1968).<sup>473</sup>

Prior to pubescence, males and female were given training in preparation for their puberty fast, wherein the child would dream a vision of their spirit Manitou. Parents began training children to remember dreams in preparation for this occasion. They were also trained in the hardships of fasting through a series of gradual ritual practices in which they were deprived of food for long periods of time. Fathers instructed their sons on fasting and sent them into the woods for daylong forays, with nothing to eat to heighten their awareness and become receptive to spiritual communications. Similarly, girls were given instructions on fasting and worked around the lodge for hours without food. This process was designed to strengthen their stoic resolve and build fortitude for days ahead when as an adolescent, they would fast and search for their guardian spirit (Nicollet, 1836).<sup>474</sup>

During the puberty fast, girls remained isolated for a four-day period after her first sign of maturity, without food or human contact. Mide ceremonies marked the completion of the fast, in which her role as a woman was recognized and accepted by the camp (Densmore, 1929).<sup>475</sup> In some societies, the period of learning for women would continue for an entire year (Hilger, 1951).<sup>476</sup>

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<sup>473</sup> Landes (1968), at 14-15.

<sup>474</sup> Nicollet (1836), at 189-90.

<sup>475</sup> Densmore (1929), at 70-71.

<sup>476</sup> Hilger (1951), at 52.

In a similar manner, the male adolescent marked his pubescence through fasting and deprivation; sent into the woods without food to clear his mind for a dream vision through which he would receive the power of the vision spirit (Densmore, 1929).<sup>477</sup> The male puberty fast was quite vigorous and lasted several days. In the dream, the youth would see the mythic representation of a spirit power bringing to him the gifts of the Manito group (Landes, 1968).<sup>478</sup> After the puberty fast, the youth relied upon his personal relationship with the guardian Manitou. After he obtained a vision to culminate the puberty fast, the community would engage in a feast to celebrate his emergence into manhood (Vescey, 1984).<sup>479</sup>

As children matured, more was expected of them. Gradual changes in parenting usually occurred as well to form a friendship bond between the parent and the same-sex child. These friendships were sustained through adulthood, into marriage and parenthood, within the domestic family unit (Landes, 1968).<sup>480</sup>

### *Visiting*

In the cultural orientation of the Anishnabe, families and clan mates were bonded in bilateral relationships that were visibly affectionate and strong (Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>481</sup> For centuries, subsistence activities and the accompanying Mide ceremonies had brought together clan groups and village populations for several days of labor and celebrations. These banquets brought people together to eat and

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<sup>477</sup> Densmore (1929), at 71.

<sup>478</sup> Landes (1968), at 30-31.

<sup>479</sup> Vescey (1984), at 112.

<sup>480</sup> Landes (1968), at 14.

discuss oral history, creation stories, spiritual experiences and friendly discourse. Dances, singing, and sweat baths were characteristic of seasonal ceremonies, which subsequently allowed many opportunities for the men, women and children to discuss the days' happenings and smoke tobacco. Adults engaged in sport competitions, and children gathered for games played in the midst the adult festivities. Leaders held councils, and people came together to enjoy the atmosphere of closeness and friendship (Nicollet, 1936).<sup>482</sup>

As Schoolcraft (1851) noted, the conversations of the wintering Ojibwa were particularly lively, discussing the trade, government intercourse, the chase, deeds of personal strength and occurrences about the village (Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>483</sup> The close quarters of the Ojibwa lodges made the interaction of multi-generational, bilateral relations intimate. In these gatherings, families and neighbors came together to hear stories and watch elders animate legends of the past (Densmore, 1929).<sup>484</sup>

Among the Anishnabe, "visiting" was observed to be one of the most consistent activities of village life. Men, women and children routinely engaged family and friends in conversations about tribal life. Lessons of life were exchanged, events in history, travel or meetings with other tribes were frequent topics (Hilger, 1951).<sup>485</sup> Punctuated with joking and good humor, families gathered to smoke in the evenings, and to discuss the day's events (Hilger, 1951,).<sup>486</sup> A favorite diversion of

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<sup>481</sup> Schoolcraft (1851), at 67, 72.

<sup>482</sup> Nicollet (1836), at 199-211.

<sup>483</sup> Schoolcraft (1851), at 184.

<sup>484</sup> Densmore (1929), at 29.

<sup>485</sup> Hilger (1951), at 114.

<sup>486</sup> *Ibid* at 115.

children was to set and listen to elder conversations. In this manner children learned and imitated adult interactions (Hilger, 1951).<sup>487</sup>

Informants in the present study similarly described "visiting" among the community members as an important aspect of community life. "Being connected" and "caring for one another" was associated with attending feast celebrations, going to Pow wows just to see each other; and as one individual described the purpose of inviting parents to participate in Head Start functions, it was a means of "bringing people together, just to visit" (Research Transcripts, J. S., 1998).<sup>488</sup>

Being silent was not prohibitive of enjoying another's company. Some forms of visiting occurred in silence, with elders sitting among family groups observing conversations (Hilger, 1951).<sup>489</sup> Densmore (1929) indicated that children had been trained to be silent to protect families against discovery during enemy attack. As a nightly routine, parents used songs, games and stories to build the capacity for silence within their children (Densmore, 1929).<sup>490</sup> Schoolcraft (1851) indicates that the silence of younger members within the group was a sign of respect in that they were listening but did not commenting on the conversations of elders (Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>491</sup> Silence was also used among the adult generation to demonstrate respect in a group. Late comers to councils never interrupted nor interjected in an ongoing

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<sup>487</sup> Ibid at 170.

<sup>488</sup> Research Transcripts, 1999, at J.S. at 18.

<sup>489</sup> Hilger (1951), at 170.

<sup>490</sup> Densmore (1929), at 59.

<sup>491</sup> Schoolcraft (1851), at 185.



conversation, preferring to first sit and listen to others speak before gradually entering the dialogue (Nicollet, 1836).<sup>492</sup>

## **Summary**

In summary, the social characteristics of the Anishnabe demonstrated strong affection and respect among family and bilateral clan relatives that tied multi-generational groups together to create a collective identity of being Ojibwa, Odawa or Potawatomi. There was strong evidence that the ethos of this identity stemmed from common bonds established through language, values, beliefs and residency within and among the Anishnabe groups.

Families exemplified deep affection and devotion to all members, but in particular deference was given to elders and children, which was evidenced by the concern for their safety, health and dignity. The focus of family life in the subsistence economy, was respect, cooperation, harmony and preservation for group survival. These values extended beyond the nuclear family to encompass elder generations and bilateral relatives; and beyond to other Clan villages, especially during times of seasonal industry, crisis from war, economic distress and deprivation, and interference from foreign, non-Native governments.

Their cosmic understanding of creation and indigenous origin was grounded in traditional beliefs, which included reverence of, and participation in, the

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<sup>492</sup> Nicollet (1836), at 85.

Midewiwin (Grand Medicine) Society rituals and ceremonies to sustain a good, healthy and peaceful life. The Anishinabe believed in cosmic spiritual equality that accorded all living and non-living things on earth a spiritual presence and equal rights to enjoyment of earth's blessings. This cosmology contained both mysticism and spiritualism, which was interchangeably commingled in their reliance upon the guardianship and guidance of supernatural beings and powers.

The Anishinabe believed in the immortality of the soul, which envisioned a hereafter where there would be no deprivation of life's necessities, or isolation from one's relatives and friends, a spiritual consciousness that transcended mere physical existence. Their cosmic understanding of the immortality of souls created earthly concern for the decedent's welfare which was shown by feeding the dead, and providing them the accoutrements of life to assist in the journey to the land of plenty. The Anishinabe believed that the earthly and spiritual worlds were inextricably connected; that relationships with ancestors could continue through ritual communications and supplications; and that departed relatives responded to intercede and assist in the present world. The sufficiency of their reliance upon the spiritual benevolence of supernatural benefactors, and their indomitable will to preserve personal and collective freedom, made conversion to Christian doctrine extremely difficult. It would not be until the convergence of multiple bicultural factors intervened to disrupt the beliefs and values that had for centuries been sustained.

The life of the Anishnabe was efficiently ordered within the context of the era, environment and cultural orientation as evinced by the framework of their political,

spiritual and social understanding of the world. The Anishnabe worldview anticipated differences between their civilization and the "other" with whom they came in contact. It was clear from their own communications that what was being offered as a substitute vision of "civilized" society by invading governments, missionaries, and immigrating populations of Euro-American stock, that the Anishnabe understood and rejected their alternative worldview. From the record, it seems equally clear that their cultural systems suffered diminution as the Euro-American expansion forced the sustained bicultural exposure. It is clear that bicultural elements interfered with the indigenous way of life--the social, political and religious beliefs and values--to make significant changes that would eventually undermine the core of ethical beliefs that had driven the course of Anishnabe existence for centuries.

In the next section, this study will examine how traditional systems responded to various influences of the enculturation process to first adjust, then adapt and finally adopt aspects of the non-Native cultures in order to survive in their changing environment.

## **FORCES OF ACCULTURATION**

### ***The Fur Trade***

In attempting to recreate the forces of change that impacted the acculturation of the Anishnabe, it is useful to examine how contact with European populations affected the social, emotional physical and spiritual aspects of Anishnabe life. Reviewing each period of bicultural exposure among the three European powers established patterns of progressive involvement, exploitation, conflict and eventual containment that was characteristic of relations with each new sovereign seeking to assert ownership and extend jurisdiction over the territories of the northern Lake Superior tribes.

During first contact, French explorers engendered the trust and good will of the natives in the St. Lawrence valley to establish trade relations that would bring to the east coast Indian populations practical European items such as iron kettles, knives and axes (Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>493</sup> Extending friendship and providing nominal gifts, Cartier gained the privilege of access to village groups where the French could observe the simplicity of their way of life, belief system, leadership, and tribal organization (Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>494</sup> Establishing trading ports, assuming trade relations and eventually populating colonies raised little or no objections from Natives eager to utilize European goods. Even the assertion of military power

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<sup>493</sup> Schoolcraft (1851), at 335.

<sup>494</sup> Ibid at 337.

through Euro-Indian alliances brought only regional concern among those tribes which were affected by the coalition. Cartier, one of the first Frenchman to penetrate the interior tribal territories, was intent upon establishing trade initiatives that would bring France increased wealth through exclusive trade relationships. To that end, he used whatever coercive tactics would be tolerated, even resorting to the kidnapping of Native tribesmen to influence the opinions of those funding future explorations (Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>495</sup> Returning to France with Native furs, Cartier would open greater opportunities for continued trade, induce the capitalization of the trade industry, and eventually prompt the colonization of the St. Lawrence river region (Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>496</sup>

Gaining access to the interior was imperative to Cartier's explorations and the development of New France. Having early established the superiority of French firearms, Cartier needed only to forebear upon the good will of the Natives to pressure for access to the aboriginal strongholds of the Huron and Algonquin (Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>497</sup> When the Natives weren't pliable, Cartier introduced them to spirituous liquors as a gesture of friendship and to induce their willingness to trade. Many Natives quickly became accustomed to alcohol and developed an appetite for what trader's termed "the Indian milk," to soon make it an indispensable tool of the fur trade industry (Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>498</sup> This nefarious practice would become a trade tactic that was effectively used by all of the European powers (the French

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<sup>495</sup> Ibid.

<sup>496</sup> Ibid.

<sup>497</sup> Ibid at 335.

<sup>498</sup> Ibid at 345.

providing brandy), (the English trading rum), and (the American's providing whiskey) as inducements to secure increasing amounts of peltry (Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>499</sup>

The fur trade under the English would have a continued impact upon the Ojibwa to inspire greater involvement and dependency upon the material economy which had been initiated during the French occupation (Danziger, 1978).<sup>500</sup> As the Anishnabe became more heavily engaged in the material economy, game grew scarce in local village locations, and winter trappers had to shift the focus of activities to more remote hunting regions, remaining far from the trade centers for long periods of time (Danziger, 1978).<sup>501</sup> By the late eighteenth century, the expanse and distance of hunting locations necessary for obtaining quality pelts would require hunters to separate from family units. Where before several families had wintered in small group clusters, wives and children would now remain in village locations and hunters would assume the monumental task of procuring sufficient furs during the hunt to accommodate the trader's credit for family sustenance during the hunter's absence (Danziger, 1978).<sup>502</sup>

Subsistence activities, which had previously supported clan villages and inter-clan cooperatives from gathering rice, fishing and gardening in summer locations, also suffered as the multi-clan and inter-tribal trade communities focused on the material economy and families remained in trade centers during critical seasonal

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<sup>499</sup> Ibid at 357.

<sup>500</sup> Danziger (1978), at 57.

<sup>501</sup> Ibid at 31.

<sup>502</sup> Ibid at 58.

rounds (Danziger, 1978).<sup>503</sup> The effect of neglecting subsistence activities for the material economy placed the Anishnabe hunter in the position of being more dependent upon European trade goods. This dependence was so complete that during periods when the bands were forced out of the trade network through the depletion of game, Anishnabe people were found starving, absent workable kettles, knives and cooking utensils, and lacking the traditional skills to create alternative substitutes (Danziger, 1978).<sup>504</sup>

Despite the depletion of available game and the loss of subsistence food products, families living in trade communities still required consumer goods in order to survive. The system of trade credits, allowing individuals to receive necessary items against their potential hunting results, became a disadvantageous practice that further indentured the Anishnabe, forcing more intense involvement in the material economy. This destructive cycle left no time for summer migration subsistence activities, and served to not only breakdown the self-sufficiency of the clan community, but also seriously affected the cohesive, collective tribal identity that communal life had previously engendered (Danziger, 1978).<sup>505</sup>

Demonstrations of anger and frustration with the inequity of the trade exchange under the authority of the American government were chronicled in Nicollet's (1836) writings during the early nineteenth century. A passage from these entries, taken from the Speech of the Chief Flat Mouth, details that the Anishnabe

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<sup>503</sup> Ibid at 31.

<sup>504</sup> Ibid.

<sup>505</sup> Ibid at 32.

understood the insidious effect of unscrupulous trade practices characterized by the unequal bargaining power of trade partners:

**See how the traders on Lake Superior treat your children. If you take courage for your children, so shall they take courage for they know they shall not be ten years deprived of help, without being able to defend their soul and their lives, being only for promises forever hunting without receiving enough to survive from the merchants on Lake Superior. See how Americans treat us: They always say they want to help us, and yet we never see them. They abandon us to the mercy of merchants who trade at three times above that was ever asked by the French and the English, and in return supply us only with bad merchandise, thus making the price six times higher. And these traders, well do they know the American government is not capable of either helping or protecting us. They do with us what they please, and if in these times when they force us to go naked and starve, we beg for justice, not charity, they threaten to leave. I end here my complaints on our poverty and on the way the Americans treat us (Nicollet, 1836).<sup>506</sup>**

That the American government had full knowledge of the duplicity of their licensed fur traders' is undisputed. Major Zebulon Pike was commissioned by the U.S. Army to accompany the explorations of the Headwaters of the Mississippi, and part of his responsibilities was to monitor trade practices among the Ojibwa to ensure

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<sup>506</sup> Nicollet (1836), at 113.



that alcohol was no longer used as a grade commodity (Coues, 1895).<sup>507</sup> In Pike's journal, Coues (1895) indicates that the problems with disproportionate exchange rates that prevailed in the American trader's system of credits were not only well known, but also thought to be justified. As Coues (1985) explained, such discrepancies were used as a hedge against the indolence of the Indian hunter, who without inducements would receive credits for outfitting the chase (buy guns, food, and ammunition) and not deliver the anticipated pelts in payment of the debt. Thus, "the trader who let go his goods on credit into lazy, improvident, and always uncertain and often dishonest or criminal hands, with no security for any adequate return...would suffer extraordinary losses..." and therefore would be wise "...to put up the premium accordingly...to realize 200 to 250 percent..." and unfortunately expose the Indians to the "...cupidity and extortion" of being swindled" (Coues, 1985).<sup>508</sup>

The system of trade licenses had been no less abusive under the French government, who had executed issuance upon payment of a fee, without regard to the character of the licensee. Subsequent to issuance, the license was then trafficked as negotiable paper among a chain of unprincipled agents, with the primary objective of exploiting an unsophisticated people, plied with alcohol to transfer wealth in the form of furs (Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>509</sup>

Thus, the fur trade system, whether under the authority of the French, British or American governments, had social repercussions that were so widespread they

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<sup>507</sup> Coues, Elliot (1895), *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, Francis Harper, New York, 1895, at 259.

<sup>508</sup> Ibid at 274, see note 2).

<sup>509</sup> Schoolcraft, 1851, at 361.

were difficult to assess (Danziger, 1978).<sup>510</sup> What is known from history is that by 1760 most of the Great Lakes' tribes were heavily dependent upon European tools and weapons; and for those bands located in proximity to the large trade communities, food and alcohol commodities as well (Danziger, 1978).<sup>511</sup> Among the interior bands, repeated exposure to intermittent supplies of alcohol had not resulted in their complete dependence. However, once the fur trade penetrated the interior regions, many of the Anishnabe quickly became alcohol dependent and suffered the socially destructive consequences. The destructive effects of alcohol upon the civilization of the Anishnabe communities was observed by traders such as Alexander Henry during his years with the Lake Superior Tribes (Schoolcraft, 1851),<sup>512</sup> by Nicollet, (1836) in his time with the Ojibwa (Nicollet, 1836),<sup>513</sup> and by Schoolcraft (1851) for the duration of his agency in the Northern Great Lake's territories (Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>514</sup>

The use of alcohol as a mechanism of appeasement was common, especially when Tribal delegations met with foreign governments to discuss trade relations (Clifton, 1977).<sup>515</sup> To gain favored treatment of the Ojibwa in the fur trade during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the British provided advances of food and alcohol to win their patronage (Vescey, 1983).<sup>516</sup> The results of this abuse was devastating to the Anishnabe individual and their family life (Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>517</sup>

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<sup>510</sup> Danziger (1978), at 32.

<sup>511</sup> *Ibid* at 39.

<sup>512</sup> Schoolcraft (1851), at 419.

<sup>513</sup> Nicollet (1836), at 113.

<sup>514</sup> Schoolcraft (1851), at 356, 360-65.

<sup>515</sup> Clifton (1977), at 80.

<sup>516</sup> Vescey (1983), at 15.

<sup>517</sup> Schoolcraft (1851) at 360-65.

and to the village communities (Danziger, 1978).<sup>518</sup> Alcohol abuse among the aboriginal populations prompted inter-tribal wars over hunting territories (Danziger, 1978),<sup>519</sup> and generally disrupted lives with drunken violence (Coues, 1895),<sup>520</sup> replacing vigor with enervation (Schoolcraft, 1851),<sup>521</sup> and ultimately resulting in the deprivation and starvation of many Ojibwa communities (Vescey, 1983).<sup>522</sup>

### *White Settlements of Indian Lands*

The Anishnabe involvement with the trade industry thrust the Indian tribes into the problems of competing sovereigns, who were eager to establish exclusive rights to the land and the trade relationships of the various groups. Largely controlled by military governments, the traders became actively engaged in influencing the opinions of aboriginal trade partners regarding loyalty to foreign governments, which would ultimately propel the aboriginal groups into the wars of the three countries (Clifton, 1984; Danziger, 1978; Clifton, 1877; Claspy, 1966).<sup>523</sup>

In the Treaty of Paris of February 1763, France lost all possessions in North America (Clifton, 1977).<sup>524</sup> British ascendancy brought policies intended to establish mechanisms of control over Indian tribes located in the interior that would allow the British to retain exclusivity in the fur trade, while thwarting the expansion of colonial

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<sup>518</sup> Danziger (1978), at 64.

<sup>519</sup> *Ibid.*, at 66.

<sup>520</sup> Coues (1895), at 259.

<sup>521</sup> Schoolcraft (1851), at 364.

<sup>522</sup> Vescey (1983), at 20.

<sup>523</sup> Clifton (1984), at 23; Danziger (1978), at 39; Clifton (1977), at 139; Claspy, Everett (1966), *Potawatomi Indians of the Southwestern Michigan*, Dowagiac Publishers, Michigan (1966)

<sup>524</sup> Clifton (1977), at 134.

governments westward (Clifton, 1977).<sup>525</sup> The Proclamation of 1763, created a boundary between Indian and Euro-American populations west of the Appalachian Mountains, thereby establishing the remaining territories as Indian lands (Clifton, 1977).<sup>526</sup> However, the boundary was unable to stem the flow of hunters, traders, settlers and land-hungry speculators pressuring the British governor to allow ingress to Indian territories (Clifton, 1977).<sup>527</sup>

Contention for sovereignty over Indians had long angered the Ojibwa and their allies, who considered British control and settlement of their territories an intrusion (Clifton, 1977).<sup>528</sup> Although sovereignty over the western territories would ultimately be decided by the outcome of the American Revolution, in the interim the, Anishnabe would become involved in several altercations with the British, bring about a pantribal movement to assert sovereignty over their own lands, and become involved in military engagements that would result in a sustained period of confrontation for over thirty years (Clifton, 1977).<sup>529</sup>

Settlement of Anishnabe altercations would come from a series of treaty agreements designed to bring peace and friendship, while nonetheless divesting the right to Tribal territories in the American government. In the first of these agreements, the Treaty of Fort Stanwix of 1784 (7 Stat. 15), the Five Iroquois Nation ceded the right to all Indian lands in the Ohio Valley, Pennsylvania and parts of New

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<sup>525</sup> Ibid.

<sup>526</sup> Ibid.

<sup>527</sup> Ibid.

<sup>528</sup> Ibid at 135.

<sup>529</sup> Ibid at 131-137.

York At the 1785 Treaty of Fort McIntosh (7 Stat. 16), the Ojibwa, Odawa, Delaware and Wyandot granted to the United States their lands in Ohio, reserving only small tracts for their continued occupancy (Clifton, 1977).<sup>530</sup>

Alarmed by the progressive American interest in the removal of Indian ownership of aboriginal lands, the Great Lakes tribes came together in Detroit and with British assistance sought to determine a unified course of action to resist the American pressure to convey their tribal territories. The immediate tribal response was to initiate a series of raids against American settlements which were promptly retaliated (Clifton, 1977).<sup>531</sup> While the Western Confederacy was in disagreement and unable to decide for or against war, the Americans brought the tribes together at Fort Harmer in 1789 to reaffirm the terms of the two previous treaties with the Anishnabe. Most of the signatories present, who had an interest in the lands negotiated, were either unwilling or unofficial representatives of the tribes involved; and thus this treaty accomplished little in the settlement of the land disputes (Clifton, 1977).<sup>532</sup>

Better organized in 1789, the Western Confederacy attacked American settlements in Kentucky and Ohio. Great Britain attempted to secure peace using diplomatic resolutions that would create an Indian buffer state; but the American government rejected the proposal. Employing a dual strategy to continue retaliatory raids against tribal villages, the Americans simultaneously offered the tribes

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<sup>530</sup> Ibid at 141.

<sup>531</sup> Ibid.

<sup>532</sup> Ibid at 142.

negotiations for peace. The British, in turn, offered greater military assistance for the pantribal effort, and confided that war with the U.S. was imminent (Clifton, 1977).<sup>533</sup> However, this support would not be forthcoming, which would significantly affect the ability of the tribes to overcome the American army. Rebuffing attempts to negotiate peace, the Western Confederacy amassed over 2000 warriors on the Maunee River, five miles from the British Fort Miami, where they would meet and be defeated by General Anthony Wayne and a force of over 3500 American infantry and cavalry. In the Battle of Fallen Timbers and Fort Miami, the Western Confederacy learned that neither the British promise of support, nor their own membership could be counted on to sustain war against the Americans. Thereafter, they would also soon understand the power of the new American government to dictate the terms of peace on the American frontier (Clifton, 1977).<sup>534</sup>

At the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, (7 Stat.49) the purpose of negotiations was to create a fair settlement that would ease tensions on the frontier; promise the tribes free and exclusive use of all lands in the area not specifically ceded to America; and reserve in the United States the sole right to purchase Indian lands in the future (Clifton, 1984).<sup>535</sup> In the interim, the Jay Treaty of 1796 between the U.S. and Great Britain negotiated a peaceful settlement between the two colonial powers that established their separate spheres of sovereignty on the continent, thus abandoning the Western Confederacy effort to assert jurisdiction over their own land (Clifton, 1984).<sup>536</sup> Under the terms of the Greenville Treaty, the Ojibwa, Odawa, Potawatomi

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<sup>533</sup> Ibid.

<sup>534</sup> Ibid at 146.

<sup>535</sup> Clifton, 1984, at 34.

<sup>536</sup> Ibid.

and other Western Confederates sold their tenure right to all of Ohio and parts of Indiana; and they also agreed that all former land grants to France and England would henceforth be American territory. Thereafter, Greenville Treaty would stand as a paradigm agreement, in both language and import, that would govern all future relations between the U.S. and the three Anishnabe tribes over the next forty-two years (Clifton, 1977).<sup>537</sup>

In a series of subsequent treaties, the Western Confederacy would relinquish parts of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan (Clifton, 1984).<sup>538</sup> In the Michigan territory, the need for dispossession of Indian lands had become an imperative for the statehood initiative. Its geographic location, surrounded by four of the largest bodies of fresh water--Lakes Erie, Huron, Michigan, and Superior--promised the country the longest navigable shoreline of any U.S. territory. The availability of fresh water accessible at every location in the state from rivers, bays and smaller tributaries was also influential in the U.S. desire to obtain Michigan (Warner, 1974).<sup>539</sup>

The bays and rivers which had served the early French settlements as important transportation routes, first for furs and then for the timber industry, held the potential to similarly provide the Americans with sufficient water transportation of goods to the east and south (Warner, 1974).<sup>540</sup> Michigan's favorable climate was

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<sup>537</sup> Ibid at 35.

<sup>538</sup> Ibid.

<sup>539</sup> Warner, Robert M. (1974), Economic and Historical Report on Royce Area 111, *Chippewa Indians V*, Garland Publishing, Inc., New York, 1974, at 148.

<sup>540</sup> Ibid at 150.

moderated by the lakes and westerly winds, which cause milder winters and cooler summers; and the amount of rainfall made the southern Michigan growing season very conducive to developing the type of subsistence farming and gathering which supported the Anishnabe traditional economy for years (Warner, 1974).<sup>541</sup> Furthermore, most of Michigan's soil was first and second class farmland (Warner, 1974),<sup>542</sup> which had potential to produce a variety of grains, vegetables, fruits and adequately support any number of livestock (Warner, 1974).<sup>543</sup>

The territory's rich mineral deposits were known to hold copper, salt, petroleum, natural gas and several other elements which would be available for development by the American industrial interests (Warner, 1974).<sup>544</sup>

In the 1819 Treaty with the Chippewa, the Ojibwa tribe ceded six million acres, approximately one-third of the area in the lower peninsula of Michigan (Warner, 1974).<sup>545</sup> Each competing sovereign which had cohabited the Michigan territory with the Anishnabe were well aware of its value. In 1718, M. De Sabrevois, a French Jesuit, had observed and reported the abundance of crops raised by the Ojibwa, and noted the fertility of the land and its potential as an agricultural region (Warner, 1974).<sup>546</sup> Major de Peyster, Commandant of the Mackinac Post, had

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<sup>541</sup> Ibid at 151.

<sup>542</sup> Ibid at 159.

<sup>543</sup> Ibid at 161.

<sup>544</sup> Warner, 1974, at 161.

<sup>545</sup> Ibid at 139.

<sup>546</sup> Ibid at 168.



recognized the agricultural value in his report that detailed the six hundred bushels of corn raised by the Ojibwa in the Michigan territory in 1721 (Warner, 1974).<sup>547</sup>

To assist in the population of the aspiring state, Lewis Cass, Michigan's territorial governor, had used the press to influence white settlement of the area by providing favorable land descriptions and discussing its agricultural successes (Warner, 1974).<sup>548</sup> Lewis Cass, had used his position as a treaty commissioner to encourage the purchase of the area from the Ojibwa in 1819. Schoolcraft, whose exploration of the Mississippi headwaters had informed the U.S. of the potential value of the land, later served as the Indian agent and also supported the American decision to purchase Ojibwa lands (Warner, 1974).<sup>549</sup>

Ironically, it would subsequently be Schoolcraft's (1851) publications that would call to the attention of the American public the devastating effect of white settlement, dispossession and relocation of the Ojibwa people. He would also forewarn the American government of potential Native conflict arising from the deprivation they suffered from loss of their subsistence areas and relocation (Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>550</sup>

As the intensity of white migration increased commensurate with the diminution of tribally occupied territories, areas of nomadic habitat where the Anishnabe could engage in subsistence activities were systematically withdrawn

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<sup>547</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>548</sup> *Ibid* at 173.

<sup>549</sup> *Ibid* at 192.

<sup>550</sup> Schoolcraft (1851) at 364.

(Schoolcraft, 1851).<sup>551</sup> Each successive treaty had brought greater restrictions and thus asserted enormous hardships upon the life of the hunters in their ability to care for themselves. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, greater numbers of tribal people would become successively dependent upon the annuity payments from land cessions; government rations; and goods derived from the sale of pelts in the dwindling fur trade.

Using the treaty system to remove Indian lands from the various northwestern tribes, the United States embarked upon a program of divestiture that first established in the Indian group "recognized title" to a particular region described in the terms of the agreement. Once the right of transfer was established by the European concept of "recognized title," the Indian tribes would then cede the particular area to the U.S., which would, in turn, reserve portions of these lands for Indian use and occupancy (Clifton, 1992).<sup>552</sup> The boundaries of the separate tracts were left undefined until subsequent negotiations. The parcels were secured in the tribe with full beneficial interest in land title, and protected as private property under the Fifth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution (Clifton, 1992).<sup>553</sup>

In the treaty settlements, the practice of awarding separate individual land grants to chiefs, influential negotiators and members of the Metis culture (mixed-blood groups) was common. Many agreements provided for the Metis populations, terming them "Indians by descent," which recognized their status as the children of

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<sup>551</sup> Ibid at 367.

<sup>552</sup> Clifton, James A. (1992), *The Saganaw Chippewa and the Isabella Reservation--A Research Report*, Ethnohistory Associates, Kalamazoo, Michigan, at 11.

<sup>553</sup> Ibid at 12.

French or Anglo fathers and Chippewa mothers (Clifton, 1992).<sup>554</sup> As a mixed-blood, they would receive Half-breed Scripts, which served to repay them for the lands relinquished under the agreement (Wub-E-Ke-Niew, 1995).<sup>555</sup>

The Metis were considered indispensable to the diminution of Ojibwa lands, which would not have occurred but for their participation in treaty negotiations. Within the traditional philosophy, the Anishnaabe regarded their land and forests as an integral part of their identity. The Anishnaabe maintained a spiritual relationship with specific places where the clans had sustained their communal lives by tapping the sugarbush; harvesting and processing mahnomen (wild rice), fishing, hunting, gardening, and gathering foods and medicines (Wub-E-Ke-Niew, 1995).<sup>556</sup> Thus, the land was inextricably constituted as an element of their spiritual beliefs and philosophy of life, which was characterized as an existence of interconnected spheres in harmony with one another. To the traditional Anishnaabe, selling the land would have been tantamount to selling one's identity, one's relations, and the burial ground of one's ancestors. Wub-E-Ke-Niew (1995) infers that to overcome this immutable system of beliefs, the U.S. government expedited treaty negotiations by dealing with *their "Chippewa" subjects*, whom they had created through the colonization process (Wub-E-Ke-Niew, 1995).<sup>557</sup>

In most instances, the agreements reserved the right for Indians to hunt on ceded lands while the property retained its public status. However, the Indian

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<sup>554</sup> Ibid at 14.

<sup>555</sup> Wub-E-Ke-Niew, 1995, at 51.

<sup>556</sup> Ibid at 3-4.

<sup>557</sup> Ibid at 34-35.

usufruct (use) right would terminate once the land was later sold for white settlement by the government, causing difficult problems for families attempting to survive in the subsistence cycle (Clifton, 1992).<sup>558</sup> The treaty mechanism served the dual purpose of divesting title to Indian lands in the United States, while bringing the Indian tribes into the jurisdiction of the federal government on the lands reserved for their occupation. Once the land cession was made and the subsequent reservation set aside area transferred to the Indian group, the tribes were thereafter considered under the governance and control of the United States. The treaty also reserved for the U.S. government, the exclusive right to purchase any and all Indian lands in the future (Clifton, 1992).<sup>559</sup>

Once the Indian Removal Act of 1830 was passed, policies of geographic separatism stipulated that all eastern Indian tribes preferring to hold onto their lands in common would be required to relocate west of the Mississippi to the Kansas and Oklahoma territories (Clifton, 1992).<sup>560</sup> Those tribes choosing to remain in the Michigan territories would receive lands as individuals or family groups; and this land would eventually be subject to state jurisdiction once Michigan achieved statehood. To that end, the Michigan tribes were approached, and proposals issued for the sale of all remaining lands recognized to have Indian title under the earlier agreements, but which had not yet been ceded under the terms to the United States (Clifton, 1992).<sup>561</sup> Although the tribes still in possession of lands designated with Indian title entertained protracted negotiations, made preliminary agreements on

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<sup>558</sup> Clifton, 1992, at 15.

<sup>559</sup> Ibid at 16.

<sup>560</sup> Ibid at 17.

<sup>561</sup> Ibid.

treaty terms, and even traveled to the relocation sites, they were not prepared to accept the terms of removal. Instead, many representatives sought to remain in Michigan on the lands of other tribes in regions not quite as desirable as the areas under discussion (Clifton, 1992).<sup>562</sup>

By 1855, national policies toward the Indian populations began to rapidly change in response to the U.S. purchase of the Pacific northwest. As the settlement of the western areas escalated, there was even greater concern for where the Indian populations might find a suitable refuge to accommodate a mutli-tribal territory (Clifton, 1992).<sup>563</sup> It was apparent that requiring the Indian resettlement would not accomplish the detribalization sought, nor the integration of Anishnabe individuals into the American public with the ability to care for themselves (Clifton, 1992).<sup>564</sup>

Policies more consistent with the national interest of merging Indians into the mainstream, under state governance, in areas close to their aboriginal holdings seemed a logical alternative to what otherwise might be extinction (Clifton, 1992).<sup>565</sup> Thus, rather than relocation, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, George Manypenny, chose initiatives that would be characterized by the following elements: the detribalization of Indian groups; the elimination of "reservations" owned in common; and the enfranchisement of Indians as freeholder landowners to make them productive, self-supporting citizens (Clifton, 1992).<sup>566</sup> These new strategies would

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<sup>562</sup> Ibid at 32.

<sup>563</sup> Ibid at 35.

<sup>564</sup> Ibid.

<sup>565</sup> Ibid at 33, 34.

<sup>566</sup> Ibid at 35.

require the transformation of Indians into American citizens, with a cultural orientation that valued individualized land ownership; a productive work ethic; the maintenance of households; an education; the acquisition of technical skills and job preparation; and an integral nuclear family life (Clifton, 1992).<sup>567</sup>

In order to inculcate this new ideology, it was thought the assimilation process could be enhanced through the participation of missionary agencies, the introduction of wage labor employment and the education of Indian children, all of which would be assisted through the cooperation of U.S. government action (Danziger, 1978).<sup>568</sup>

#### *Acculturation Process - Missionaries*

When the French established trade relations with the Chippewa (Ojibwa) and lived among the village populations, the tribes experienced sociological changes in response to bicultural differences and bilingual exposure. The Frenchmen intermarried with Ojibwa women, creating a new mixed-blood race of Metis children that were neither exclusively Ojibwa nor French (Widder, 1999).<sup>569</sup>

Considered non-status members of the Anishnabe groups (because they had no patrilineal heritage), the Metis would identify with both the French and Indian societies (Widder, 1999).<sup>570</sup> However, they were nonetheless shunned by the white

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<sup>567</sup> Ibid at 46.

<sup>568</sup> Danziger, 1978, at 93.

<sup>569</sup> Widder, Keith R., (1999), *Battle For the Soul, Metis Children Encounter Evangelical Protestants at Mackinaw Mission, 1823-1837*, Michigan University Press, East Lansing, Michigan, 1999, at xiii.

<sup>570</sup> Ibid at xix.

populations, whose ethnocentrist views could find little to appreciate in the savage way of life of the Indian people (Widder, 1999).<sup>571</sup>

To administer to French Catholic soldiers, traders and government representatives in the interior reaches, Jesuit missionaries followed the Frenchmen inland to bring the gospel, establish missions and, if possible, convert the pagan Indians to Christianity (McClurkin, 1991).<sup>572</sup> While living among the Indian groups, missionaries provided the villages with various types of practical support, assisting the converted Odawa to clear land, plant fields, lending tools, and even giving the tribes domestic animals (McClurkin, 1992).<sup>573</sup>

Priests erected missions, offered mass, assisted in caring for the sick and, where possible, established schools to teach religion to the children. For the most part, the Metis families allowed the baptism of their children into the Christian faith, having at least one parent who was currently a member of the Catholic Church (Widder, 1999).<sup>574</sup> It was also the Metis children who were the first to be sent to the mission schools to learn the white culture and become fluent bilingual speakers, having only learned the Ojibwa language as children (Widder, 1999).<sup>575</sup>

The Metis were purposefully educated to become the new generation of middlemen in the fur trade; learning how to read, write and keep accounts. As

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<sup>571</sup> *Ibid* at xx.

<sup>572</sup> McClurkin, 1991, at 18.

<sup>573</sup> *Ibid* at 19.

<sup>574</sup> Widder, 1999, at xviii.

<sup>575</sup> *Ibid* at xix.

brokers in the fur trade, the Metis moved freely among the Odawa and Ojibwa communities. In adulthood, the Metis children would be able to function in both cultures, serving as transitional agents, establishing church communities, developing schools, and participating in official meetings with Michigan territorial, state and U.S. representatives (Widder, 1999).<sup>576</sup>

The transition of the Anishnabe culture occurred over an extended period of more than one hundred and fifty years. The introduction of new technologies, economies, and ideologies were slowly integrated to alter individual beliefs and behaviors (Widder, 1999).<sup>577</sup> While new technologies were more readily accepted and adapted to the old ways of life among the Anishnabe, different ideologies and adjustments to their collective worldview required more active engagement by the recipient in the acculturation process (Widder, 1999).<sup>578</sup>

Adjusting the character and condition of daily life among the Anishnabe meant the semi-nomadic communal culture would have to adapt to a sedentary lifestyle of permanent residency. Indian communities would have to be provided with agricultural equipment, blacksmith services, livestock, seeds and gristmills to maintain the increasingly dependent Indian populations (Danziger, 1978).<sup>579</sup> It was not that the Anishnabe lacked the skills to produce sufficient horticultural commodities. In particular, the Ojibwa and Odawa were known for their ability to adequately support large clan communities, growing tons of corn, gathering wild

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<sup>576</sup> Ibid.

<sup>577</sup> Ibid at xxii.

<sup>578</sup> Ibid.

<sup>579</sup> Danziger, 1978, at 81.



plant foods such as rice, hunting for meats and seasonal fishing. Furthermore, the Anishnabe had developed technology skills to manufacture and trade essential equipment such as snowshoes, canoes, traps and fishing nets (McClurkin, 1996).<sup>580</sup>

What was now different for the Anishnabe in the mid-eighteenth century, was their ever-increasing dependence on resources outside the traditional economy. The exhaustion of the fur trade had left many groups dependent upon annuity subsidies to purchase daily necessities, which in turn replaced traditionally manufactured goods. From life in a communal society, where work was evenly shared and products equitably distributed, the progression to an individualized labor economy necessitated the infusion of massive financial support from the U.S. government. To bolster diminishing or extinguished annuities that had previously been the source of cash to purchase food, seeds, guns and ammunition, the government now substituted agrarian training, supplies and rations to develop the Anishnabe farmer. Through education and Christian conversion, it was believed they would be assimilated into the body politic of the developing American union (Danziger, 1978).<sup>581</sup>

However by 1875, large numbers of European immigrants had surrounded the Native communities, which had been set aside with individual possessory rights. Title to much of this land had passed into European ownership. No longer receiving annuities, dispossessed of what land grants had been issued, and having little cash and even less technical skills to succeed, the Indian farmers were unable to compete in the

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<sup>580</sup> McClurkin, James M. (1996), *Wage Labor in Michigan Ottawa Communities, Native Americans and Wage Labor*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma (1996).

<sup>581</sup> Danziger, 1978, at 81.

Michigan economy (McClurkin, 1996).<sup>582</sup> Of necessity, the Ojibwa had to continue a life of dependency upon U. S. rations and financial support to bridge the lean periods. The short growing season and colder climate adversely affected the crops they were able to produce in the northern regions. Where corn and wheat were successfully grown, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) could offer no assistance in transporting, milling or marketing the Indian crops (Danziger, 1978).<sup>583</sup>

As an alternative, and in conjunction with farming, harvesting of timber on the treaty allotments offered new potential sources of income generation that had the possibility of replacing the annuity incomes which by now were no longer available. In that pursuit, the BIA approved the allottee's right to sell 80 acres of timber. Lakes and river waterways were available to store and transport the cut timber to the mills, and railroad development would soon connect the timber suppliers with new markets for wood among the Midwest settlements (Danziger, 1978).<sup>584</sup>

For the Odawa, whose attempt to retain traditional subsistence migration had kept them from the allotment communities, returning often meant finding their "abandoned" home transferred to new owners by the lenders who maintained a secured interest in their land as collateral for agricultural loans (McClurkin, 1996).<sup>585</sup> Among the Odawa, wage employment would develop in the 1880s, when entire families migrated along the coastal orchards to pick fruits and vegetables for local farmers. They would also engage in gathering wild fruits much as they had during

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<sup>582</sup> McClurkin, 1996, at 68.

<sup>583</sup> Danziger, 1978, at 97.

<sup>584</sup> Ibid, at 100.

<sup>585</sup> McClurkin, 1996, at 76.

the seasonal subsistence periods, only now, these commodities would be sold to local growers as a cash crop (McClurkin, 1996).<sup>586</sup>

For both the Odawa and the Ojibwa, the lumber industry would open an important opportunity to participate in wage labor employment and, in some circumstances, receive income from the sale of timber (McClurkin, 1996; Danziger, 1978).<sup>587</sup> Subject to the restrictions of the General Allotment Act passed in 1887, under which the Anishnabe remaining in Michigan had received individual lands in severalty, the BIA would allow the harvesting of timber on the separate allotments under the direction and control of the government. Timber contractors bid on contracts to remove Indian timber, and would hire Native workers whenever possible (Danziger, 1978).<sup>588</sup>

However beneficial as an employment opportunity, the timber industry quickly adopted mechanisms to exploit the plentiful timber resource and provided little compensation to the Indian landowner. Costs associated with the establishment of camps, road construction and animals were charged against the income derived from the sale (Danziger, 1978).<sup>589</sup> It was also disadvantageous for the Odawa lumberman, whose participation meant uprooting families to travel to the timber source where Indian wives cooked and washed clothes for the timber crews (McClurkin, 1996).<sup>590</sup> Up through the early twentieth century, when the timber

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<sup>586</sup> *Ibid* at 77.

<sup>587</sup> McClurkin, 1996, at 78; Danziger, 1978, at 101.

<sup>588</sup> Danziger, 1996, at 101.

<sup>589</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>590</sup> McClurkin, 1996, at 78.

industry had finally been depleted, this wage labor income source would be utilized by the Little River Odawa, who would continue to practice a mobile existence, always returning to their traditional communities and culture, isolated from civilization (McClurkin, 1996).<sup>591</sup>

For the Ojibwa, participating in the timber industry brought many lifestyle changes. When wages were squandered on whiskey or gambling, the BIA directed that the moneys be spent on home improvement, to build homes and plant crops (Danziger, 1978).<sup>592</sup> For a time, this meant that conditions of Indian communities would improve among the Ojibwa as they constructed comfortable homes, and bought farm machinery to begin farming. However, their dependence upon the logging industry created a fiscal vulnerability that was contingent upon the Bureau's continued engagement in the harvesting of timber. When this economic activity was abruptly suspended, the Ojibwa were again destitute, and had to rely upon government appropriations to survive (Danziger, 1978).<sup>593</sup>

At the turn of the century, the Ojibwa became more involved in farming, built more permanent housing, but their standard of living was still abysmally poor. Two and three Ojibwa families were crowded into small cabins, with the most primitive of conditions. Great numbers of Ojibwa were ill with tuberculosis, which had rapidly spread through the communities. The breakdown of traditional life, which for so long had preserved their health and independence with self-sustaining food supplies

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<sup>591</sup> Ibid.

<sup>592</sup> Danziger, 1978, at 101.

<sup>593</sup> Ibid at 102.

through family collectives, had all but disappeared. The beliefs and values that maintained cultural attitudes of respect for age, healthy living, caring for the sick, and communal support had begun to crumble. With the proliferation of serious disease, less faith was placed in traditional medicine, and more individuals sought treatment from white doctors (Danziger, 1978).<sup>594</sup>

To ensure progression toward a civilized Indian populace, the government was aware that education was an essential strategy. Up to the 1890s, educational provisions had been the responsibility of religious agencies. Funded by the religious orders, Catholic school development had begun as early as 1833 with the initiation of a mission school in Harbor Springs. By 1855, the Society of St. Frances had opened an orphanage where they would educate and care for Odawa children (McClurkin, 1992).<sup>595</sup>

Within each of the Indian communities there were significant Metis populations to support the growing Catholic Church communities (Widder, 1999).<sup>596</sup> In the early years of Catholic influence, the Ojibwa religions had shared an equal place in the worldview of the Metis child (Widder, 1999).<sup>597</sup> Sons learned traditional hunting and defensive skills; and girls remained home, speaking only Ojibwa. Despite baptism, Ojibwa Catholics maintained their beliefs in the Manitos, fearing the power of the sorcerer and remaining strongly associated with the precepts of the

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<sup>594</sup> Ibid at 105.

<sup>595</sup> McClurkin, 1992, at 21.

<sup>596</sup> Widder, 1999, at 8, 15.

<sup>597</sup> Ibid at 16.

Midewinwin Society to maintain good health, and remain at peace with the spirit world (Widder, 1999).<sup>598</sup>

During the resurgence of Catholicism among the Odawa, controversy engulfed the community and engendered resistance among traditionalists. The priests demanded the Odawa relinquish traditional ceremonies, tobacco offerings to Manitou, and the practice of feeding the dead (McClurkin, 1992).<sup>599</sup> They forced converts to burn the symbols of Odawa medicine; made males cut their traditional hair, remove earrings and other emblems of prestige associated with leadership. For some traditionalists, these demands were repugnant, and drove them from continued participation in the Church (McClurkin, 1992).<sup>600</sup>

Once Michigan became a state in 1837, the United States interest in the Americanization of its Indian population had increased. The Civilization Fund, which had been inaugurated by Congress in 1819, channeled money to benevolent organizations to educate Indian children and to teach agricultural skills and American values (Widder, 1999).<sup>601</sup> Waves of evangelical missionaries that swept through Mackinac brought Protestant values and beliefs among the Ojibwa. Life in small communities, where the men farmed and women tended children and household, coincided with the aspirations of the government for a civilized Indian population that would assist in ending the nomadic migrations and prompt the establishment of permanent households.

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<sup>598</sup> Ibid at 17.

<sup>599</sup> McClurkin, 1992, at 19.

<sup>600</sup> Ibid at 20.

<sup>601</sup> Widder, at 30.

The evangelical movement that focused on establishing schools to educate Indian children in "Christianity" and the "art of civilized life" gained the support of Missionary Societies in the east. In 1830, forty men and women sponsored by the United Foreign Ministry Society arrived at the Mackinac Mission (Widder, 1999).<sup>602</sup> In choosing these individuals, the American Board, which was comprised of Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Dutch Reformers, had sought individuals with teaching and administrative experience in an educational setting (Widder, 1999).<sup>603</sup>

As federal policies threatened the Michigan Indians with removal, the clergy steadfastly held to the belief that assimilation was the only logical solution to the continued survival of Indians as a group. The evangelicals were committed to hastening the assimilation process to prevent the Indian's extinction, but like the Catholic priests, maintained that Indians should relinquish traditional beliefs, manners and customs in order to embrace Christianity, and thus merge with the American society (Widder, 1999).<sup>604</sup>

By the late 1880s, government funded boarding schools were being developed to assist in the implementation of U.S. policies. Their goal was to remove Indian children from the nomadic lifestyle (which continued to depopulate whatever educational institutions were developed), and which many Anishnabe families were struggling to maintain despite the increasing enclosure of individual land grants received under treaty provisions (Danziger, 1978).<sup>605</sup> These boarding schools would

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<sup>602</sup> Ibid at 31-32.

<sup>603</sup> Ibid at 40.

<sup>604</sup> Ibid at 42.

<sup>605</sup> Danziger, 1978, at 106.

span several years and profoundly affect Indian children and families for generations thereafter (Child, 1995).<sup>606</sup>

Parents would offer little resistance in spite of misgivings and fear of losing their children. Impoverished and lacking the ability to be self-sufficient in the seasonal economy, many landless families clustered together in disease-ridden cabins, with little to eat, living in filth and stench. Among the Ojibwa in the early twentieth century, tuberculosis had now replaced smallpox as the most prevalent health threat, and would quickly reach epidemic proportions within these populations. One in every twenty persons was estimated to be infected with the disease (Danziger, 1978).<sup>607</sup>

Unsanitary conditions, coupled with poor diet and sexual promiscuity, swiftly spread other diseases throughout the populations. At the turn of the century, hereditary syphilis killed nearly one-fifth of all Ojibwa children before they reached the age of six months (Danziger, 1978);<sup>608</sup> and other endemic diseases within the Ojibwa communities such as gonorrhea and trachoma continued to affect children (Child, 1995).<sup>609</sup> The Indian Service was unable to address communicable diseases due to insufficient facilities and inadequately trained health care personnel. Individuals could refuse to be vaccinated, and the Service had no mechanism to identify nor require their compliance with preventative health programs (Danziger,

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<sup>606</sup> Child, Brenda (1995), *Boarding School Seasons, American Indian Families 1900-1940*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1995, at 8.

<sup>607</sup> Danziger, 1978, at 120.

<sup>608</sup> Ibid.

<sup>609</sup> Child, 1995, at 12.



1978).<sup>610</sup> As diseases ravaged communities, the previous traditional practice of rearing orphaned children in the homes of extended families was inadequate to accommodate the number of children left homeless from death and protracted illness (Child, 1995).<sup>611</sup>

After the federal compulsory education law for Native children passed Congress in 1891, the federal government used coercion by withholding family rations and annuities to force parental cooperation to send Native children to government schools. Schools were always located far from the Indian communities. Once the child entered the boarding school system, most rarely were ever returned home, especially where the parents were indigent and unable to afford the cost of transportation for their child's passage. Proponents of assimilation found the separation helpful in completing the goals of transitioning the child from the Indian culture to an Americanized system of values and beliefs (Child, 1995).<sup>612</sup> When Ojibwa parents resisted, children were hunted down by the federal truant officers or tribal police and returned to the boarding schools (Child, 1995).<sup>613</sup>

The education received was intended to prepare Indian children for wage labor employment, thus the curriculum focused on vocational and domestic skills. Expectations were low, teachers disdainful of tribal beliefs and the use of the Native languages. Children were ill cared for by residential staff and quickly became ill. Nonetheless, the use of boarding schools proliferated in the 1930s among the Ojibwa

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<sup>610</sup> Danziger, 1978, at 120.

<sup>611</sup> Child, 1995, at 12.

<sup>612</sup> *Ibid* at 13.

<sup>613</sup> *Ibid*.

due to the entrenched poverty enveloping the Indian communities, and the concomitant economic depression affecting America as a whole (Child, 1995).<sup>614</sup> Poverty intensified by the problem of alcoholism, which had engulfed Indian communities from Grand Portage to Keweenaw Bay, threatened the complete degeneration of community systems (Danziger, 1978).<sup>615</sup> The whiskey trafficking among the Ojibwa proliferated despite laws prohibiting the sale of alcohol to Indians (Danziger, 1978).<sup>616</sup>

Death and disease had left many men and women single parents, unable to support families, and bereft of childcare alternatives (Child, 1995).<sup>617</sup> Trying to provide for families, many single mothers migrated to urban areas looking for employment, and enrolled their children in boarding schools as a substitute for the extended family childcare support they had left within the Indian communities (Child, 1995).<sup>618</sup>

Indian children went to three types of schools--mission day schools, boarding schools, and public schools. During the Depression, sending children to boarding schools was the only option in some impoverished communities which were unable to support neighborhood public schools (Danziger, 1978).<sup>619</sup> Racism in public schools drove many Ojibwa parents to choose the boarding school initiatives as well. Even though the boarding school policies had little appreciation for the Ojibwa culture,

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<sup>614</sup> Ibid.

<sup>615</sup> Danziger, 1978, at 121.

<sup>616</sup> Ibid at 122-23.

<sup>617</sup> Child, 1995, at 15.

<sup>618</sup> Ibid at 20.

<sup>619</sup> Danziger, 1978, at 125.

peer acceptance in the inter-tribal atmosphere at the very least gave their child relief from the racism of white attitudes among the children in public schools (Child, 1995).<sup>620</sup>

Restrictive government policies in the boarding schools forbade the speaking of Indian languages and curtailed home visits to assist in the assimilation efforts. The boarding schools implemented inordinately harsh disciplinary practices, which caused Ojibwa parents grave concern. School officials were openly hostile to the use of Indian names and adopted the practice of renaming Indian children, which was particularly abhorrent to the traditional Ojibwa parent. Names such as "Bear Looks Back," "Runs Close to the Village," "Puts on His Shoes" were labeled by school administrators as a handicap and embarrassment to the Ojibwa child. This traditionally symbolic clan, tribal and religious identity, which had sustained centuries of cultural importance, was obliterated by institutional policies which would radically change the child's self-image in the interest of Americanization. Ojibwa parents angered by the boarding school's attempts to eradicate traditional beliefs protested through correspondence, which was largely ignored by school officials (Child, 1995).<sup>621</sup>

Among the Michigan Anishnabe, the Mount Pleasant Indian School was established in 1893. To that time, Catholic Schools in Michigan had boarded Indian students since their inception in 1829. With increased government funding, the

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<sup>620</sup> Child, 1995, at 25.

<sup>621</sup> Ibid at 30.

Franciscan Missionaries expanded their facilities to increase the number of Indian children in their educational programs across the state. Simultaneous to this development, the BIA established the Mount Pleasant Boarding School to provide Indian children vocational education that would prepare them for the labor force. Those children living in proximity to the school were allowed to attend daily sessions, but those from distant locations would stay for periods as long as eight years. During the educational experience, children participated in a "outing" program, which placed them in households and on local farms, where they would perform domestic duties and farm labor. The school was operated under the same military regimen as other government boarding schools, and children were expected to perform all of the chores associated with the institutional operation. Class time was held during the morning hours only, and children occupied the remainder of the day completing domestic duties and farm labor to support the institutional environment (McClurkin, 1991).<sup>622</sup>

Discipline was administered to those students who refused to obey institutional rules, which included the revocation of privileges, extra chores and whippings. English was the only language allowed, and when children regressed into using their Anishnabe tongue, they would be beaten (McClurkin, 1991).<sup>623</sup>

Separation from the communities was essential in order to effectuate the desired assimilation as quickly as possible, and children were deprived of attending traditional ceremonies, feast celebrations, and learning the history and stories

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<sup>622</sup> McClurkin, 1991, at 35.

<sup>623</sup> McClurkin, 1991, at 36.

associated with the traditional beliefs and moral values. However, it was common for children of a particular tribal community to retain their heritage by using the language and discussing their culture in secret (McClurkin, 1991).<sup>624</sup>

In spring of 1926, the BIA working with the Institute for Government Research, initiated an investigation into the economic and social conditions existent within the American Indian communities. Lewis Meriam began inquiry into the legal aspects of Indian problems, economic conditions, Indian migrants to urban centers, Indian Health, family life, education and agricultural development. A nine-member team of Indian specialists met with Indian Superintendents, traders, Indians, and missionaries; and examined government records, health facilities, schools, native homes, and off-reservation communities in which Indian populations had been integrated. When the investigation was complete in 1928, the Meriam Report revealed the extreme poverty and degenerative social and economic conditions prevalent within the Indian populations. Specifically, the report detailed that Indian agencies were inefficient, staff inadequate and underpaid; the allotment policies were unsuccessful because individual ownership had resulted in the sale of Indian land to non-Native; land remaining in their possession was unused for agricultural purposes; the allotments were too small to generate sufficient income; economically Indian incomes were well below poverty levels which in turn led to impoverished standards of living, and poor health (Danziger, 1978).<sup>625</sup>

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<sup>624</sup> Ibid.

<sup>625</sup> Danziger, 1978, at 129-30.

Most important to Indian education, the U.S. government investigation publicized the inadequacies of boarding school operations, which demonstrated insufficient resources (a government expenditure of only 11 cents per day for food allowances per student); poor nutritional diets; and severely underweight children (Child, 1995).<sup>626</sup> The report also revealed that serious widespread infectious diseases such as tuberculosis and trachoma was rampant among student populations (Child, 1995).<sup>627</sup> There was insufficient educational opportunity where children spent long hours laboring in the school farm and garden daily, with only small amounts of the produce ever reaching the meals or access of students (Child, 1995).<sup>628</sup> Classrooms had poor lighting, insufficient ventilation and lacked sanitary facilities such as bathrooms (Child, 1995).<sup>629</sup> Residential housing accommodations were grossly overcrowded, under-heated, and served as breeding grounds for the spread of disease (Child, 1995).<sup>630</sup> Difficult children were beaten, and incarcerated in cell-like structures, using military-like tactics to break student's will, and mail to and from the students was routinely screened and censored (Child, 1995).<sup>631</sup>

The separation policy that had been essential to facilitate assimilation, had wrought devastating results to family integrity. Children suffered from profound homesickness, but had been prevented from returning for home visits due to distance and lack of funds for travel. The Ojibwa, which had the second largest enrollment of Indian children in the Haskell Boarding School in Kansas, were unable to freely

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<sup>626</sup> Child, 1995, at 32.

<sup>627</sup> *Ibid* at 34.

<sup>628</sup> *Ibid* at 35.

<sup>629</sup> *Ibid* at 36.

<sup>630</sup> *Ibid* at 37-38.

<sup>631</sup> *Ibid* at 39.

return for home. Parents were required to request permission of the school administration for student visits, which were often unreasonably denied. Only in cases of extreme hardship (such as a death) were children allowed to go home, and only after parents had enlisted the assistance of family members, tribal officials and the boarding school superintendent (Child, 1995).<sup>632</sup> Parents were required to cover the cost of bringing the child home, and often made to pay for their transportation in advance of the child's entering the school. Even where transportation funds had been made available, schools routinely refused to send children home at the end of the enrollment term (Child, 1995).<sup>633</sup>

The worst consequence associated with the boarding school operations were the unaccounted number of child deaths resulting from serious illness and injury. Childhood diseases such as measles, mumps, influenza and even meningitis flourished among the Ojibwa schools (Child, 1995).<sup>634</sup> Although Indian Service physicians identified trachoma as the second most health risk for Native people nationally, boarding schools were still not using sanitary measures to prevent Indian students from contracting trachoma. Diseases spread through the use of communal towels, pencils, soap, washbasins, and even bath water, which had been identified as agents of contagion, remained in use despite Indian Service physician warnings; as did sleeping arrangements that placed sick children in close proximity to one another in the crowded dormitories (Child, 1995).<sup>635</sup>

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<sup>632</sup> Ibid at 41.

<sup>633</sup> Ibid at 51.

<sup>634</sup> Ibid at 55.

<sup>635</sup> Ibid at 56, 58.

Children afflicted with tuberculosis were given little special care to receive enriched diets or rest, and many children were simply sent home to die. Parents were kept uninformed of their child's condition, and when the schools did acknowledge health problems to parents, they often shifted the blame to the families citing a predisposition for tuberculosis due to heredity, climatic or home conditions of the child prior to entering school (Child, 1995).<sup>636</sup>

As parents became increasingly concerned for the health of their child, they refused to return them to the disease ridden environments (Child, 1995).<sup>637</sup> However, many would not have the chance to preserve the life of their child. Between 1885 and 1913, over one hundred children died and were buried at the Haskell Boarding School cemetery, with the youngest ones being six and seven years old (Child, 1995).<sup>638</sup> In many instances, the child was sent home to be buried. When this did not occur, families of deceased students gathered at the school gravesites to hold Feasts for the Dead, burn four-day fires, and build grave houses in which to place food for their child during the following year (Child, 1995).<sup>639</sup>

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<sup>636</sup> Ibid at 62.

<sup>637</sup> Ibid at 65.

<sup>638</sup> Ibid at 66.

<sup>639</sup> Ibid at 67.



Parents grew increasingly anxious about allowing their child to attend boarding schools. Convinced that malnutrition and emotional malaise prompted by homesickness was contributing to persistent illness and the threat of death among students, parents began to resist the participation of their child in the boarding school institutions (Child, 1995).<sup>640</sup> When students ran away and returned to their community, the parents hid them or simply refused to allow the child to be returned to the institution (Child, 1995).<sup>641</sup>

During the late nineteenth century, Michigan Indians were largely engaged in labor activities such as commercial fishing, farming and lumbering. However, as the Michigan economy changed to an industrial labor base, the curriculum in boarding schools also changed to prepare Indian students for new occupations. Schools taught printing, tailoring, painters and metal workers. Simultaneous to these changes was the exodus of Indian families to urban areas where industry thrived and individuals could easily find employment. For many Odawa, who lived in urban areas, schooling options included public education, with mixed results. Despite the boarding school experience of parents and grandparents, several families had retained the language and continued speaking Odawa in the homes. The children of Odawa language speakers found it difficult to integrate into the public education setting (McClurkin, 1991).<sup>642</sup>

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<sup>640</sup> Ibid at 65.

<sup>641</sup> Ibid at 90.

<sup>642</sup> McClurkin, 1991, at 41.

The legacy of the boarding school for Anishnabe children would prove to be long lasting; and for many it would imbue their adult lives with enduring pain. However, it would be the integration of the Michigan Anishnabe into the American culture that would finally result in the termination of boarding school operations. As the Michigan Ojibwa and Odawa moved into the local communities, their children entered public schools (McClurkin, 1991).<sup>643</sup> The Mount Pleasant Boarding School would end as an institution operated by the federal government in 1933. For those Ojibwa children, who had succeeded in retaining their language and culture, it was an "accomplishment held with pride" (Child, 1995).<sup>644</sup> However, for those families forever changed by the boarding school experience, who had suffered removal and estrangement from the Indian communities, reintegration of a tribal identity would be difficult; and most would endure lives of vulnerability, often touched by alcoholism, family problems and the loss of personal self-esteem. These individuals would continue to suffer long term diseases, poverty, socially dysfunctional behaviors and even early death in many cases for several years to come (Child, 1995).<sup>645</sup>

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<sup>643</sup> Ibid.

<sup>644</sup> Child, 1995, at 97.

<sup>645</sup> Ibid at 100.

## **CHAPTER FOUR - FINDINGS**

This chapter is organized in a chronology that first reviews the effects of the acculturation experience, the revitalization of cultural knowledge, and finally examines the current status of a transitional culture which still maintains many traditional values and beliefs. The findings revealed that the forces of acculturation profoundly affected family and community structures responsible for maintaining the social, political and spiritual integrity of Native societies. The retention of language and culture was seriously interrupted by the removal and placement of Native children far from their home communities. Institutionalization also interfered with the development of a Tribal identity, and curtailed opportunities for the extended family to provide support for the inculcation of traditional knowledge across generations.

The stories of informants detail personal tragedies that continued to cyclically reverberate for several generations of family dysfunction and community dissolution to cause individual involvement in destructive behaviors, and results in the loss of a belief system which had cemented spiritual and communal relations between members within the society. In response to these changes, informants described the revitalization of their culture as both a personal and community decision to reconcile cultural conflicts plaguing the now adult and elder children of the boarding school experience.

The final sections of the findings directly examines the components of cultural values and beliefs described by informants as they defined what "being" Ojibwa, Odawa or Potawatomi entailed as a member of the modern Anishinabe Tribes. Each aspect of the culture informants was discussed in relation to its purpose and affect on individuals behaviors and community norms. In the last section, each program is examined in relation to the cultural values and beliefs that informants highlighted during the interview process, relating observations to the articulated elements of the cultural system described by informants from that group.

In the interview text of these case studies there were several interrelated beliefs and values that informants interchangeably used to express the cultural phenomenon that best describes the individual and collective worldview. The analysis established the main categories of cultural elements that contributed to an integrated system of beliefs, values and historical fact that affected the ethos of the group. Across informants, there was generalized recognition that the traditional culture had undergone significant changes to aboriginal beliefs and values due to external pressures asserted throughout the acculturation process. The informants uniformly expressed a tremendous sense of loss, which accompanied this recognition; as well as selective anger and hostility toward the forces of change that prompted the relinquishment of time honored traditions in their culture.

In describing the revitalization process, informants identified how their relationship with the culture was preserved or attenuated; what reasons or events developed an awareness of their need to reassert an Indian identity through the revival

of cultural beliefs and values; paths taken in the reorientation process; and internal and external problems impacting the integrity of the revitalization movement.

Each contextual experience contributed elements of the evolving construct that defined the nature of their traditional culture in the modern Anishnabe people. Their stories revealed an ethos that expressed both the reductionism and veneration of traditional beliefs and values in a sustained cultural confrontation between aboriginal and European philosophies. The modern Anishnabe worldview simultaneously aspires to preserve and revive those aspects of the culture that engendered spirituality, interconnectedness and caring among community members; but pragmatically recognizes the inherent diversity of a transitional culture that is limited in its ability to coalesce unanimity or behavioral conformity.

In the findings section of this research, the study reports how informants explained and described their culture; the acculturation process by which their understanding of traditional values and beliefs have been sustained or altered; what they have endeavored to accomplish by the revival of the traditional culture; and what they believe are the fundamental elements in the traditional beliefs and values that guide individual behaviors and govern interactions between members of their cultural group today.

## **The Acculturation Experience**

### ***Removal***

Among the Elder informant groups, loss of the culture was most often associated with estrangement from the Native community precipitated by placement in an orphanage or boarding school situation. In most instances, placement was involuntary and initiated by the local Department of Social Services (DSS) usually when children were orphaned, abandoned by alcoholic parents, or left in the care of elderly relatives (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>646</sup> In some circumstances, even when one parent was widowed and was willing to care for the children, the county DSS unilaterally decided to remove the younger children Indian orphanages established by Catholic Missions or the State of Michigan in order to ensure their health and welfare (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. P. A.).<sup>647</sup>

Within the thirty to forty year-old age group informants it was common to have at least one parent who had been raised in a boarding school situation (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.; L.K.; K.M.).<sup>648</sup> For most of these informants being in a boarding school was recalled as an extremely negative and painful experience. Beatings were severe and routine usually in retribution for speaking their Native language; and attempts to notify parents or runaway were similarly punished once discovered (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. P. A.).<sup>649</sup> Defiant children who refused

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<sup>646</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 3.

<sup>647</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M.P.A. at 2.

<sup>648</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 8; L.K. at 3; M.K. at 4.

<sup>649</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. P. A. at 8.

to obey institutional rules were similarly disciplined by beatings with a strap (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. P. A.).<sup>650</sup> In the Catholic orphanages, Indian children were made to work on the farm, growing and picking crops for institutional use. They were also required to serve nuns, priests and other school staff, who ate the vegetables and fruit the children helped to grow, but were not allowed to share (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. P. A.).<sup>651</sup>

It was not uncommon for infant children to be removed and separated from parents, and older siblings left in the community with relatives. In many instances, these children remained institutionalized for the duration of their childhood until reaching the age of maturity (Research Transcripts, 1998, R. W.).<sup>652</sup>

When informants were placed in religious institutions, their conversion and participation in the new religion was expected. This often resulted in the blending of Christian beliefs with traditional ceremonial practices that continued well into adulthood (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K.; N. J.).<sup>653</sup>

Elders, who had been hidden by their parents during the removal process, were able to remain within the communities. These individuals retained much of the traditional beliefs, and maintained a connection with the Midewiwin Medicine Lodge throughout the ensuing years (Research Transcripts, 1998, W.N.).<sup>654</sup>

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<sup>650</sup> Ibid.

<sup>651</sup> Ibid at 4, 5.

<sup>652</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, R. W. at 9, 14.

<sup>653</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K. at 4; N. J. at 8.

<sup>654</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, W. N. at 5.

## ***Loss of the Language***

Often cited as the most tragic result associated with the boarding school experience was the loss of the Native language speakers among all three tribal populations of the informant groups (Research Transcripts, 1998, L. K.; S. M.; K. R.; G. M.).<sup>655</sup> In many cases, the language was simply extinguished. However, where grandparents had retained the language despite their institutionalization, they staunchly refused to teach it to their children as a way of protecting them against the "atrocities" suffered in the Catholic schools for speaking their Native tongue (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.; S. M.).<sup>656</sup> Elders vividly recalled instances in which they were physically punished for using the language (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.; M. P. A.),<sup>657</sup> and attempting to practice their traditions (Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M.).<sup>658</sup> The residual effect of these punitive measures was the suppression of the traditional culture among the elder generation, and an interruption in the transmission of culture and language for years to come (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>659</sup>

Parents from the boarding school era continued to refuse to teach their children the language to protect them from the potential retribution and ostracism from other students which they might experience for speaking the language in public school situations (Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S.).<sup>660</sup> Fear drove many

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<sup>655</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, L. K. at 3; S. M. at 23; K. R. at 3; G. M. at 7.

<sup>656</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 4, 5; S. M. at 32.

<sup>657</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 32; M. P. A. at 2, 3.

<sup>658</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 35.

<sup>659</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 10.

<sup>660</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S. at 14.



grandparents to refuse to allow grandchildren to participate in the "Indian way of dancing," even though these activities were done in the privacy of their own urban homes. These fears were well founded because both the United States and Michigan governments had established prohibitions on the exercise of traditional practices such as ceremonies, dancing and the wearing of traditional clothing, which continued well into the twentieth century (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>661</sup>

However, there were those elders who had not only retained the ability to speak the language, but were also sharing this knowledge with their children and grandchildren. Their efforts to re-establish the language have created a small cadre of younger tribal members who are not only fluent speakers, but are also able to share this knowledge with others in the tribe (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. S.).<sup>662</sup> Some of the Native speakers interviewed revealed that they were now teaching the language to their children, as well as assisting adults in the community to relearn the language through the Bay Mills Community College program. More recently, some of these informants have been asked to assist in teaching the language to Head Start children as a community volunteer (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. S.).<sup>663</sup>

Knowing and speaking the language was considered vitally important among many informants as a means of keeping the culture intact for future generations (Research Transcripts, 1998, R. B.).<sup>664</sup> For some, knowing the language "gave them a sense of who they are" and a way to be together with elders (Research Transcripts,

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<sup>661</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 1.

<sup>662</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 27.

<sup>663</sup> Ibid.

<sup>664</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, R. B. at 7.

1998, G. G.).<sup>665</sup> Others expressed that the knowledge and use of the language gave them an extra identify, the "stamp" of pride in "being Odawa."

Conceptually, the Native language allows individuals to express their world as they perceive it, using a different more basic or simple context (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.).<sup>666</sup> Another informant indicated the Anishnabe language is spiritually based, and expresses the recognition and acceptance of the spirituality inherent in the traditional way of life (Research Transcript, 1998, S. M.).<sup>667</sup> Phrases have multiple levels of cultural meaning in their conceptual interpretation, which goes beyond the literal translation of the Native language to English. As it was explained, using the language allows speakers to apprehend and embrace the spiritual context, while absorbing the functional purpose of the message being conveyed (Research Transcript, 1998, S. M.).<sup>668</sup> Thus, losing the language has had far reaching implications to the integrity of the traditional belief system. Ceremonies are celebrated using the language of the culture; prayers to the Creator are offered in the language; and traditional burial rites and Ghost Suppers are officiated by the few fluent speakers left in the communities. Informants were acutely aware that once these individuals have passed from the cultural scene, there would not be others to fill the void and ceremonies would not longer have the direct connection to the original culture in concept or literal translation (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>669</sup>

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<sup>665</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G. at 34.

<sup>666</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 17.

<sup>667</sup> Research Transcript, 1998, S. M. at 23.

<sup>668</sup> Ibid at 23, 24.

<sup>669</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 10.

## ***Loss of Family and Community***

The removal of children to boarding schools and orphanages had a devastating effect on family life. Institutions separated siblings, which caused irreparable psychological injury to many children who were never returned to the home of origin in the Native community. In some cases, individuals were never given their family history, nor were they aware that there were other children in the family who had been similarly placed until they reached adulthood and began searching for family information (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>670</sup> Where children were removed permanently for whatever reason, they were often adopted by white families, and raised as non-Natives. When they later discovered their heritage, many searched for family members and connections to an Indian community (Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T.; N. A.).<sup>671</sup>

An Elder informant described how her mother had attended the Flandeau Boarding School in South Dakota, entering in her ninth grade year, and remaining there until graduation without ever returning home. Since the Flandeau School was several hundred miles from the Michigan Ojibwa, any trip home would have created a substantial financial hardship for the family (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>672</sup> Ojibwa parents were responsible for travel costs to bring the child to the community for home visits. Thus, as a practical matter, insufficient funds, not uncommon in 1925 when the Ojibwa per capita income was only \$81 per year, became yet another

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<sup>670</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 3.

<sup>671</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T. at 1; N. A. at 3.

<sup>672</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 6.

reason for the child to remain estranged from the family and community most of their life (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>673</sup>

For whatever reason the Anishnabe children were unable to return to their families and communities, the effect of prolonged estrangement due to their institutionalization left many children with significant problems as adults. Once placed, these children often remained in the system, feeling abandoned by parents and siblings. An Elder informant recalled that a sister, who had been separated when she was sent to an out-of-state institution, searched for her family for years. After attaining adulthood, she began writing letters to all of the Michigan Tribes to find her family relatives. When the sister returned to the Odawa community, she was embittered for having been placed or "thrown away" by her parent. She felt ostracized from the family and extended family group (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>674</sup> Several such stories permeated the interview text, many relating the painful experience of parents and grandparents who had been raised in an institutional setting (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.R; M.K; S.M.; J.S.; N. A.).<sup>675</sup> For those whose removal had resulted in legal adoption into a white household, estrangement would continue well into adulthood despite efforts of older siblings to locate and retrieve their missing brother or sister (Research Transcripts, 1998, T. L.).<sup>676</sup>

Estrangement from the home community left many children without a familial or tribal identity for several years. Children deprived of both parents due to death or

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<sup>673</sup> Ibid.

<sup>674</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 4.

<sup>675</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, K.R. at 3, 32; M. K. at 5; S. M. at 34; J. S. at 14; N. A. at 4.

<sup>676</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, T. L. at 2.

alcohol involvement were almost always separated when placed in foster care situations. Even where siblings were sent to the same orphanage or religious boarding school, they were segregated, forbidden to speak to one another, and punished when they refused to obey this prohibition (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. P. A.; L. T.).<sup>677</sup> One informant related the profoundly painful experience of watching her eighteen month-old brother being severely beaten by nuns for excessive crying. When she tried to help him she was sent away. It was incongruous even to an eleven year-old child that religious people could "beat them like dogs" when she knew that "Indian parents didn't treat their children like that" (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. P. A.).<sup>678</sup>

### ***Personal Impact of Removal Policies***

The significance of what was termed the "traumatizing effects" of family separations and the institutionalized mistreatment of children proved to be long lasting within the informant communities. Alcoholism, historically documented as early as the fur trade era among the Anishnabe populations, subsequently intensified during preceding generations to become a pandemic problem among the adult survivors of the removal process (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. P. A.; TLVD; L. T.; K.R.; N. A.).<sup>679</sup> Damaged adults conveyed resignation over the prospective alcohol abuse of their children, and many youths succumbed to this predestined expectation, adopting dysfunctional behaviors that in turn affected their young families (Research

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<sup>677</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. P. A. at 2; L. T. at 6, 7.

<sup>678</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. P. A. at 2, 4.

<sup>679</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. P. A. at 3; TLVD at 6, 10, 12; L. T. at 3; K. R. at 7; N. A. at 3.

Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>680</sup> When parents engaged in alcohol abuse, children had to assume adult responsibilities to care for younger siblings (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>681</sup> Many of these children were preoccupied with ameliorating their hunger, caring for themselves and basically surviving (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.R.).<sup>682</sup>

Personal or familial involvement with substance abuse was identified by most all informants as a consequence of multi-generational trauma resulting from the removal and boarding school process. One informant strongly believed that the use of alcohol was a spiritual sickness, an outcome of family disruption, loss of self-esteem and institutionalized genocide (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.R.).<sup>683</sup> Another described alcohol as a modern "Windego," a destructive force which takes away spirituality and self-esteem, robbing individuals of the talents and gifts given them by the Creator (Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M.).<sup>684</sup>

An Elder informant shared that in their generation most Indian children who had grown up in an alcoholic environment learned that parents didn't worry "...whether they were hungry or cared for, and that [kind of] life was all they knew..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.R.).<sup>685</sup> Even though these children were considered survivors, the quality of their lives was affected by the dysfunction caused by the

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<sup>680</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 22.

<sup>681</sup> *Ibid* at 26.

<sup>682</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, K.R. at 2, 9.

<sup>683</sup> *Ibid* at 31, 32.

<sup>684</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 15.

<sup>685</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, K. R. at 10.

alcoholism, which would continue into successive generation (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.R.).<sup>686</sup>

Breaking the cycle of abuse was considered possible, but required that an individual recognize self-destructive behaviors, and make a commitment to stop drinking for the good of children and family (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>687</sup> Where this did not occur, relationships faltered, children were subject to a chaotic family lives, and eventually family disintegration (Research Transcripts, 1998, TLVD, L.T.).<sup>688</sup> Some children damaged by the effects of institutionalization and subsequent family dysfunction, left the Indian way of life to remain in the white communities, forsaking their heritage and family relationships (Research Transcripts, 1998, L.T.).<sup>689</sup>

### ***Loss of Traditional Beliefs***

In instances where the child was sent to a religious institution, the non-Native schooling focused on both vocational training and religious conversion. The acculturation process was used as a vehicle for the transformation of traditional beliefs into Christian doctrine. Many grandparents of the informants in the study were baptized and raised Catholic, especially those with some French parentage (Research Transcripts, 1998, DRM).<sup>690</sup> These children were never taught the

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<sup>686</sup> Ibid at 28.

<sup>687</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 28.

<sup>688</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, TLVD at 5; L.T. at 6).

<sup>689</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T. at 19.

<sup>690</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, DRM at 16.

traditions and grew into adulthood attending Catholic Schools (Research Transcripts, 1998, DRM).<sup>691</sup> As with many other informants, going to Pow Wow gatherings provided these children their first exposure to the traditional culture associated with being Anishnabe (Research Transcripts, 1998, DRM).<sup>692</sup>

Several mid-life informants went to Catholic Schools because they lived in an urban environment with schools that parents believed unsuitable for ensuring the safety of their child (Research Transcripts, 1998, G.M.).<sup>693</sup> When a child was sent to a religious school primarily for educational purposes and they had a strong foundation in the Traditional teachings, few of them succumbed to the pressure to convert to Christianity (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. M.; N. J.).<sup>694</sup> Throughout their participation in the religious school programs, many such children continued to practice Traditional ceremonies with parents and Elder relatives, which ensured their retention of the traditions for future generations (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. M.).<sup>695</sup> Once the education program was completed, most did not return to the Catholic faith (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. M.).<sup>696</sup>

However, for some of the Elder informants involuntarily institutionalized by the state or federal government, forced participation in a Christian religion promulgated their suppression and secret retention of Traditional beliefs despite baptism. One informant recalled a relative's dilemma whether to continue

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<sup>691</sup> Ibid at 25.

<sup>692</sup> Ibid at 28.

<sup>693</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. M. at 15.

<sup>694</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. M. at 16; N. J. at 5, 7.

<sup>695</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. M. at 17.

<sup>696</sup> Ibid at 1.



functioning as a Catholic or return to Traditional way of life and embrace her Indian identity. As the informant explained, returning to the traditions was a difficult decision because as a child she'd been beaten by nuns for trying to retain Traditional beliefs, until "she got to the point of denying her Indian identity altogether..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, M.K.).<sup>697</sup> Some informants continued attending mass and raised their children Catholic, but later returned to live within the traditions. One informant shared that this decision came from the realization that the family was no longer connected to the Indian community when her children laughed at relatives for "talking Indian" (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>698</sup>

To reconcile the traditions with Christian beliefs, informant sometimes created a system of blended beliefs that honored both Catholicism and Traditionalism, much the same as their parents had devised while being raised in religious boarding schools (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>699</sup>

In a similar situation, the parent of another informant had routinely engaged in both Christian and Traditional practices, seeing no conflict in either. The informant explained that in this system of blended beliefs, her mother honored Ojibwa precepts such as "wisdom, truth, responsibility for what you're given, and the things you give back." All of these precepts were considered by this informant to be derived from the "human spirit" rather than "a cultural spirit," and thus were not at odds in her "human belief system" (Research Transcripts, 1998, J.S.).<sup>700</sup>

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<sup>697</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K. at 5.

<sup>698</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 13.

<sup>699</sup> Ibid at 14.

<sup>700</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, J.S. at 10-11.

Yet other children, who had been involuntarily removed and institutionalized, related a very different life experience. For them, being sent to a Catholic orphanage away from family and community meant isolation, loneliness and persecution. In one such situation, the informant described beatings by nuns and priests for speaking their Native language (Research Transcripts, 1998, M.P.A.).<sup>701</sup> She remembered beatings for being defiant when she tried to see siblings, or refusing to do labor for the institution (Research Transcripts, 1998, M.P.A.);<sup>702</sup> and for attempting to run away to tell her mother "that her children were being mistreated" (Research Transcripts, 1998, M.P.A.).<sup>703</sup> This mistreatment engendered anger and mistrust of clerics who "preached about God then abused us." Many of these children later rejected Christianity altogether and returned to the Traditional beliefs of their parents or grandparents (Research Transcripts, 1998, M.P.A.).<sup>704</sup>

In finding themselves, or coming to terms with their Indian identity, informants described the process by which they were unable to continue the suppression of their cultural identity (Research Transcripts, 1998, L.T.),<sup>705</sup> and relearned the culture as a means of healing their soul (Research Transcripts, 1998, L.T.).<sup>706</sup> Sometimes finding an Indian identity resulted in the dissolution of a biracial marriage (Research Transcripts, 1998, M.P.A.).<sup>707</sup> In other situations it meant no longer choosing to deny their Indian heritage to the outside world and to

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<sup>701</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M.P.A. at 3.

<sup>702</sup> Ibid at 4.

<sup>703</sup> Ibid at 2.

<sup>704</sup> Ibid at 20.

<sup>705</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, L.T. at 6.

<sup>706</sup> Ibid at 7.

<sup>707</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M.P.A. at

themselves to finally have spiritual peace (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K.).<sup>708</sup> For one informant coming to terms with the traditions allowed them to resume the traditions to bury their child using ceremonial practices of having a four-day fire and a Ghost Supper at home, beliefs which had been relinquished over the years in deference to the admonitions of the Catholic Church (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>709</sup>

### **Reasons for Revitalization of the Culture**

For several individuals in these case studies, not knowing or practicing the traditions was an outgrowth of the generalized suppression and loss of the culture which had occurred in earlier generations. The desire to reconnect with the Traditional culture was a personal decision emanating from individualized circumstances. Several informants identified particular events or gatherings from which an awareness of their Indian heritage generated an interest in relearning the culture. Most frequently mentioned were Pow Wow celebrations which became popular during the seventies and eighties following the resurgence of cultural pride instigated by the American Indian Movement (AIM) (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.; N. R.; C. L.; M. K.; G. G.; H. G.).<sup>710</sup> Participation in Pow Wows awakened pride in being Odawa inducing a desire to learn how to sing on the drum (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.);<sup>711</sup> and to learn and participate in different dances (Research

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<sup>708</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K. at 5.

<sup>709</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 15-16.

<sup>710</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 6, 9; N. R. at 1, 2; C. L. at 5; M. K. at 6; G. G. at 14; H. G. at 7.

<sup>711</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 9.

Transcripts, 1998, G. M.).<sup>712</sup> Pow Wow dancing allowed individuals to wear Native dress, compete for recognition and prizes, exhibiting skill in a uniquely Indian activity. For some informants it was a rebirth of their pride in being Odawa or Ojibwa (Research Transcripts, 1998, M.K.; N. R.).<sup>713</sup>

For many others, pride in being Indian had diminished through their attendance in public and private school programs where there was pressure to conform to the majority culture. In these educational situations, students were bereft of curriculum that provided opportunities to learn about their heritage in a positive context (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G.; N. J.; C. L.; N. R.).<sup>714</sup> These informants recalled former history courses that were imbued with stereotypical images of the Indian as a savage and loser in the campaign for dominance of the Indian territories. They also noted that these programs failed to acknowledge how Indian "land was exploited and taken away" by the U.S. government (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.).<sup>715</sup>

Repulsed by the manner in which they had to digest American history as a student, some informants became actively engaged in exposing younger siblings to the true history of American to describe the actual role played by Columbus in the "discovery" process (Research Transcripts, 1998, W.N.).<sup>716</sup> Another informant was committed to teaching others that being "Odawa" was a more important benchmark of

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<sup>712</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. M. at 7.

<sup>713</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M.K. at 1; N. R. at 1-2.

<sup>714</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G.G. at 33; N. J. at 7; C. L. at 4; N. R. at 6.

<sup>715</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 7.

<sup>716</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, W. N. at 14-15.

identity than using the terminology coined by Columbus to reference their heritage by calling themselves "Indians" (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G.),<sup>717</sup> or believe that Anishnabe ancestors came over the land bridge at the Bering Straits (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.).<sup>718</sup>

Attending public schools in the majority communities exposed several informants to racial prejudice, which was inferred to be prevalent in both the public and private systems. It was difficult for biracial children living within the white communities. One informant recalled how white parents had refused to allow their children to associate with her because she was an Indian (Research Transcripts, 1998, C. L.).<sup>719</sup> Another remembered the demeaning stereotypical references made by white relatives regarding the behaviors and lifestyle of Indian families (Research Transcripts, 1998, R.B.).<sup>720</sup>

In some cases racial prejudice was blatant and acrimonious for native children whose heritage was clearly evident. One informant shared how in the Chicago City Schools, she could not use the drinking fountain for white children during her elementary years because she was dark-skinned (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>721</sup> She also painfully remembered feeling disconnected from the learning situation as she watched the white teacher and children communicate effectively,

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<sup>717</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G. at 2.

<sup>718</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 13.

<sup>719</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, C. L. at 4.

<sup>720</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, R. B. at 5.

<sup>721</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 13.

while she "just sat there in a corner and watched...probably never hearing a word..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>722</sup>

Being in an all white public school with few other minority students caused problems for some urban Odawa children. One informant recalled being beaten by several white students almost daily because he was racially different (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G.).<sup>723</sup> In schools where there were many inter-racial groups, Native children were not singled out for such prejudicial treatment (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.P.).<sup>724</sup> Having a strong identity to "know who you were" as an Indian seemed to make the difference in whether a child had the self-esteem to succeed in a non-Native school situation that was unfriendly (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.).<sup>725</sup>

An informant whose children attended local schools in proximity to the Bay Mills Indian Reservation, shared that negative stereotyping of Indian children was common. A particular incident that bothered the informant occurred during parent's night at school when a white teacher confided that "she didn't want her children playing with the kids from the reservation because they just bring AIDS, Herpes and VD [to school] because they live in homes that...etc.". Wanting to refute this teacher's allegation, the informant responded "Wait a minute, I have Native children. You're a teacher here. How could you possibly have that opinion?" (Research

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<sup>722</sup> Ibid at 25.

<sup>723</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G. at 4.

<sup>724</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, K.P. at 7.

<sup>725</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J., at 7.

Transcripts, 1998, J. S.).<sup>726</sup> This informant also shared that such prejudicial thinking was so immutable that non-Native teachers in professional development classes for cultural sensitivity training were unable to readjust old attitudes of superiority to envision a more equitable system of integrated education while working on hypothetical situations (Research Transcripts, 1998, J.S.).<sup>727</sup> In the course of sending her own children to this district, the general impression which non-Native teachers had conveyed to this parent was an attitude that communicated little concern whether Native children learned anything at all, and less regard for their emotional welfare (Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S.).<sup>728</sup>

Most informants believed that prejudice was present in majority educational systems, which they attributed to busing of Native children to white districts (Research Transcripts, 1998, T. L.).<sup>729</sup> They inferred it was demonstrated when white teachers were unable to understand behavioral difficulties of children in family situations that were different from the mainstream middleclass student (Research Transcripts, 1998, J.S.).<sup>730</sup> This informant believed prejudice in education was also shown where teachers were insensitive to the emotional needs of children from a different cultural orientation that did not encourage verbosity, nor directness in interactions between teachers and students (Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S.).<sup>731</sup>

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<sup>726</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S. at 21.

<sup>727</sup> Ibid at 22-23.

<sup>728</sup> Ibid at 25.

<sup>729</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, T. L. at 7.

<sup>730</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, J.S. at 20.

<sup>731</sup> Ibid at 29.

Prejudicial behaviors were not limited to the school situation as was indicated by many informants. Recognizing prejudice and sharing these feelings seemed to invoke strong responses as informants described very painful experiences. Being in a biracial relationship appeared to cause problems for some members of the majority community. One informant chose to confront the perceived prejudicial attitude by frankly asking if they'd never "ever seen a white guy with an Indian girl?" (Research Transcripts, 1998, L.T.).<sup>732</sup> Where prejudice was expressly conveyed by spousal attitudes, the marriage did not survive (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. P. A.).<sup>733</sup> Giving a description of community prejudice she experienced as a child, an informant related how a high school boyfriend was unable to take her to his home, nor introduce the "big fat squaw" to the family. She indicated that this prejudicial attitude continued for many years after they were later married (Research Transcripts, 1998, DRM).<sup>734</sup>

Some informants intimated that feeling inferior was a by-product of the shame felt by them, their parents or grandparents for being reared by institutional personnel who made you believe that your culture was worthless. An Elder informant recalled how she hated to feel badly about speaking Ojibwa, as the nuns and priest tried to force her to use English (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. P. A.).<sup>735</sup> Another informant indicated that her parent had lied about her Indian heritage because the "...Nuns had beat it out of her that she was not an Indian, that she was dirty, and she stopped

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<sup>732</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, L.T. at 8.

<sup>733</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. P. A. at 3.

<sup>734</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, DRM at 23.

<sup>735</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. P. A. at 3.



associating herself with being an Indian, and Ojibwa" (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K.).<sup>736</sup>

Sometimes institutionalized children had to be resourceful, giving facial compliance with school directives while secretly maintaining their cultural identity and language. An Elder informant remembered quietly talking in Ojibwa to her grandfather at night as she lay in her bed at the institution so that she would not forget the language (Research Transcripts, 1998, M.P.A.).<sup>737</sup> When institutional personnel became aware that Native children were not complying to extinguish their language, they were sent back to the community and could not return (Research Transcripts, 1998, S.M.).<sup>738</sup>

Upon being reunited with their home community as an adult, their reception was mixed. When a relative of an informant, who had been lost to the family for several years and had returned only after significant effort to locate and reunite with siblings, her mother refused to acknowledge their relationship, greatly disappointing the individual and making it impossible to find her remaining brothers and sisters (Research Training, 1998, N. A.).<sup>739</sup>

Among the younger generation, informants specifically remember feeling badly when their cultural heritage was depicted in a negative manner in the majority

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<sup>736</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M.K. at 5.

<sup>737</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M.P.A. at 3.

<sup>738</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S.M. at 34.

<sup>739</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 4.

school situation (Research Transcripts, N. J.).<sup>740</sup> One individual can still recall how fellow students had made fun of her Indian background taunting her that there were no more Indians because "they were all killed" (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>741</sup> Not wanting her own children to suffer such indignities, this individual has taught her children "...don't let somebody make you feel inferior. If you're feeling inferior, you're letting them [do this]" (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. ).<sup>742</sup>

Children who were not raised in an institutional situation did not have the kind of fear that Native Elders undoubtedly knew worrying over the potential removal of their children when abandoned by a spouse. In one instance, despite the desperate poverty which required an Ojibwa family to live in a shack without water, electricity, sometimes heat with never enough food, the informants recalled how their mother had staunchly resisted the opportunity to access assistance from the Social Service agency, working menial labor jobs to feed her family because her husband had left her with eight children (Research Transcripts, 1998, DRM).<sup>743</sup> Despite this admirable feat, her mother never appeared to have self-esteem, and in fact remembered her parent feeling uncomfortable around individuals of a higher level (Research Transcripts, 1998, DRM).<sup>744</sup>

Recognizing that Native children can sometimes acquire self-esteem from participation in athletics, one informant wondered how that might happen in school

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<sup>740</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 7, 9.

<sup>741</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 13.

<sup>742</sup> Ibid.

<sup>743</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, DRM at 4, 5, 8.

<sup>744</sup> Ibid at 35.

districts where "teachers come right down to it and say, 'You're no good cause you're an Indian...' "(Research Transcripts, 1998. C. R.).<sup>745</sup>

### **Revitalization of the Culture**

In the regeneration of the culture, informants indicated that their return to the "Traditional" beliefs and values was pivotal to the reconstruction of an Indian identity (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.; W. N.; L. T.; N. R.; W. R.).<sup>746</sup> Although a few confided they'd made a complete break with Christian philosophy (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K.; G. G.; M.P.A.; L. T.),<sup>747</sup> there were those who believed that the two beliefs systems were not incompatible (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.; N. A.; J. S.).<sup>748</sup>

"Being Traditional" or "relearning the traditions" and to speak the language were the aspirations of most of the informants in these studies. It is fair to say, that among the Odawa, Ojibwa and Potawatomi inter-generational representatives interviewed, "being who you are" and "knowing who you are" as an Indian person in their tribal communities was extremely important. This terminology was used by a significant group of informants to describe their current status of self-actualization as an Indian; the potential to rejuvenate their spirituality as opposed to the reconstruction of religious beliefs; and to express the hope that they will relearn the culture in order to transmit this knowledge to their children.

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<sup>745</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, C. R. at 16.

<sup>746</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 9; W. N. at 9; L. T. at 2-3; N. R. at 13, 14, 20; W. R. at 15.

<sup>747</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M.K. at 4-5; G. G. at 10, 13; M. P. a. at 20; L. T. at 2.

<sup>748</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 8, 10-11; N. A. at 14; J. S. at 10.

When asked to explain the differences between "being Traditional" and "being Christian" many informants distinguished the two by associating "being traditional" with have spirituality in the way that they believed and acted upon those beliefs (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.; S. M.; M. K.; N. J.; G. G.; N. A.; W. R.; M. P. A.; W. N., L. T.).<sup>749</sup> Using their words to describe spirituality best conveys the essence of the Traditional belief system. Being Traditional means, "...respecting everybody's way of life...treating everybody how you would want to be treated..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>750</sup> To another informant, being Traditional is "about living a good life...with peace and simplicity" (Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M.);<sup>751</sup> "Spirituality comes from the heart...its what you do with the teachings that makes you a spiritual person. Spirituality is used on an everyday basis" (Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M.).<sup>752</sup>

Spirituality is "belief in a Creator...I think we're all connected someway...it [spirituality] gives us hope (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K.).<sup>753</sup> Another informant indicated that spirituality is like the Odawa teachings"...respect yourself...try to be at ease with yourself, at peace with yourself...and pray to your Creator..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.).<sup>754</sup>

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<sup>749</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 18, 20; S. M. at 18, 33; M. K. at 2, 3; N. J. at 12; G. G. at 28; N. A. at 24-26; W. R. at 19; M. P. A. at 19; W. N. at 7, 9; L. T. at 7.

<sup>750</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 18.

<sup>751</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 13.

<sup>752</sup> Ibid at 33.

<sup>753</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K. at 3.

<sup>754</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 12.

Defining spirituality in the context of actions towards one another, the informant indicated having spirituality meant "I can pray...I can pick up my sema (tobacco) and speak my mind; and spirituality is when I pick up a brother [on the road] because I know he's been drinking...its doing fasts and sweat lodges...and being able to be honest with the spirits, with Manitou..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, G.G.).<sup>755</sup>

An Elder informant described "being Traditional" as "...living the way that the Creator gave us instructions to live. Living the Traditional way of life is like being in the sacred circle...you can't disconnect...home life [from] work life..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>756</sup>

Describing the Traditional way of life, an informant indicated it was "simply respecting everyone, respecting everything around you and showing that [respect] on a daily basis..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, W. R.).<sup>757</sup> Another Elder informant whose participation in the Traditional way of life was interrupted by a boarding school placement describer her beliefs by referencing the precepts of the historic aboriginal culture to say "Its right for me to watch old winds, to talk to Manido, Manido is God to everybody..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. P. A. ).<sup>758</sup>

"Being Traditional" to a young informant raised in a traditional household meant "living the good life...spreading what you know...Spirituality is something I

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<sup>755</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G. at 28.

<sup>756</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 24-26.

<sup>757</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, W. R. at 19.

<sup>758</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. P. A. at 19.

live everyday. I don't go out and put tobacco on the ground every morning but...I wake up hoping I'm going to have a good day. I'm glad that I'm still here, very thankful...just knowing who I am...I am an Indian woman" (Research Transcripts, 1998, W. N.).<sup>759</sup>

Another informant rediscovering her culture after her life was significantly disrupted when the family disintegrated and the children were placed in foster care in the non-Native community, indicated that knowing the traditions was "...knowing the right road...you can feel good about life and knowing that someone upstairs is watching you and guiding you, and lets you know how much you can handle...and He'll never give you more than that...I believe that he created everything, everyone, to be equal on this earth...everyone's the same (Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T.).<sup>760</sup>

Interviewing two Potawatomi informants they described what it meant to "be Potawatomi. They indicated that it made them feel more in tune with nature...and believe that Mother Nature created all things around us...we have more respect for things..." In asking her partner what was "being Traditional," he responded that it meant "being with nature and learning things...getting an Indian name, offering tobacco...and praying." In asking how "being Traditional" they would raise their child differently, the mother responded that "...she would be given an Indian name...because that's the Creator's way of knowing her" (Research Transcripts, 1998, P.K.).<sup>761</sup>

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<sup>759</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, W. N. at 7, 9.

<sup>760</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T. at 7.

<sup>761</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, P.K. at 3, 6, 10.

Finally, there were those informants whose parents or grandparents had preserved the culture and raised them with Traditional beliefs and values. Many of these individuals had lived most of their being involved in the Traditional way of life (Research Transcripts, 1998, W. N.; S. M.; G. M.; G. H.).<sup>762</sup> At least three of these informants, who had been raised by a grandparent in a Traditional home were fluent language speakers (Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M.; M. P. A.; G. M.).<sup>763</sup> However, many of the other informants were not relearning the language through various programs. One indicated she has learned from her child's participation in language instruction at an Indian School program (Research Transcripts, 1998, L. C.).<sup>764</sup> Others were actively engaged in learning the language through Elder teachers (Research Transcripts, 1998, J. C.; L. T.),<sup>765</sup> while others were learning words and phrases through the instruction that the children received in the Head Start and Early Head Start programs (Research Transcripts, 1998, TLVD; W. N.; M. K.).<sup>766</sup>

Informants viewed "returning to the traditions" as a journey to greater understanding of themselves as an Indian. Often the need to return to Traditional beliefs and values was precipitated by a personal crisis, where the individual questioned the meaning of life or sought peaceful acceptance of inalterable circumstances. One informant described her father's eight-year quest for spiritual peace after losing his wife and daughter. She indicated that he was "trying to learn

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<sup>762</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, W. N. at 9; S. M. at 11, 28; G. M. at 15-16; G. H. at 17.

<sup>763</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 27, 31; M. P. P. at 18; G. M. at 7.

<sup>764</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, C. L. at 7.

<sup>765</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. J. at 14; L. T. at 2.

<sup>766</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, TLVD at 17; W. N. at 2; M. K. at 14.

who he was and what he should have taught his children before one departed to the spirit world" (Research Transcript, 1998, W. N.).<sup>767</sup>

Rediscovering spirituality was an important aspect of "returning to the traditions." It was essential to regaining self-esteem and the personal power to order one's life. Not knowing the culture because of removal or foster care placement had left some children "feeling lost," "not knowing where you really belonged." Recapturing the cultural values and beliefs helped these individuals to "walk the right road" to "have happiness" and "a future" (Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T.),<sup>768</sup> and have confidence that nothing can go wrong" (Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T.).<sup>769</sup>

Relying on traditional values and beliefs provided some informants with the necessary support to cease drinking behaviors. Being alcohol free was a critical element in the traditional philosophy of the Midewiwin Society in order to lead "a good healthy life" (Research Transcripts, 1998, G.G.);<sup>770</sup> which is necessary to set a strong spiritual example for others to follow by walking the right path (Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T.; M. P. A.; W. R.).<sup>771</sup>

In some instances, informants remembered parental alcoholism that had caused a childhood of chaos and pain. In embracing traditional beliefs as adults, they

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<sup>767</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, W. N. at 6-7.

<sup>768</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T. at 7.

<sup>769</sup> Ibid at 24.

<sup>770</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G. at 10.

<sup>771</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T. at 3, 9; M. P. A. at 3, 20; W. R. at 14.



say themselves proactively choosing to not subject their children to this type of family dysfunction (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.; L. T.; W. R.).<sup>772</sup>

### **Rediscovering Anishinabe Identity**

Motivation for recovering the traditions emanated from multiple interacting factors during the sixties and seventies generations. Interest in Native American rights were fueled and supported on the national level by the American Indian Movement (AIM), grassroots Native American rights organizations, government funded programs, the proliferation of American Indian gatherings or Pow Wows; and the Civil Rights movement.

In the 1930's, the State of Michigan had banned all the Anishnabe from continuing subsistence activities. This limited their right to hunt and fish to only reservation land, and for some tribes without a land base, these activities would be governed by the state law (McClurkin, 1991).<sup>773</sup> In 1934, the U. S. government instituted the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) under which federal policies changed from assimilation or revitalization of Indian communities. The tribes were encouraged to develop elective systems of government under a federal charter (McClurkin, 1991).<sup>774</sup> Subject to this legislation the Sault Ste. Marie Ojibwa and the Grand Traverse Band of Odawa Indians had been recognized by the federal government by 1980. Their tribal recognition gave these Indian groups the right to

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<sup>772</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 2-4, 28; L. T. at 6-7, 9-10; W. N. at 5.

<sup>773</sup> McClurkin, 1991, at 83.

<sup>774</sup> Ibid at 84.

receive various benefits under federal and state government programs. In 1975, Congress passed the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, which extended the right of Indian governments to participate in the direction of federal programs for their own benefit in health, education and welfare. Government contracts with the tribes generated new sources of potential income for tribal members (Danziger, 1978),<sup>775</sup> and the Michigan tribes began the process of building the government infrastructure with planning and economic development grants (Danziger, 1978).<sup>776</sup>

In 1968, the Michigan Inter-Tribal Council had been established to assist all Michigan tribes to develop social and economic programs providing technical assistance and lobbying funding sources (Danziger, 1978).<sup>777</sup> In 1974, the Inter-Tribal Council was awarded a statewide Community Action Program grant from the Office of Native American Programs in the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (Danziger, 1978),<sup>778</sup> under which the present Head Start Program were subsequently funded (Danziger, 1978).<sup>779</sup>

Anishnabe living in urban communities received benefits from the U. S. Department of Education in Indian centers and local school districts. The Flint City School District initiated a program to provide Indian culture and a counselor which was funded under a Title IV Program grant. An Elder informant who participated in

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<sup>775</sup> Danziger, 1978 at 183.

<sup>776</sup> Ibid at 185.

<sup>777</sup> Ibid at 204.

<sup>778</sup> Ibid at 205.

<sup>779</sup> Ibid at 206.

this study was a teacher in that program when it began. She was also involved in the local Indian Center, where she organized an dance troupe, taught Indian dancing and traveled with the students to compete at Pow Wow locations (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. M.).<sup>780</sup>

Another informant recalled benefits he'd received the federally-funded Johnson O'Malley Indian Education program in which local school districts were annually provided funds to supply Indian children with athletic shoes (Research Transcripts, 1998, C. R.).<sup>781</sup> Through the initiation of culture and language programs in the schools, and government funding for Indian Center development, there was a growing awareness of a cultural identity, which brought to the communities a sense of pride in being Indian (Research Transcripts, 1998, M.K.).<sup>782</sup>

Many informants recalled some involvement with Pow Wow gatherings as a child (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K.; C. L.; N. R.; N. J.).<sup>783</sup> Pow Wows were viewed as an important way for Indians to come together, a "place where I can go...sing...with my relatives...to go to just to see people..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.).<sup>784</sup> For some informants, it was a place to dance and enjoy the culture; and inspire the interest of their children in learning cultural activities (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. H. M.).<sup>785</sup>

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<sup>780</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. M. at 7.

<sup>781</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, C. R. at 10.

<sup>782</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M.K. at 7.

<sup>783</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K. at 1, 7; C. L. at 5; N. R. at 1; N. J. at 6.

<sup>784</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 6.

<sup>785</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. H. M. at 8.

For at least one informant, whose estrangement from the culture was precipitated by her inter-racial parentage and separation from the community, it was a way to become reacquainted with her cultural heritage and pass it on to her children. This informant related that her children now dance in Pow Wow competitions, and are also involved in learning the culture in a local Indian School program (Research Transcripts, 1998, C. L.).<sup>786</sup>

Another informant from the younger generation described Pow Wow's as the "place where she was exposed to the traditions." Learning the dances and obtaining the regalia to participate in Pow Wow gatherings brought her in contact with ceremonies of the traditional culture during a Seasonal Cycle celebration (Research Transcript, 1998, M. K.),<sup>787</sup> which eventually led to greater involvement in the Medicine Lodge (Research Transcripts 1998, M. K.).<sup>788</sup> Having only Pow Wow gatherings as a source of "being Indian" throughout her childhood, this informant was later given the option to chose what path she would walk as an adult, and has ultimately chosen to become involved in the Traditional way of life (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K.).<sup>789</sup>

One reason for the popularity of the Pow Wow gatherings and the resurgent interest in reclaiming an Indian identify was the activities of the American Indian Movement, which had attained national prominence during the civil rights era of the

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<sup>786</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, C. L. at 2.

<sup>787</sup> Research Transcripts, M. K. at 1.

<sup>788</sup> Ibid at 2.

<sup>789</sup> Ibid.

sixties (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>790</sup> An informant described how AIM had given support for a grassroots Native American organization in Chicago that was fighting for the development of an Indian Magnate School. After graduation from the Magnate School, the informant traveled with the organization for two years to eventually participate in the occupation of the Offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs led by AIM activists. This experience galvanized a strong interest in preserving the culture, which has resulted in her relearning the culture and returning to teach in the early childhood program within the Odawa community (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>791</sup>

Another informant, not directly involved in the confrontations of the AIM group, nonetheless believed that he benefited from their activism by experiencing an awakening of national pride. He related that the decision to wear his hair traditional length in defiance of school policy was an expression of his Indian identity (Research Transcripts, N. J.).<sup>792</sup> Similarly, another informant who was too young to have participated in the AIM activities of the sixties nonetheless credited their notoriety for inspiring aboriginal pride to recognize and fight against negative stereotyping that collectively portrays Indians a "mindless, war-hooping mouth-thing" (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G.).<sup>793</sup>

While most all informants agreed that they had pride in "being" Ojibwa, Odawa or Potawatomi, they also divulged that within the revitalization movement

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<sup>790</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 2.

<sup>791</sup> Ibid at 1, 2.

<sup>792</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 8, 9.

<sup>793</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G. at 34.

there was significant conflict over what constituted the aboriginal culture, whose language was accurate, and what strategies might be useful in assisting youths to recapture cultural knowledge.

### **Intra-Community Conflicts in Relearning the Culture**

Re-establishing a community-wide priority to teach language, cultural values and beliefs to new generations of Anishnabe children has been a controversial issue quietly debated by members, councils and educators across the different communities. Assessing which cultural values or beliefs represented the aboriginal traditions of a particular group caused ideological confrontations especially regarding the use of the culture and language in tribal education programs. Some informants articulated the dissention rampant in the communities as disputes over "*who*" should teach the language, Elder speakers or certified teachers (Research Transcripts, 1998, W. R.);<sup>794</sup> "*how*" it should be taught (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.R.);<sup>795</sup> disagreement over word pronunciation and meaning (Research Transcripts, K.R.);<sup>796</sup> and whether language should be simultaneously made available to adults to encourage its use in the home (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.R.).<sup>797</sup>

There appeared to be significant concern that establishing a Charter School where language and culture would be integrated into the curriculum might result in a substandard educational opportunity for the children (Research Transcripts, 1998,

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<sup>794</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, W. R. at 16.

<sup>795</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, K.R. at 25.

<sup>796</sup> Ibid.

<sup>797</sup> Ibid at 26.

K.R.; C. L.).<sup>798</sup> Parents who had chosen to send their child to an Indian elementary school had been advised to not do so because "they would never learn anything..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, C. L.).<sup>799</sup> Those individuals who had lived off the reservation, believed that the mainstream education program served to provide the necessary exposure to the majority culture to assist students to function in the outside world. Hence, these informants could see no benefit from a Native school program that would further isolate children from the mainstream, and focus on establishing a purely "Native way of thinking" (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.R.).<sup>800</sup>

There were conflicting opinions regarding the progressiveness of Indian school programs in relation to the pace of learning in the majority system (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.P.),<sup>801</sup> and the value of cultural components that assisted children to build self-esteem, Indian identity and learn about Native spiritual beliefs (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.R.).<sup>802</sup>

Others who had moved from the land base to be reared in an urban environment sometimes assumed the contrary position. These informants believed the mainstream system had not properly addressed the affective or academic domain in their child's education program because of inherent cultural differences in the ways non-Natives perceive and respond to the Indian child's needs (Research Transcripts, 1998, J.S.).<sup>803</sup>

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<sup>798</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, K.R. at 27; C. L. at 6.

<sup>799</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, C. L. at 6.

<sup>800</sup> Ibid at 27.

<sup>801</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, K.P. at 8.

<sup>802</sup> Ibid at 16.

<sup>803</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S. at 24.

There were others whose biracial families had removed them from the cultural community, which affected how they perceived the need to relearn the language and culture. Some of this group regarded their lack of cultural knowledge as a deficit (Research Transcripts, R.B.),<sup>804</sup> which should be ameliorated through relearning the culture in the tribal programs (Research Transcripts, 1998, R. B.).<sup>805</sup>

Those informants currently involved in the revitalization of the Traditional culture were proponents of teaching the children the traditions and language (Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M.; M. K.).<sup>806</sup> Parent informants who had been removed from the culture in childhood were strong supporters of its integration into the early childhood programs. They believed that teaching youngsters the values and beliefs associated with being Indian would help their child to build self-esteem, and acquire a sense of pride (Research Transcripts, 1998, G.).<sup>807</sup> "Having culture in the schools...having them immersed in it to know themselves...we can learn...that we have the strength to choose our own path. I think a school that has Anishnabe and Native teachers allows kids and the people to be who they are and learn about their language, will give them strength...to lead independent lives..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, S.M.).<sup>808</sup> This same informant indicated that existing programs should have more language instruction; the program should teach about clans, and spiritual responsibility, like "being in the circle or coming back into the circle" (Research Transcripts, 1998, S.M.).<sup>809</sup>

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<sup>804</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, R. B. at 2, 6.

<sup>805</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, R.B. at 2, 6; S. M. at 25; N. R. at 5; M. K. at 14.

<sup>806</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S.M. at 25; M.K. at 14.

<sup>807</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. at 10-11.

<sup>808</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 22.

<sup>809</sup> Ibid at 25.



Other parents appreciated the efforts put forth to teach traditional knowledge through existing Head Start programs (Research Transcripts, 1998, W.N.),<sup>810</sup> while others believed that although the program has tried to enrich the curriculum with Native language and traditional values, Native teachers without sufficient grounding in the culture are not successful in transmitting it to the children (Research Transcripts, 1998, M.K.).<sup>811</sup>

A portion of those interviewed were supportive of proposals to develop Native schools. For this small group of advocates, relearning the culture was necessary to undo the damage wrought by the boarding schools during the elder generations. The suppression of cultural knowledge, which became necessary to survive for most grandparents, has de-legitimated its value and worth for subsequent generations. One informant felt that even some of those in government "don't have an interest in [restoring] the language." In talking to these informants, they indicated that these officials "are lost...they don't see the value in it...maybe their parents never shared it with them" (Research Transcripts, 1998, M.).<sup>812</sup>

Of those parents advocating for the reintegration of the culture and language training in education programs, some are already proactively teaching their children language and culture at home. Their aspiration for these children is for them "to know their place in the world with creation...to bring it to the next generation so that the cycle will continue" (Research Transcripts, 1998, S.M.).<sup>813</sup> Within the Odawa

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<sup>810</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, W. N. at 2.

<sup>811</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K. at 18.

<sup>812</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. at 33.

<sup>813</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 31.

community, the Woman's Council began working with the Elders to relearn the culture and help the Little Traverse Band people "get back to the old ways." This organization represents an inter-generational effort to relearn and preserve the Odawa culture (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>814</sup>

## **Knowing the Traditions**

### **Anishnabe Values and Beliefs**

#### *Traditional Spiritual Beliefs - The Midewiwin Society*

In the Anishnabe worldview, spirituality pervades all values and beliefs that govern the Traditional Way of life. The epistemology of the Traditional way of life flows from the original teachings of the Creator, preserved and articulated by the Midewiwin Society among the people. In the Anishnabe teachings, the Creator made everyone--"yellow Asian) in the east, red (Anishnabe) in the south; black (Macaday) in the west; and white in the north--giving each a responsibility, instructions and a place to live in their own environment (Research Transcripts, 1998, S.M.).<sup>815</sup> The Anishnabe, who had responsibility for the earth were given the knowledge of medicine and herbs, the teachings of which were preserved by the Midewiwin Society or Medicine Lodge. In the early times, the Lodge moved from place to place on

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<sup>814</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 14.

<sup>815</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 11-12.

cyclical calendar, bringing the message to all of the Anishnabe people (Research Transcripts, S.M.).<sup>816</sup>

The essential characteristics of the Traditional way "is about living a good life,...a spiritual life. It was a way to live with peace and simplicity" (Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M.).<sup>817</sup> The Traditional way of life "is an everyday thing...It's something you should do every morning with your sema (tobacco), you offer that up...and ask for the help, you humble yourself, to all of creation...you use songs that are given to you...taught to you, and the tools the drum, the rattles...What's unique about our culture [is that] it's not a once a week thing, it's everyday..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, M.).<sup>818</sup> "It's how you live...it's a way of life. It's in your heart, its in your mind, in the ways you think, in the ways you react to other people. The ways other people react to you. It's part of taking the good and the bad out of everything that happens to you and other things in the society, and picking up the pieces that help you learn to the next level, that help you take care of things in a good way, that teach you new ways of doing things...". "There's an answer...but it's how you live your life whether or not you find it..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, M.).<sup>819</sup>

In the Midewiwin teachings, the Medicine Wheel is the cycle of life, for in the Traditional way, "there isn't necessarily life or death. Everything's on a

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<sup>816</sup> Ibid at 12.

<sup>817</sup> Ibid at 13.

<sup>818</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. at 13.

<sup>819</sup> Ibid at 14.

cycle...meaning something that has a spirit, always has a spirit, whether it is on this side...or the after life side..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, S.M.).<sup>820</sup>

Although not all informants claimed to be Traditional, nor were able to articulate the Traditional way beliefs as eloquently as the preceding informants, in responding to what it meant for them to "be Odawa, Ojibwa or Potawatomi," most related the essential elements of beliefs and values found in the traditions. For instance, the most important characteristic of "being" or "having" and Indian identity, "being Traditional" or "having Traditional" beliefs that informants generally shared were those aspects of life which were associated with their spirituality (Research Transcripts, 1998, S.M.; N. A.; N. J.; G. G.; M. K.; W. N.; L. T.).<sup>821</sup> Often their spirituality was defined as belief in a Creator (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.; S. M.; M. K.; N. J.; K. P.);<sup>822</sup> or practicing the ceremonies to give thanks to the Creator for all that was given to the, (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G.; N. J.; L. T.; J. S.; C. R.; N. R.; M. K.).<sup>823</sup>

Spirituality was defined as "being connected" to everyone and everything, in a "sacred circle," where all beings and things are holistically intertwined and interact with one another. Thus, "being connected," one does not separate family, community or work responsibility (Research Transcripts, 1998, N.A.);<sup>824</sup> nor can one disconnect

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<sup>820</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 14.

<sup>821</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 13; N. A. at 24; N. J. at 11; G. G. at 28; M. K. at 3; W. N. at 9; L. T. at 2-3.

<sup>822</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 18; S. M. at 18; M. K. at 3; N. J. at 2-3; K. P. at 3.

<sup>823</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G. at 7;; N. J. at 11; L. T. at 9; J. S. at 10, 12; C. R. at 3; N. R. at 19; M. K. at 6.

<sup>824</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 24.

from one another. "Everything happens for a purpose...[and because] you believe that, it means you always have to be paying attention...or otherwise you might miss a direction or a teaching..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>825</sup> As it was further explained, in the Traditional way of life, being connected means having responsibility for one another, spiritually connected in a way that "honors the sacredness" in others (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>826</sup>

For other informants, living spiritually in the Traditional way of life meant having a soul and caring for that soul by "living in a good way" everyday, to "do things in a good way towards one another" (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.).<sup>827</sup> Living according to the Traditional beliefs means treating others as you would have them treat you (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>828</sup> Living in the Traditional way was also described as "being a good person and not thinking bad of anyone," and being introspective to correct your own faults before criticizing others (Research Transcripts, 1998, W. N.).<sup>829</sup> In explaining the essence of spirituality an informant shared that it was "to love and be loved...the only reason we were put on this earth for right now is to love and be loved" (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>830</sup>

There were only a few individuals who identified the Midewiwin Society in describing their system of beliefs and values. Most knowledgeable of the teachings of the Mide were parents of the children. Parents described the origin story reiterated

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<sup>825</sup> Ibid at 26.

<sup>826</sup> Ibid at 17, 26.

<sup>827</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 11.

<sup>828</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 18.

<sup>829</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, W. N. at 7.

<sup>830</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 23.

in the previous two sections, and provided the precepts which were given earlier in the description of beliefs of the traditional way of life.

### *The Tobacco Ceremony*

While several informants referenced some participation in the Medicine Lodge, most were relearning the teachings and thus were not able, or unwilling, to reveal what they did know. Among those informants who did speak to their beliefs learned in the Midewiwin Society, most descriptions involved the practices and ceremonies they associated with the traditions. The ceremonies most often mentioned was the placing of tobacco on the water to give thanks to the Creator. "Each day we [she and her grandfather] would get up in the morning...put tobacco on the water...and we would give thanks...being happy to be here for today" (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>831</sup>

For many of those reclaiming the culture, participating in ceremonies was an outward expression of their system of Traditional beliefs. It provided them with a unique connection to their Creator, which the Mide teachings facilitated. Several of the younger generation, in exercising their Traditional beliefs, have become involved in practicing ceremonies. Another important ceremony in which tobacco is burned and pipes smoked to the Creator gives thanks to Mother Earth "to give back to her praise, and to pray to other spirits," which is used to recognize the Earth's gifts

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<sup>831</sup> Ibid at 12.

(Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K.).<sup>832</sup> When asked why the tobacco was placed on the water, an informant responded her grandfather had told her, "...it would get to the Creator faster because that was his blood" (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>833</sup> Another informant explained that the ceremony "...gives him a spiritual connection to the Creator. It means I can pick up my sema (tobacco) and speak my mind. I can pray" (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G.).<sup>834</sup> This informant learned the tobacco ceremony as a child when his parent made an offering on the water to "grandfather sun to ask him to give us a good day" (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G.).<sup>835</sup>

Other informants identified the use of the tobacco ceremony as a purification ritual to bless the drum before singing in celebrations (Research Transcripts, 1998, K. R.).<sup>836</sup> The burning of tobacco in the four-day fire at a Traditional funeral sent prayers to the Creator (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>837</sup> Yet another informant indicated the purpose of using the tobacco offering was "to help you see things clearer...it's a gift you give to the Creator (Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M.).<sup>838</sup> It's usefulness in teaching children and youths about Traditional ceremonies and praying to the Creator is best demonstrated by the tobacco offerings made every Monday morning at the Hannahville Indian School where everyone gathers to hold ceremonies for the children on a weekly basis (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.P.).<sup>839</sup> It is also used as a teaching tool for youths who are learning the traditions. Using a game

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<sup>832</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K. at 2.

<sup>833</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 17.

<sup>834</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G. at 28.

<sup>835</sup> Ibid at 12.

<sup>836</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, K. R. at 6.

<sup>837</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 15.

<sup>838</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 28.

<sup>839</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, K. P. at 6.

where youths come back into the circle, they are given tobacco which is placed into the fire. In returning to the circle, the youths are symbolically returning to the Traditions (Research Transcripts, 1998, M.).<sup>840</sup>

The Mide was described as primarily a Medicine society, which focused on teaching the Anishnabe how to live a good healthy and spiritual life with simplicity and peace (Research Transcripts, 1998, M.).<sup>841</sup> In order to lead a "healthy life", individuals have to maintain spiritual balance, which comes from "knowing who you are;" and not carrying the "shame which someone else has put there" (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>842</sup> Being spiritually balanced was also described as "being connected to and honoring the sacredness of other human beings" (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>843</sup>

In describing not being spiritually balanced, an informant used the example of when one is engaged in using alcohol. During that time, they are removed from the sacred circle, and only by achieving sobriety can they re-enter the circle (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G.);<sup>844</sup> to regain their spiritual self (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.P.)<sup>845</sup> Maintaining the Traditional beliefs gives individuals the strength to refrain from using alcohol (Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T.);<sup>846</sup> and without the Traditional

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<sup>840</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. at 25.

<sup>841</sup> Ibid at 13.

<sup>842</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 17.

<sup>843</sup> Ibid.

<sup>844</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G. at 10.

<sup>845</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, K.P. at 10.

<sup>846</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T. at 6.



beliefs "you feel really lost...not knowing who you are or where you belong"

(Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T.).<sup>847</sup>

### *Sweat Lodges*

In the Mide teachings there are rituals that assist individuals to maintain a healthy spiritual life. One such ritual is the Sweat Lodge Ceremony. Several individuals mentioned this practice as an important element in healing their spiritual connection to the Creator, and described its function in reclaiming their traditional identity. One informant likened the process to the spiritual rebirth of a human being. When a person returns to the traditions after being out of the circle "...they have to go back and start from the beginning. That's why I think the Sweat is really healing because...the concept of going into the sweat in there, and being real dark, is like going back into the womb, and for lots of people that's were they have to begin healing because that's where the damage started" (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>848</sup> In the sweat lodge, heated stones are brought into the covered lodge and water sprinkled over them to create a steam bath. "The stones represent the seeds of man and woman, it's like rebirth again...when the child comes into the womb and begin life in the mother..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, N.A.).<sup>849</sup>

Another informant indicated that the essence of his spirituality involves the rituals, "doing fasts, the sweat lodge...that's spirituality for me...it's being able to be

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<sup>847</sup> Ibid at 7.

<sup>848</sup> Research Transcripts, N. A. at 23.

<sup>849</sup> Ibid.

me..." (Research Transcripts, G. G.).<sup>850</sup> In the sweat lodge, "you're told whatever goes on in there, not to be ashamed...I went in there...and thought, if I go into this sweat and bring all of this stuff...I wanted something to make me feel like I can go on, like there's really life after the stuff [getting divorced, leaving domestic abuse] and I'm going to make it...and it was just like a total cleansing...I mean, in my mind, I felt really free...and I really felt right..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T.).<sup>851</sup>

Participation in the sweat lodge to cleanse and heal the soul is also available to youths that can use it to heal wounds, to talk about problems together with adults (Research Transcripts, 1998, W. N.).<sup>852</sup> On the Bay Mills Reservation there are sweat lodges available which most of the Traditional people use to pray and fast; but some informants did not see that its use would increase because of the Christian factions (Research Transcripts, K. R.).<sup>853</sup>

### *Ghost Suppers*

The Ghost Supper is strongly associated with Traditional beliefs that everyone has a spirit, which upon death crosses over to the next world. It is a ceremony to feed the departed, which has evolved from the aboriginal ritual known as the Feast of the Dead. The Ghost Supper was mentioned by several individuals in discussing their cosmic beliefs in an after life. The ceremony is a feast occasion in which the dead are

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<sup>850</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G. at 28.

<sup>851</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T. at 11-12.

<sup>852</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, W. N. at 8.

<sup>853</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, K. R. at 12.

honored to provide food for their journey to the after world (Research Transcript, N. J.).<sup>854</sup>

In defining the purpose and function of a Ghost Supper, one informant related her recommitment to keeping the traditions, which was demonstrated by holding a Ghost Supper for a son who'd passed on. She indicated that a four-day fire was lit to guide his spirit home "because we believe the spirits come home and that's who we're feeding at the Ghost Supper." The feast is prepared, a plate set aside for the deceased, and others are fed as they arrive at the home. "Living people come to eat, but they eat for the spirits...no one ever is turned away...even strangers...I don't know who they're eating for sometimes, what spirit has come to eat...(Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>855</sup>

The reason spirits are hungry was explained by the story of the strawberry by this same informant. As she indicated, "During your lifetime you cultivate the strawberry so that when you step over into the next world...there's a strawberry waiting for you...If you've done the things you were supposed to do during your lifetime, that strawberry is big enough to sustain you on your journey. If you haven't, you have to rely on the people who are left behind to assist you" (Research Transcript, 1998, N. A.).<sup>856</sup>

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<sup>854</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 5.

<sup>855</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 15.

<sup>856</sup> Ibid at 31.

In describing the Traditional burial, other informants indicated another function of the four-day fire is to make an offering of tobacco for the deceased (Research Transcripts, 1998, C. R.);<sup>857</sup> which was accompanied by a feast as a way for the people to get together for the family (Research Transcripts, 1998, C. R.).<sup>858</sup>

It was clear from the text that many informants believed in a spiritual after life, and that "death was not a cut-off point like or ending, but actually...more of a celebration of life...it truly is just crossing over...and we're going to see each other again" (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>859</sup>

Regardless of its spiritual basis, the Ghost Supper was contrary to Christian doctrine, and traditional people "had to disguise the ceremony in order to perform it [the ritual]," and remain within the good graces of the Church. These traditional people, who had in some cases also been raised Catholic, adopted a compromise to hold a single annual Ghost Supper on All Souls Day, a Catholic feast day to commemorate the dead (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.; G.G.).<sup>860</sup> Several such church-related feast occasions were incorporated into community life, which for many of the younger generation Traditional followers merely represented an occasion to get together to eat and dance as a community (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G.).<sup>861</sup>

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<sup>857</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, C. R.. at 3.

<sup>858</sup> Ibid at 5.

<sup>859</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 21.

<sup>860</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 5; G. G. at 21-22.

<sup>861</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G. at 21.

### ***Traditional Symbolism***

In describing the Traditional ceremonies, informants referenced the use of the "Drum" with reverence, much as they had discussed the use of sacred tobacco in the ritual process. Further questioning revealed that for the Anishnabe, the drum has great significance associated with their connection to Mother Earth. The Drum represents the spiritual relationship between men, women and the Creator in the procreation of the race.

The story of the Drum reveals that its physical construction, from the wood of trees and skins of animals, binds together life on earth. Women gave the Drum to mankind for use in honoring the Creator. "...When men sit down at the drum, and we're imitating Mother Earth, we connect with her as we sing (Research Transcripts, 1998, G.G.).<sup>862</sup> Both a female and male animal skin are used on the drum, and it is placed in the center of the circle. The men surround the Drum, then an alternating male/female group stand in another circle around the inner circle of men. Finally, on the outer edge only women encircle the singers. The symbolic coupling between men, women and Mother Earth occurs as the drumming emulates the Earth's heartbeat. The circles represent the connectedness between human beings; first men, next men and women, like the community where there are both men and women, then Nation on the outside circle, which represents humanity" (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G.).<sup>863</sup>

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<sup>862</sup> Ibid at 25.

<sup>863</sup> Ibid at 26.

The legend of the Drum, which began with the Sioux and Ojibwa wars, tells how the Drum came to the Ojibwa people. A grandmother, who was distraught because her sons and grandsons were leaving and never returning, entreated the Creator to stop the wars. She fasted, and during the fast, the Creator showed her how to make the dewegon (Drum). Discontinuing the fast, she enlisted the help of a woodworker, hunter and leather crafter. She gave them the instructions received from the Creator, and they finished the Drum. While the Drum was being "smudged" (a process by which sage, cedar or tobacco is burned and the object is covered with smoke) in a ceremony, the grandmother entered the Drum. When the Drum was taken to the battlefield, two Sioux and two Ojibwa stepped forward and made peace, which has lasted to the this time" (Research Transcripts, 1998, G.G.).<sup>864</sup>

In making a drum, there are ceremonial observances that commemorate the care taken to recreate this instrument given them by the Creator. "The Drum is something that must be cared for in accordance with the teachings. A fire is lit and maintained for seven days, getting up in the night as you would care for a baby. It is turned every few hours while being made, and there is an umbilical cord to the Drum that needs to be cut and buried in a special place. They bring medicine and food to the Drum and hold a feast for it..." This informant likened the Drum to a teaching device that "helps men to assume responsibility to care for things. When some men began drinking [alcohol] around the Drum, the women took it back until they stopped. The lesson learned was that "...the Drum is to be respected for its use as a tool...a "gift that [allows the] connection with the Creator." This informant indicated,

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<sup>864</sup> Ibid.

"these teachings are getting lost--men don't have respect for the job [they have to do] nor what women have to say..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M.).<sup>865</sup>

Other informants referenced the use of the Drum, noting the privilege to sing, or to have learned the songs in Odawa. It was quite common that individuals who sing with the Drum travel long distances to have the opportunity to sing at Pow Wow gatherings (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.).<sup>866</sup>

## **Traditional Values**

### ***Respecting Children***

Having the traditional teachings gives parents and caregivers guidance on how to respect, love and care for children. Foremost among the beliefs in the traditions is the concern for the welfare of children. Caring for the new spirit that chooses a spirit home on earth is a significant responsibility (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K.).<sup>867</sup>

In the Anishnabe culture, "Children aren't just children or grandchildren...they are the future...they're going to be what we pass down and what we leave [for them] to take over..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, J.S.).<sup>868</sup> Giving children the best you can

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<sup>865</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 20.

<sup>866</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 6.

<sup>867</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K. at 4.

<sup>868</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S. at 17.

when they're young...that hopefully they'll grow up to be a better person...that's what we strive for, they're our future..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>869</sup>

In the original teachings, parents are given responsibility to care for their children, to protect their spirit, emotional and mental health (Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M.).<sup>870</sup> Informants identified ways that caregivers are expected to protect the child's spirit. In the teachings, parents are instructed to provide a safe, alcohol and drug free environment (Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M.).<sup>871</sup> An informant, whose childhood was marked by domestic violence and alcoholism, articulated the effects of such abuse on children. "When children come from homes with domestic violence or an alcoholic household...I can tell by their behaviors...how their faces look...their eyes have no life in them so to speak...I know where they're coming from..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, L.T.).<sup>872</sup>

Children who come to the school situation suffering from such stress "are not free to come in and think about school (Research Transcripts, 1998, J.S.).<sup>873</sup> These children "...sometimes act-out, and hurt other children." In these circumstances, this informant shared, that "these children need not be criticized, hurt, or spanked. What is needed and given is to protect their emotional needs and preserve their self-esteem by making them feel safe, helping them to feel better about themselves, assist them in

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<sup>869</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 20.

<sup>870</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 15.

<sup>871</sup> Ibid.

<sup>872</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T. at 20.

<sup>873</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S. at 18.



problem-solving; and respond to their need for discipline in a consistent, calm, non-threatening and caring way" (Research Transcripts, 1998, J.S.).<sup>874</sup> The informant indicated decisions she has made in working with children stemmed from her understanding that "...words have an effect on children..." and what words she chose could "...make or break the child...help or hurt them" (Research Transcripts, 1998, J.S.).<sup>875</sup>

In the EHS Center at the Bay Mills Reservation, this educational philosophy reflected the traditional values to preserve the emotional and spiritual health of the children. As the informant related, the "social emotional needs [of the children] are primary" (Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S.).<sup>876</sup> "We care about their education, but that's secondary to their social and emotional needs at this stage. If they are content, comfortable and feel positive about themselves, they are then free to experience everything they need to learn in their lives..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, J.S.).<sup>877</sup>

Loving children was expressed as another important traditional value held by parents, extended family and community. The Anishnabe Traditional beliefs maintain that a child is sent to earth for a purpose..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>878</sup> When a child is born, a spirit has chosen a new life...so that they can learn something...they didn't know before" (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K.).<sup>879</sup> At birth, "Children are omniscient beings. We bring them into the world as loving

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<sup>874</sup> Ibid at 19.

<sup>875</sup> Ibid at 20.

<sup>876</sup> Ibid at 6.

<sup>877</sup> Ibid at 1.

<sup>878</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 8.

<sup>879</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K. at 9.

things... they're innocent..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, M.K.),<sup>880</sup> and "...because they're innocent...you need to take care of them..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.).<sup>881</sup> "Their spirits come and you need to be thankful for those children who are going to inherit our earth..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, J.S.).<sup>882</sup>

In the Traditional culture, "children are considered a gift to everyone not just us. She's a gift to our community" (Research Transcripts, 1998, M.; K.R.).<sup>883</sup> They're welcomed; and as one informant articulated, "...we have unplanned children, unplanned pregnancies, and may even unwanted pregnancies, but we don't have any unwanted children" (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>884</sup>

The community recognizes the arrival of a new spirit with celebrations and feasts in the spring time when everything's new and beginning to grow (Research Transcripts, 1998, J.S.).<sup>885</sup> This celebration offers "thanksgiving for the children...everybody comes and just pays honor to them...to let them know they matter" (Research Transcripts, 1998, J.S.).<sup>886</sup>

An informant, speaking of the Center parents, observed, "...personally, parent-wise, they value their children..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, T. L.).<sup>887</sup>

Another informant recalled a mother's commitment to her children that even during a

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<sup>880</sup> Ibid at 4.

<sup>881</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 4.

<sup>882</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S. at 17.

<sup>883</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. at 17; K. R. at 11.

<sup>884</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 8.

<sup>885</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S. at 12.

<sup>886</sup> Ibid at 13.

<sup>887</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, T. L. at 10.

fatal illness the parent found the time to volunteer at her child's school (Research Transcripts, 1998, J.S.).<sup>888</sup>

Showing love for children can be expressed in different ways. By parents it can be demonstrated by being with the children to protect them (Research Transcripts, 1998, S.M.);<sup>889</sup> helping them to know themselves, who they are, their place in the work with creation...to help them have a good life (Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M.).<sup>890</sup> It can be shown by "always being there to talk when they need you, putting food on the table, buying clothes and making sure that their emotional well being is intact" (Research Transcripts, 1998, L.T.).<sup>891</sup>

When parents fail to love and care for children because of alcohol abuse or family dysfunction, children suffer. In the experience of one informant, when parents don't hold these values, "...there's a lack of supervision for the kids..." and children are found "...walking around in diapers...on the streets...among glass and everything...you see a lot of trouble with youths, with drugs, not going to school..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, C. R.).<sup>892</sup> When the child is older, they can understand physical and emotional abuse, "...that this was not right...that I don't have to deal with this, there was freedom somewhere..." and these children will ultimately help themselves to go live with a family relative to be out of the home situation (Research Transcripts, 1998, S.M.).<sup>893</sup>

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<sup>888</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, J.S. at 8.

<sup>889</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 16.

<sup>890</sup> Ibid at 31.

<sup>891</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, L.T. at 16.

<sup>892</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, C. R. at 8.

<sup>893</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 36.

Where parents are able to remove themselves and their children from an abusive situation, a lot of healing remains to be done. "I always had to deal with these four kids and make sure they are getting well like me...That involved a lot of talking, a lot of hugging, and taking special time with them individually. Letting them know that nothing was going to hurt them anymore..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T.).<sup>894</sup>

Loving and caring for children when they enter school, whether from a healthy family situation or a disruptive, chaotic environment, is an important aspect of the preschool programs. An informant from the In Home Parent Training program (IHPT) described her priority to "love and care for children...that's the only reason we're put on earth...and that is something that is emphasized with the children for them to be happy..."(Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>895</sup> Another childcare worker expressed her commitment to children to say, "...I let them know that somebody out there cares about them...they know I'm going to be there, and [they know] she'll give me kisses and hugs, and she'll talk to me...she'll hold me when I'm crying...that's what I do" (Research Transcripts, 1998, L.T.).<sup>896</sup>

Similarly, in the Head Start (HS) group, emphasis was placed on the affective needs of the children. The HS teacher considered it important that children should "feel that they are special, that what they say counts and what matters to them,

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<sup>894</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T. at 17.

<sup>895</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 23.

<sup>896</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, L.T. at 20.

matters to us" in order to demonstrate a caring attitude and relationship with her students (Research Transcripts, 1998, R. B.).<sup>897</sup>

Throughout informant interviews, caring and showing respect for the child appeared to be used interchangeably to express a common traditional precept that children are valued. An example of this convergence can be seen in the descriptions of how the informants characterized the treatment of children in the HS program. The teacher relied upon the standard of the Golden Rule to express her philosophy, "I treat each one [child] of them with respect. They come in...and sometimes...bring their baggage with them...you know that day they're going to need a little TLC. they're going to need that little bit of attention just to have for themselves. You have to respect each child for who they are..."(Research Transcripts, 1998, R. B.).<sup>898</sup>

Similarly, "accepting unconditionally" was an expression of individual respect and caring that was used several times to convey the interwoven cultural concepts that everyone is valued and respected for being who they are. Many times it was expressed that children are especially valued and respected because they are welcomed spiritually, loved, nurtured and cared for as the future generations of Anishnabe people (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.).<sup>899</sup>

Respecting differences in children meant respecting their home circumstances, spiritual and emotional needs; and respecting differences in their ability to function

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<sup>897</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, R. B. at 14.

<sup>898</sup> Ibid at 13.

<sup>899</sup> Research Transcripts, N. J. at 4.

on given day. This was considered a necessary precursor to helping the child heal their spirit (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>900</sup> By assisting parents to relearn new disciplinary techniques that no longer included yelling or spanking children, it was considered an expression of respecting the needs of children and parents because "that is not our way. We had a different way of raising children..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>901</sup>

### *Extended Family*

In the Traditional values and beliefs everyone in the community has responsibility for the care and nurturance of all children. Extended family, aunts and uncles, were often thought to be "second parents" to children, and were willing to take care of them should parents die or suffer grave illness (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. M.; DRM).<sup>902</sup> Even where an orphaned child was unrelated, Elders took them in making them a part of their family structure in years past (Research Transcripts, G. M.).<sup>903</sup>

Several informants reiterated how close the families had remained throughout the years. One in particular recalled that this close knit relationship allowed aunts and uncles to discipline nieces and nephews as they did their own children (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>904</sup> Similarly, mothering was given to children from many

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<sup>900</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 25.

<sup>901</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 16.

<sup>902</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. M. at 11; DRM at 38.

<sup>903</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. M. at 11.

<sup>904</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 16.

sources, aunts, older siblings, and grandmothers (Research Transcripts, 1998, DRM).<sup>905</sup>

When parents couldn't be with children, others stepped in to fill the void, "...sometimes it was auntie..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, S.M.);<sup>906</sup> at other times a grandmother would assume full responsibility to raise a child where a family situation was difficult (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.; S. M.; J. S.).<sup>907</sup>

### *Elder Role*

Having input and feedback from a grandparent or elder was particularly beneficial to the child in learning the culture. Through the transmission of cultural knowledge, the child not only learned beliefs and values of the tribal community, but also was given personal support in building self-esteem and a tribal identity. An elder recalled how being raised by a great-grandmother had facilitated her learning the language. "My grandma used to talk to be, and she'd talk to me in Indian and English...she'd just flip-flop between..."(Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>908</sup> This informant learned how to do chores around the house much the same as female training had occurred in the early culture, by observing and helping with responsibilities to fetch wood, cook and draw water (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>909</sup>

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<sup>905</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, DRM at 38.

<sup>906</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 16.

<sup>907</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 4; S. M. at 36; J. S. at 14.

<sup>908</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 4.

<sup>909</sup> Ibid at 7.

Elders taught grandchildren social behaviors such as how to be silent and unobtrusive when given the privilege to listen to adult conversations (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>910</sup> Through stories, children learned the wisdom of the Elders (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.),<sup>911</sup> received moral instruction and cautionary admonitions to govern their behaviors (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>912</sup>

Several individuals mentioned learning the traditions from elder relatives, and participating in ceremonies such as the offering of tobacco (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.; G. G.; G. M.; N. R.).<sup>913</sup> Others learned legends and stories associated with the Medicine Lodge that were intended to teach moral lessons and the spiritual beliefs (Research Transcripts, 1998, DRM).<sup>914</sup> One such informant recalled how in adulthood, as a health care provider, she would later hear similar stories from an elder patient as she served him in the program (Research Transcripts, 1998, DRM).<sup>915</sup>

Elders involved in the Medicine Lodge taught informants how to interpret dreams, develop new skills, or learn traditional dances and songs (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G.).<sup>916</sup> In some instances, dream visits from deceased elders brought messages that guided the informant's return to the Traditional way of life (Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T.)<sup>917</sup> In another situation, the dream spirit prompted

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<sup>910</sup> Ibid at 6.

<sup>911</sup> Ibid at 11.

<sup>912</sup> Ibid at 9.

<sup>913</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 14-15; G. G. at 14; G. M. at 17; N. R. at 12.

<sup>914</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, DRM at 11-15.

<sup>915</sup> Ibid at 12-13.

<sup>916</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G. at 10-12.

<sup>917</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T. at 13.



the informant to provide a deceased grandparent a ceremonial feast to feed their earthbound spirit (Research Transcript, 1998, L. T.).<sup>918</sup>

In essence, these informants believed that the deceased parent or grandparent had continued their traditional responsibility to care for the child beyond life into the spirit world (Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M.; L. T.).<sup>919</sup>

### ***The Clan***

Extended family bonds and the kinship relations established through the Clan system appeared to still remain, although only a few individuals could identify their clan membership (Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M.; C. R.; G. G.).<sup>920</sup> Others indicated there were no longer clans in the tribe, although they had existed in years past (Research Transcripts, 1998, J.S.; H. B.).<sup>921</sup> However, from the previous discussion of the extended family, it is clear that the relationship bonds among blood relatives goes well beyond the nuclear family structure to include the extended family, which in the past constituted the Clan system.

### ***Respecting Elders***

Respecting Elders was frequently mentioned as an important cultural value in the communities studied. There were many different reasons given for respecting

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<sup>918</sup> Ibid at 5.

<sup>919</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 29; L. T. at 13.

<sup>920</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 24; C. R. at 7; G. G. at 3.

<sup>921</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S. at 16; H. G. at 6.

elders. One frequently mentioned was respect for their wisdom imputed with age.

This theme cut across Traditional and non-Traditional believers. One informant indicated he respected elders because "...they've lived longer...been more experienced...know more about life..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.).<sup>922</sup>

Another shared that her respect for elders was related to the "valuable information they can pass on...because they've lived through every possible situation that are those you're going through." She also felt it was important for the younger generation to have the opportunity to learn from elders so they "could pass on the knowledge to someone else to create a cycle that continues" (Research Transcripts, 1998, R.B.).<sup>923</sup>

Yet another informant remembered having formed the belief that her grandfather "...knew everything about everything." She also shared that she respected her grandfather because he "treated me like a person...not like somebody lower, he treated me equal..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>924</sup>

Respect for elders was shown by "being quiet and listening..." and by giving your seat to an older person. Another way to show respect for an elder was to accept what was told to you without explanation (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>925</sup>

With some reluctance, another informant indicated "...that's what we were taught, to respect older people...you know, not to talk back..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, TLVD).<sup>926</sup> Yet another informant indicated that showing respect for elders meant

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<sup>922</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 4.

<sup>923</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, R. B. at 15.

<sup>924</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 12.

<sup>925</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 9.

<sup>926</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, TLVD at 11.

making "sure that they were fed...had heat, or if they had a wood stove, to chop them some wood...just kind of look after them..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.).<sup>927</sup>

Among some of the younger generation, transmitting the traditional value to respect others was not viewed as important as teaching your child how to be a really good person and love others, "not even respect, but just to look at somebody and know that you love them and that they love you too..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, W. N.).<sup>928</sup> However, when it comes to teaching the children to respect elders, this still appeared to be considered an important lesson. As one informant shared, when her son was impertinent to the school principal, she made him apologize because "being respectful to elders was what he'd been taught at home" (Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T.).<sup>929</sup>

### *Sense of Community*

Despite the absence of clans, there was strong community cohesiveness and collective social responsibility that appeared to be intact, and had remained an important aspect of community life for most all informants. The terminology used to express these strong social bonds, which were considered pervasive and represented the communal values and beliefs of members, was a "sense of community." This phrase had personal meaning to each informant, and was thus defined differently according their individual life experience. However, the explanations given of this

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<sup>927</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 13.

<sup>928</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, W. N. at 18.

<sup>929</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T. at 8.

phrase indicated there was convergence that established categories of like behaviors, regardless of the diversity within the definitions. Although generally the definition was associated with the concept of "helping and caring for one another," primary concern again appeared to focus on caring for elders and children in ways that would ensure their needs were met. One of the informants, who had lived away from the community for a long period of time, provided a contemporary observation of what he believed were core cultural values and beliefs in the community. In describing a "sense of community" as a positive characteristic where members provided personal support to one another, the individual stated, "You have differences with family...like a squabble, everyone can be in turmoil...but if something tragic happened to one of the family members, that's all aside...everybody pitches in to help them get through the tragedy. That's one thing about this community. It could be your worst enemy, but when something happens, everybody pitches in to help them..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, C. R.).<sup>930</sup> This informant viewed "being there for each other" as evidence that there was a strong sense of community on the reservation where he lived. For example, the individual described strategies he uses to help children in the community. He explained, "Everybody has to pitch in their share to help the kids. We have a committee to help them...say if something happened...like abuse...there's a committee to come in and offer assistance, counseling and stuff..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, C. R.).<sup>931</sup>

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<sup>930</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, C. R. at 6.

<sup>931</sup> Ibid at 13.

Another individual, who had returned to the community as an adult, shared that life in the city was isolating, and that "...being on the reservation everybody knows everybody else...it makes a great deal of difference family-wise...everybody needs family..."(Research Transcripts, 1998, T. L.).<sup>932</sup>

Speaking of the Bay Mills Reservation, an informant related that "there was a huge sense of community and family and trust...that goes to everyone...especially those who care for our children..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S.).<sup>933</sup> Relating the sense of community to safeguarding children, another individual indicated that the community looks out for everybody, but especially watches out for the children (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G.; N. A.).<sup>934</sup> This informant described the community using the metaphoric concept of the "circle," which he defined simply as "life." As he stated, "It's a place where we should all be just who you are...the circle is where you can be Anishnabe...it's a place to let go of all the outer society...just leave it all out there...and come in that circle with your people..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G.).<sup>935</sup>

In describing what was meant by the phrase a "sense of community" in relation to children, another informant explained, "I think it gives them a sense of belonging...they know where they can turn...they know they have people who care about them...there's an environment where they can go, they can be themselves...they can go out and come back and the community helps them to interpret what they've

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<sup>932</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, T. L. at 6.

<sup>933</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S. at 9.

<sup>934</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G. at 21; N. A. at 32.

<sup>935</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G. at 27.

learned...it gives them a sense of security...to know there's people that care for them...they always know they can come home..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, R.B.).<sup>936</sup>

Speaking of adult relationships in the community, this same informant explained, "...granted a lot of people are related and they have family that live nearby and are real supportive of them...everyone is so supportive of everyone else..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, R. B.).<sup>937</sup> Regarding community commitment towards the HS program, the informant believed everyone was very supportive of the Center. "If you need help, they're so many people around that will offer...", which she believed was helpful for a child to not feel isolated, to have encouragement to grow up in the environment (Research Transcripts, 1998, R. B.).<sup>938</sup>

While there were many informants who described the positive aspects of contemporary community life, there were others who reported that social changes had occurred during recent years which were impairing what they believed were the traditional values of their community. Specifically, one informant recalled the community spirit that she'd known as a child when the community completed reservation clean up in the spring. "...They'd furnish us with garbage bags, and we'd walk the roads of the "res" and clean it up. And afterwards we'd have a community dinner. Nowadays, its not until somebody dies that the community comes together..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.R.).<sup>939</sup> She continued, "Like how many, I can think

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<sup>936</sup> Research Transcripts, R. B. at 11).

<sup>937</sup> Ibid at 12.

<sup>938</sup> Ibid.

<sup>939</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, K.R. at 10.

of, there's more homes I have *not* been in on this reservation than I have been in...a tribal community means family, yet how much do we know of another person..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, K. R.).<sup>940</sup>

Noting changes in the traditional values in the community, the informant was particularly disappointed when non-traditional factions were critical or outright hostile to the use of ceremonial practices, such as the burning sage for smudging at community functions. Among traditional families trying to instill respect for the Anishnabe culture, dealing with modern factions was a problem. She believed that the changes which have occurred in the society were disruptive to the fundamental basis of values and beliefs in the traditional way of life. Children had always been the central focus of community life throughout the history of the tribe. However, being a child in the community today is very different. She continued, [before] "I could get off the bus anywhere, at anybody's house and I would be treated just like one of the family...the idea was there was always someone home...always somebody there. If you look around today, there's nobody home...they [the children] don't have these support systems anymore..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.R.).<sup>941</sup> Speaking specifically to the issue of neglecting children in the community, another elder expressed the belief that the necessity for two parents to work in a household has meant that "children are left day-to-day...to survive...anyway they can..."(Research Transcripts, 1998, K. R.).<sup>942</sup>

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<sup>940</sup> Ibid.

<sup>941</sup> Ibid at 18.

<sup>942</sup> Ibid at 20.

Others spoke of what has been lost in the community because they no longer came together to celebrate various feast days. The Ghost Suppers, which over the years had become Catholic Church celebrations to be held on Souls Day, had at the very least brought families together to eat, drum and dance at community locations. For many individuals no longer associated with the Catholic church, participating in non-traditional community activities isn't a priority (Research Transcripts, 1998, G.G.).<sup>943</sup> Losing opportunities for the community to come together has impacted informants who explained that something has been lost. "We used to have ceremonies around here, Fall Feast and Spring Feast, and we've even gotten away from that stuff (Research Transcripts, 1998, K. R.).<sup>944</sup>

Even "visiting," which was identified as an opportunity for the community to get together and "just talk," has similarly suffered. This common pastime enjoyed by many members of the community is greatly missed as one informant shared, "[Now] you go to somebody's home and they're not there" (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.R.).<sup>945</sup> Visiting was another reason given for the community to attend child functions such as those held at the HS centers. "Everyone comes...here just to interact...they are here to talk...to tell a story, to hold a baby, to see who's going to have a child, to see who just had a child, to just visit...to gather, to celebrate and just be social..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S.).<sup>946</sup>

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<sup>943</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G. at 23.

<sup>944</sup> Research Transcripts, K. R. at 22.

<sup>945</sup> Ibid.

<sup>946</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S. at 18.



## *Community Conflict*

Some of the community divisiveness has been attributed to Christian influences, "...I see people starting to forget the original teachings or they look at other people and say, 'That's not right, you can't live that way, you need to follow our way'..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M.).<sup>947</sup> Others see dissension stemming from differences of opinion on what traditional values to embrace or preserve (Research Transcripts, 1998, K. R.).<sup>948</sup> Many informants attributed the disruption of the traditional culture to have occurred over several years of institutionalized assimilation, annihilation and cultural genocide (Research Transcripts, 1998, K. R.).<sup>949</sup> "See, that's part of my dilemma...we been assimilated...I mean, we've had to struggle to learn our culture and traditions and we have to fight even now the people in our own communities because they would like to see it stifled because they have an even stronger belief in the Christian side of it" (Research Transcripts, 1998, K. R.).<sup>950</sup>

Among most informants identifying themselves as having traditional beliefs and values, there was ambivalence and conflicting beliefs because Christian doctrine had been instilled during their parent, grandparent or great-grandparent's generations. When individuals spoke to the conflict of Christian versus traditional philosophies, it was usually framed in the dichotomy of expressing what things were "Indian" values, beliefs and customs associated with being Odawa, Ojibwa or Potawatomi. [Being Indian is] "...kind of like praying to the Creator...that's kind of universal...our

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<sup>947</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 11.

<sup>948</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, K. R. at 7.

<sup>949</sup> Ibid at 8, 9.

<sup>950</sup> Ibid.

language...this land right here...this is Odawa country...all the way along the Lake front...". When more specifically asked to describe the differences between being religious and being spiritual, the informant responded, "...they're kind of both, they're tied together, the same thing because...see I went to Catholic School from the beginning. So I always knew about God and Jesus. His son Jesus...how he created everything in this world. But in Odawa ways...we had such a strong Catholic influence in our upbringing, that I don't know if you can [separate the beliefs]...because they believed these things to be true even before the missionaries came. They knew of the Great Mystery of Life" (Research Transcripts, 1998, N.J.).<sup>951</sup> Later in the interview, he defined the Great Mystery of Life, "It's just that it's God has the power to put life into something, whether you call Him God or the Creator, religiously I call Him God. Spiritually, he'd be the Creator of all things. You know, He puts...the soul in us and we, it's up to us to, you know, take care of that" (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.).<sup>952</sup>

An elder, whose traditional beliefs had been retained despite the adversarial experience of an institutionalized effort to extinguish and exchange them for Christian doctrine, expressed what her grandfather believed the Creator expected of them--"...to help each other...it doesn't matter who he is, help him out, feed him. Don't kick him when he's already down. Just pick him up and help him out and then you'll have a better life" (Research Transcripts, 1998, M.P.A.).<sup>953</sup> When asked if the culture has changed in the community, this informant indicated, "We're losing it. The

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<sup>951</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 10.

<sup>952</sup> Ibid at 11.

<sup>953</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M.P.A. at 6.

language is going. There's only about three in the community that can talk to me [in the language], and they don't want to. They don't have time. The almighty dollar. They have time to ask for money, but they don't have time to teach their kids, they don't have time to talk to you. They feel like they don't want to go back to that" (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. P. A.).<sup>954</sup>

### *Values Lost*

After federal recognition and recapturing a land base, several families that had migrated to urban areas in Michigan and Illinois, returned to live on the newly created reservations. Several of these expatriated members had not maintained contact with the community, and therefore had little knowledge or understanding of the traditional culture. For those whose parents had little relationship with the original culture, the estrangement spanned two generations to leave them bereft of any traditional values or beliefs relating to community relationships.

In asking one such informant to describe various behavioral characteristics of Native people that distinguished them from non-Natives in an attempt to discover what cultural values and beliefs they had retained, one individual replied, "Well, the alcoholism" and continued to describe the alcoholism that was prevalent among Indian relatives (Research Transcripts, 1998, TLVD).<sup>955</sup> Conversely, another informant whose father had maintained the teachings of the Medicine Lodge

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<sup>954</sup> Ibid at 16.

<sup>955</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, TLVD at 6.

throughout his life despite living in an urban setting, distinguished her father's Native behaviors on the basis that he did not drink, which was unlike the behaviors of other parents she knew (Research Transcripts, 1998, W. N.).<sup>956</sup>

Of those informants who raised the issue of alcohol abuse as a factor that distinguished the culture today, most believed that dysfunctional behaviors that interrupted the cycle of life among the children and adults to prevent or misdirect their spiritual growth derived from the abandonment of traditional values and beliefs by themselves, their parents or grandparents. Several directly attributed the subsequent dysfunctional lifestyle to the pain and the estrangement that had been suffered in childhood as a result of being removed from their home environment (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. P.A.; L.T.: N. R.; S. M.; K.P; K.R.; N. A.).<sup>957</sup>

### *Harmony*

In the Traditional way of life, preserving harmony among yourself and others was essential in maintaining a good, healthy and spiritual life (Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M.).<sup>958</sup> Maintaining harmony was defined by informants as having spiritual balance, knowing who you are and not carrying the shame placed upon you by others (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>959</sup> As harmony was further explained, "being connected" to others and "honoring the sacredness" of all human beings keeps an

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<sup>956</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, W. N. at 5.

<sup>957</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M.P.A. at 15, 19; L.T. at 3; N. R. at 21; S.M. at 21-22; K.P. at 11; K.R. at 7, 9; N. A. at 28.

<sup>958</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 13.

<sup>959</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 17.

individual in spiritual union with those around you (Research Transcripts, 1998, N.A.).<sup>960</sup>

Another informant defined harmony to "be at peace with everything...to do things in a good way." Describing what was meant by "doing things in a good way," the informant indicated, "...it's treating each other with respect, the way you wished to be treated...trying not to talk bad about people...try to have good thoughts, keep [good thoughts] in your mind and your heart...because if you have good thoughts...you don't get wrapped up in minute things (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.).<sup>961</sup> The informant expressed the belief that in finding peace, "...one has to be at ease with themselves...respect yourself and others..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.).<sup>962</sup>

Living in the traditions helps individuals to find peace because their mind is open to learning how to take care of things in a good way (Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M.).<sup>963</sup>

Conversely, not being in harmony or having spiritual unbalance damages the individual, affecting your spiritual peace (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>964</sup> Individuals can lose spiritual balance when they are in an abusive domestic situation, when they abuse alcohol or live with someone who abuses; or for children, when adults fail to acknowledge them as people (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>965</sup>

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<sup>960</sup> Ibid at 18.

<sup>961</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 3.

<sup>962</sup> Ibid at 12.

<sup>963</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 14.

<sup>964</sup> Ibid at 21.

<sup>965</sup> Ibid at 17, 22.

Sometimes, trying to separate yourself from the Creator, other human beings or attempting to fit into another culture can alienate individuals from their spirituality (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G.).<sup>966</sup> For this informant, being spiritual and having harmony meant accepting and honoring others for who they are regardless of ideological differences (Research Transcripts, 1998, G.G.).<sup>967</sup> This informant viewed his job as helping families to restore spiritual balance and harmony, but cautioned that as a caregiver he needed to exercise restraint. In respecting boundaries, he could help parents make life-changing decisions, but could not impose changes upon them (Research Transcripts, 1998, G.G.).<sup>968</sup>

Spiritual disharmony can occur where an individual has been deprived of feeling good about being an Indian. Sometimes, the loss of spiritual peace is generated from a school experience as with one informant, who revealed struggling with not wanting to be Indian because being an Indian was characterized negatively in the curriculum of the classroom (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>969</sup> The loss of spiritual harmony can also arise from being teased by other students and being made to feel inferior (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>970</sup> Similarly, learning in an environment that was alien to the Traditional way of life made it impossible for an informant to connect with the teacher to feel as though "...nobody was trying to teach me...I was empty, scared, I hated school, I did not want to go to school. They were tearing me down more than trying to build something, you know." She further stated,

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<sup>966</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G.G. at 13.

<sup>967</sup> Ibid at 30.

<sup>968</sup> Ibid.

<sup>969</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 6.

<sup>970</sup> Ibid at 13.

"It was...just being treated the way I was being treated, you know, 'You're not going to learn..' Why would I want to even come to that room if I'm going to be pushed back, and told to me that my people are stupid, you know. I was back in the days when they had black and white sinks, you know. I'm old enough to remember that, and I was young enough when that time was going on in Detroit. Yeah" (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>971</sup>

## **Values and Beliefs in the Preschool Experience**

### ***The EHS Program***

Informants described what and how they used the cultural values and beliefs to enrich the educational opportunity of children in the HS, EHS and IHPT programs. It was explained that the Centers are structured in accordance with federal regulations and guidelines, and therefore must meet compliance regarding the need for parental involvement in daily operations. Parents could serve as paid employees, volunteers or participate regularly in their child's program by attending weekly activities. From the interviews it was clear that the Centers advocated for extensive involvement of parents, extended family and the communities at large.

In the EHS program at the Bay Mills Reservation, parents were contacted on a daily basis to maintain communications regarding the children (Research Transcripts,

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<sup>971</sup> Ibid at 26.

1998, J. S.).<sup>972</sup> To develop initial interest in utilizing the program, the Center began an informational outreach to build credibility and trust within the community (Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S.).<sup>973</sup> Since that time, the Center has become the hub of community activity.

The Center hosts two traditional ceremonies, the Spring and the Fall Feast Celebrations, in which the community is invited to participate. The first such gathering, the Spring Feast, marked the grand opening of the center and focused on giving thanks for the children (Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S.).<sup>974</sup> During the opening celebration, a traditional smudging ceremony was held in which cedar or sage was burned to cleanse and make an offering to the Creator. Its use was to commemorate the occupancy of the building, and to give thanks for the children of the community (Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S.).<sup>975</sup>

An informant from the EHS program explained how and what traditional values and beliefs were used in their program to provide assistance to children and their families. Foremost, the EHS philosophy prioritized meeting the social/emotional needs of all children entering the program. The focus of adult/child interactions and program activities are structured to assist the child in feeling comfortable, safe and accepted. The informant indicated, "...by creating an atmosphere where the children feel comfortable and positive about themselves, they

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<sup>972</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S. at 4.

<sup>973</sup> Ibid at 9.

<sup>974</sup> Ibid at 12.

<sup>975</sup> Ibid at 14.



are then free to experience everything they need to learn in their lives..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S.).<sup>976</sup>

In establishing a home-like environment that will put the children at ease, the program avoids an authoritarian or hierarchical approach. As the informant explained, "I want them to think that this is their home away from home...they kind of have the run of the land, not that they're out of control...they have to be a part of their little society here..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S.).<sup>977</sup>

On those occasions when children exhibit "acting-out" behaviors, the program process used to deal with such occurrences are prescribed by the Center philosophy that "disciplining should be positive, to leave the child's spirit intact" (Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S.).<sup>978</sup> Thus, adult responses are expected to be calm, consistent, positive and directed to resolving a particular situation (Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S.).<sup>979</sup> A member of staff in the EHS Center expressed her responsibilities as "taking care of children, helping them to learn whatever it is they need to learn...to walk...to help them be more independent...". Asked how she dealt with a child that doesn't behave, the informant shared how she handled an aggressive child who was prone to biting others, to say, "...we just try to take to them, tell them, it's not nice to bite..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, C. L.).<sup>980</sup>

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<sup>976</sup> Ibid at 1.

<sup>977</sup> Ibid.

<sup>978</sup> Ibid at 21.

<sup>979</sup> Ibid at 1.

<sup>980</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, C. L. at 1.

Of the utmost importance to program outcomes is that a child will develop and maintain personal self-esteem. As the informant confided, "My words have an affect on the children I deal with and I can make or break this child, I have that power. I can choose to help this child, or if I blow a "hissy," I'm not choosing to help this child. I'm choosing to hurt this child...this is the time that we deal with it [the behaviors] and move on because I don't want these kids to get to primary school and have them act out where they may not get the same response..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S.).<sup>981</sup> Essentially, the educational philosophy takes the child where he's at (coming from strong families or dysfunctional situations) and deals with the behavior to constructively assist the child to develop coping skills (Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S.).<sup>982</sup>

In describing what is different about the Native approach in helping children learn, the individual stated, "...when you're teaching Native children you have to be aware of the whole child's everything...the child should feel comfortable...classrooms are set up differently from the power-wielding non-Native situations..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S.).<sup>983</sup> She continued, "...children display different tendencies, some lead the groups...others act and play roles...they're learning through different experiences...some who just stand back and watch are very quiet, but they're learning...some kids want to listen to it...some want to say it...to feel it, touch it, smell it, whatever...like this little girl having problems in her family, she responds to that

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<sup>981</sup> Ibid at 20.

<sup>982</sup> Ibid at 21.

<sup>983</sup> Ibid at 26.

music [Indian flute] and calms down...she's learned a mechanism to cope..."

(Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S.).<sup>984</sup>

The philosophy that "it is a human need to learn and grow" seemed important, and the recognition that, for Native students, it's Native needs as well, "...because Native needs haven't been addressed in a non-Native school and they won't be..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S.).<sup>985</sup> She continued, "You can't take a person's values...it's like taking their spirit out...". At this point in the interview the informant recalled an incident from childhood while attending a Catholic School with other Native children. The informant related the situation where a Native boy in her class was being accosted by a nun, who demanded the answer to a question. "This boy didn't know the answer...and she kept coming towards this boy, just coming, demanding 'Answer the question...look at me.' The more she spoke to him, the more he looked down, down and down. 'Look at it again. Look.' My heart was breaking for this boy...I wanted to make her stop...it was just the shame of it...it's hard to put in words...and when you have a group of kids and somebody doesn't know the answer you can say maybe you and you can work it out...I'll come back to you..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, J.S.).<sup>986</sup>

Speaking to how Native children learn, the informant indicated that Native children are reflective and need time to think of what they're going to say. Discussing shared classroom responsibility, the informant indicated, "...when you structure your

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<sup>984</sup> Ibid at 28.

<sup>985</sup> Ibid at 27.

<sup>986</sup> Ibid at 29.

classroom, we want to make sure everybody here is a teacher, they're not just aides, they're all teachers on the same level...all of us respond to the children the same way...to meet the child's needs" (Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S.).<sup>987</sup>

Others associated with the EHS program as parents or staff expressed similar values. One parent indicated that, "...Indian teachers allow children to be who they are..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M.).<sup>988</sup> This informant would like to see more language instruction and culture training to teach the Clan system to the children (Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M.).<sup>989</sup> Another parent expressed that they want their kids to "know what their heritage is from the Native side," but felt "it was his responsibility to teach to his children" (Research Transcripts, 1998, C. R.).<sup>990</sup>

### ***Head Start (HS) Program***

The educational philosophy of the HS program was founded upon many of the same beliefs and values that were characteristic of the EHS program. There was a commitment to the integration of cultural knowledge into the curriculum, but the teacher and assistants in this situation felt less able to teach the culture having not been raised in the traditions (Research Transcripts, 1998, R. B.).<sup>991</sup> To compensate for this lack of information, the program planned to incorporate language training in the near future (Research Transcripts, 1998, R. B.).<sup>992</sup> Currently, the informant

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<sup>987</sup> Ibid at 31.

<sup>988</sup> Research Transcripts, S. M. at 22.

<sup>989</sup> Ibid at 25.

<sup>990</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, C. R. at 14.

<sup>991</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, R. B. at 6.

<sup>992</sup> Ibid at 7.

indicated language instruction is on a limited basis and restricted to learning the names of objects and short phrases. The program has not accessed Elder speakers because they have not identified anyone who could provide this service (Research Transcripts, 1998, R. B.),<sup>993</sup> although parents from the HS program have indicated that language instruction is a priority (Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M.; C. R.; M.K.).<sup>994</sup>

In describing the program philosophy that is evident on a daily basis, the informant relied upon the golden rule to indicate, "I treat each one of them with respect...they come in the morning, and sometimes bring their baggage with them. If something's bothering them, you can tell when they come in the door...they're going to need a little TLC. You have to respect each child for who they are. They're their own person, and I just take that into view with my interactions with them" (Research Transcripts, 1998, R. B.).<sup>995</sup> Recognizing that she only has the children a few hours a day, the informant indicated that you "...just work on things again tomorrow...I like them to feel that they're important, that they're special...that what they say counts and what matters to them, will matter to me..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, R. B.).<sup>996</sup>

The program welcomes elder visitors to the class, although it has not become a routine activity. The informant valued their participation because their presence gave the children a sense of importance for the attention. However, she also indicated that having very little contact with the elders in the community has made it difficult to

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<sup>993</sup> Ibid.

<sup>994</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 23; C. R. at 14; M. K. at 14.

<sup>995</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, R. B. at 13-14.

<sup>996</sup> Ibid at 14.

integrate them into the program (Research Transcripts, 1998, R. B.).<sup>997</sup> Unfortunately for the HS program, at least at the time of these studies, there were no support staff that were Native either. "Being in transition between employees has left us with little Native participation." However, she did indicate that a Native aide was scheduled to begin the following week (Research Transcripts, 1998, R. B.).<sup>998</sup>

A parent whose child is enrolled in the HS program, who also serves as a childcare worker, shared her philosophy of caring for children. "I think we're all a family...like all the kids we take care of, they're my kids too...I guess I think of myself like an aunt to them. When my children are here, the other caregivers, their aunts..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K.).<sup>999</sup>

This informant also shared her impression that Native children gravitated to Native workers in the center. She believed that Native employees understood the children because of differences in knowing the culture (Research Transcripts, M. K.).<sup>1000</sup> The parent explained, "When individuals don't know the culture it makes it difficult to teach it, "...it's hard for her [the teacher] because she doesn't understand...she's not familiar with traditional values..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K.).<sup>1001</sup> Even though there are resources available to them, this informant was not confident that the HS program would use them because "...she [the teacher] is not

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<sup>997</sup> Ibid at 15-16.

<sup>998</sup> Ibid.

<sup>999</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K. at 14.

<sup>1000</sup> Ibid at 17.

<sup>1001</sup> Ibid at 18.

familiar with it...it makes her uncomfortable..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, M.K.).<sup>1002</sup>

Regarding the philosophy of teaching the whole child, the HS parent explained, "Having them acknowledge their spirituality will help them achieve their goals that make them feel better. They don't feel a void, there's not that void that something's missing, I'm not learning something. They feel complete." This informant believed when the children from a traditional home enter the structured environment of a learning situation that doesn't incorporate their values, its difficult because "they need that spiritual, they need that encouragement...that kind of love..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, M. K.).<sup>1003</sup>

### ***In Home Parent Training Program (IHPT)***

The In Home Parent Training (IHPT) Center at Petosky reiterated similar philosophical beliefs in dealing with the social and emotional needs of the children. Interviews with the educators from this program were consonant in their views and aspirations. All individuals were parent trainers who worked directly with the families in the home setting.

One informant viewed the purpose of the IHPT to be a way of "...giving back old traditional ways...giving parents their own way of raising their children, by

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<sup>1002</sup> Ibid at 19.

<sup>1003</sup> Ibid at 22.

observation, by letting them learn by observation, not teaching them...letting them learn at their own pace. I'm there if the parents need something..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>1004</sup>

Describing the function of the program, this informant indicated she brings something for the child to do and 'lets the child do with it whatever way they want...I let them think on their own...I never get between the parent and child...' (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>1005</sup> There are some activities that are done each week, but these are not rigidly structured. Basically, the child is encouraged to think on their own, without interference to tell them what to do, or some saying, "You're doing it wrong, not its this way..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>1006</sup>

Language instruction is considered necessary, but not currently a part of the program. However, some cultural emphasis is used in the activities. For instance, one parent wants to make the regalia dress with her child, so the program is building that into the curriculum. The informant shared they had made some traditional foods with the parents and children as well (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>1007</sup>

The traditional values used in the program included respect for the children everything in life itself. In transmitting to parents the need to respect their children, the informant indicated, "I show them other ways [to discipline]...I do it by example and they're picking up on it." The successful internalization of what this informant

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<sup>1004</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 6.

<sup>1005</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1006</sup> Ibid at 8.

<sup>1007</sup> Ibid at 11.



has shared with parents is realized when she hears from a parent, 'Hey, he [the father] hasn't been yelling at us much. He's not saying, 'No don't.', or 'The spankings have stopped'...then I know I've done some good" (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>1008</sup>

In explaining why the use of punishment was an issue that she addressed in the learning situation, the informant indicated that physical punishment "...was not our way. We had a different way of raising our children." When asked to explain how Native parents dealt with disciplining a child, the informant shared that parents did not do much disciplining, but that aunts and uncles did. Typical punishments that they might have used when one sibling hit another was to "...throw them in the lake. Or they might toss a cold cup of water in the face of a child having a tantrum..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.)<sup>1009</sup>

To better communicate with the child, the informant indicated that she gets on their level, voicing respect in the way she talks with the child and "...plays along with them...trying to think like them, and letting her imagination go." She added "...this makes it easier for the parents to do the same" (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.)<sup>1010</sup>

Another value which the informant communicates to children in the program is that everything has life, and is therefore entitled to respect. When asked what were some of the beliefs of the traditional Odawa person, the informant indicated that one should treat everyone as they wished to be treated in return (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>1011</sup> She stressed the importance of teaching the children traditional

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<sup>1008</sup> Ibid at 15.

<sup>1009</sup> Ibid at 16.

<sup>1010</sup> Ibid at 17.

<sup>1011</sup> Ibid at 18.

values and beliefs when they are young so that they will "...hopefully grow up to be a better person... because they are our future..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>1012</sup>

Among those values she considered paramount was loving children, "They're the most important thing, I mean, they're the center of the circle" (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>1013</sup>

Another individual serving in the IHPT program described his role to "try and help families to help themselves...to become self-sufficient...so they can help their kids, that's the most important thing." He explained how this was done by "...going into the home and offering feedback to parents." The focus of the services provided was to assist parents to understand that the learning process begins at birth and even earlier when the child is conceived (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.).<sup>1014</sup> Another facet of the IHPT program is to provide prenatal tracking to ensure that the mother gets proper nutrition and regular physician's care. The informant indicated that he tries to involve the parents by engaging the child in activities and showing parents how to become interactive in the child's play. Through this play process, it is hoped the parental bond with the child intensifies, and that they will begin to learn from each other.

In the event the parent needs assistance, the informant will help them to find the necessary resources (for example, addressing a disability), and makes sure these are accessible to the family. For instance, if the child were born hard of hearing, the

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<sup>1012</sup> *Ibid* at 20.

<sup>1013</sup> *Ibid* at 23.

<sup>1014</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. at 14.

family would be connected to services for deaf children (Research transcripts, 1998, N. J.).<sup>1015</sup>

Knowing the language was considered to be important by most all informants in the case studies. This informant from the IHPT program, who had minimal capability to speak Odawa, nonetheless believed that the children should be taught the language because "...it gives you an extra identity...it's kind of a stamp of who you are" (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.).<sup>1016</sup> He indicated that during his activities with the families, he tries to share what language he knows with the children and parents (Research Transcripts, N. J. O.).<sup>1017</sup>

In discussing caring for children, the informant mentioned that children need be cared for because they in turn will care for elders when they grow-up. In the society, the informant described a caring network of family members who "watch...each others kids...because everyone's like one big family" (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.).<sup>1018</sup> In explaining how the society cares for children, he described "making sure that they had food and clothes..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.).<sup>1019</sup>

He identified the participation of elders teaching the children values in the community. One such value he'd learned from elders while growing up was the

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<sup>1015</sup> *Ibid* at 15.

<sup>1016</sup> *Ibid* at 18.

<sup>1017</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J. O. at 1.

<sup>1018</sup> Research Transcripts, N. J. at 18.

<sup>1019</sup> *Ibid* at 13.

importance of respecting others. The informant expressed a commitment to teaching his own child some of the values he'd learned as a child. He believed it was important to pass the culture on to his child to "...show her how to treat each other right..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. J.).<sup>1020</sup>

In working with families, this informant indicated he gave them mutual respect to "not go in there and try to tell them like it is this way or that," but instead he "tries to create an understanding between them" (Research Transcripts, 1998, N.J.).<sup>1021</sup>

The third teacher from the IHPT program emphasized teaching the children the culture through activities that focus on Native arts and crafts. The traditional values he considered important included being respectful to everyone, respectful of "ways of life, how they look at their religion and how they do particular things in their family..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G.).<sup>1022</sup> He indicated that elders had taught him the culture and some language. His parent had shared the tobacco ceremony with her children throughout their lives. They were taken to Pow Wow gatherings early in their childhood and encouraged to participate to learn and compete in dances (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G.).<sup>1023</sup>

In describing his role as an educator in the IHPT program, the informant referenced helping parents to reconnect with the culture by relearning some

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<sup>1020</sup> Ibid at 8.

<sup>1021</sup> Ibid at 18.

<sup>1022</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G. at 10.

<sup>1023</sup> Ibid at 14.

traditional skills with the children. His activities also provided the children with some history of the Anishnabe and other Indian tribes to show the children that "...we have different religions...ways of going about cultural things...ways of the dance...ways of the ceremonies..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G.).<sup>1024</sup>

In expressing what he believed were traditional values in relation to children, the informant described a community where "...we all need to look out for everybody, all of the children...". He recalled aunts who had as much responsibility as a parent to protect and admonish family children. Sadly, he remarked, "It's something that's being lost now in a big way...". He also missed the community gatherings where families and children got together to dance and eat (Research Transcripts, 1998, G.G.).<sup>1025</sup>

Discussing how the activities of the position assisted families, the informant described the program to support families in distress. Serving as an advocate, the informant can refer them to community resources for assistance, but indicated he is careful to not interfere in their decision. He explained that while providing literature or educational materials, the ultimate decision to seek help remained with the parents alone (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G.).<sup>1026</sup>

One of the most important traditional values he shares with the children is that they learn to "accept and not judge [others]..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, G.G.).<sup>1027</sup>

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<sup>1024</sup> Ibid at 19.

<sup>1025</sup> Ibid at 21.

<sup>1026</sup> Ibid at 30.

<sup>1027</sup> Ibid at 31.

Another element of instruction this informant believed was essential in teaching the children was to question what the majority education system identifies as the cultural history of the Odawa (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G.).<sup>1028</sup> He indicated, "We really have to...as all Nations...to step away from [the term] Indian. We have to get that out of our names, out of our culture, forever because...kids latch onto that" (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G.).<sup>1029</sup> The individual also indicated that he believed that learning the language was important, especially for enjoying a relationship with the elder speakers (Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G.).<sup>1030</sup>

When asked how he transmits the culture to the children, he indicated by modeling it in any given situation. "...They see me dance, and they see me sing, but then they see me doing paperwork. Then they see me bringing or introducing a new game, they see me in different acts and ways of life...and hopefully it gives them a sense that 'I can do anything I want in this world, and its up to me!...'". Nonetheless, this informant also wants to communicate to the children that becoming educated and returning to serve the people is a good aspiration (Research Transcripts, 1998, G.G.).<sup>1031</sup>

### ***EHS Program Lac Vieux Desert***

The EHS program in the Lac Vieux Desert had only two Native childcare givers available for interview. Both had been raised off the federally created

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<sup>1028</sup> Ibid at 33.

<sup>1029</sup> Ibid at 34.

<sup>1030</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1031</sup> Ibid at 36.

territory, which had been retroceded to the tribe under its reorganization pursuant to the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934 (Densmore, 1949).<sup>1032</sup> Each had returned to the reservation as an adult with a family to become involved in the HS programs.

One informant, who identified herself as traditional, indicated she was relearning the culture after having been removed and placed in foster care as a child. The most significant aspect of returning to the culture for this informant was recapturing spiritual beliefs and values that allowed her to regain an Indian identity. Practicing the traditional way, the informant has become involved in using the "sweat lodge" and "smudging" to cleanse body and soul, and continue to learn the spiritual path to peace (Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T.).<sup>1033</sup> This informant viewed living within the traditions as an example for her children to follow and become involved.

When asked to explain how she uses the traditional values and beliefs in the classroom, the informant indicated that her life experience, including the painful aspects of a life in foster care, has given her an understanding and insight into the lives of the children with whom she works. As it explained, because of this painful childhood, she is not only able to see their hurt, but also has the ability to communicate to the children that she cares, will be there for them, and will help to nurture them when it is needed (Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T.).<sup>1034</sup> Basic behaviors that can teach traditional values that she routinely used in the classroom

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<sup>1032</sup> Densmore, Francis, 1949, *A Study of Some Michigan Indians*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan (1949), at 4.

<sup>1033</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T. at 12-13.

<sup>1034</sup> Ibid at 20.

included respect for the children, caring for the child's needs, talking "to" not "at" them, and listening to them on a daily basis (Research Transcripts, L. T.).<sup>1035</sup>

Although the informant recognized a need to create more opportunities for the children to relearn the culture, not being in a policy-making position has impaired her ability to influence the necessary program changes (Research Transcripts, 1998, L.T.).<sup>1036</sup>

The other informant in the Lac Vieux Desert EHS program explained that although she was reared by a parent who knew the traditions, the traditional values and beliefs were not always a part of their lives. Having relocated with her immediate family to the urban area, the informant was without an extended family support system or the Native community. With the exception of a grandfather, who spoke the Ojibwa language and did some traditional singing on occasion, there wasn't a great deal of cultural knowledge available to develop a strong Indian identity.

Some of the traditions learned by the informants were taught by a former spouse. For instance, she was familiar with the use of tobacco in giving thanks to the creator, as when a hunter takes down a deer and makes a tobacco offering (Research Transcripts, 1998, TLVD).<sup>1037</sup> Smudging with sweet grass was also mentioned by the informant, but she did not know what was the purpose of its use. Discussing children, she indicated having learned that children should be treated properly because during

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<sup>1035</sup> Ibid at 24.

<sup>1036</sup> Ibid at 21.

<sup>1037</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, TLVD at 3, 4.



the first two years of life they build trust with the people in their lives (Research Transcripts, 1998, TLVD).<sup>1038</sup> This information appeared to be associated with what she had learned from EHS programs. Regarding respecting children, she considered it important to respect children and treat them properly or they would suffer damage and have problems in adulthood. She further explained that when parents drink a great deal, children are let to run around unsupervised or they are given away (Research Transcripts, 1998, TLVD).<sup>1039</sup>

Attempting to categorize traditional beliefs, the informant described them as a spiritually based and prayerful belief system in which ceremonies and prayers for children and the dead were routine. Speaking of the language, she mentioned an attempt to establish language in the curriculum of the center, but that it had ceased and not been reinstated (Research Transcripts, 1998, TLVD).<sup>1040</sup> Overall, the informant had some knowledge of what traditional beliefs and values entailed, but was generally unable to extrapolate on any aspect of the precepts mentioned.

### ***EHS Program Hannahville***

In the EHS Center in Hannahville Indian Reservation, the childcare provider was relearning the culture after having living in an urban area outside of Michigan until her teen years. She was both a teacher and parent in the EHS program, and was interviewed with her husband, who had lived most of his life on the reservation. She

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<sup>1038</sup> Ibid at 10.

<sup>1039</sup> Ibid at 15.

<sup>1040</sup> Ibid at 16-17.

shared that her parents had returned to the land base so that she could attend the Indian school and learn the culture. Much of the cultural knowledge which she possessed had been recaptured from the school situation. Although her parents were not involved in the spiritual beliefs associated with the traditions (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.P.),<sup>1041</sup> both of the informants were knowledgeable and able to articulate several of the values and beliefs which others in the study had mentioned.

They both expressed a strong desire that their child should learn the culture and the Potawatomi language; and were willing to study it themselves in order to transmit it to their daughter (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.P.).<sup>1042</sup>

In discussing the history, the informant shared she knew a lot about the Potawatomi people, and described the Three Fires Alliance. The teacher indicated what it meant to be Anishnabe, and used the tobacco ceremony as an example she practiced the traditional beliefs. The informant distinguished her traditional beliefs that emphasized the connection of Mother Earth to all things made in the creation from the white religion that worships one God. She indicated that being Anishnabe has helped instill respect for all things (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.P.).<sup>1043</sup>

Defining characteristics of "being Anishnabe," the other parent indicated that they learned to "take care of the land...to live better...know how to do things better" (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.P.).<sup>1044</sup> For this informant, living in peace was both

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<sup>1041</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, K.P. at 2.

<sup>1042</sup> Ibid at 2.

<sup>1043</sup> Ibid at 3.

<sup>1044</sup> Ibid at 4.

an aspiration and model status of "being," while using alcohol was described as the way that the white man had subverted their peace (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.P.).<sup>1045</sup>

In regard to traditional values, the informant shared that respecting elders was an important value and that children were taught this precept at a very young age. When asked to describe how respect for elders was shown in the culture, the informant indicated it was demonstrated by listening to elders and doing for them whatever was requested (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.P.).<sup>1046</sup> Another way to show elders respect was to cut their grass, allow them to eat first at the feasts (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.P.).<sup>1047</sup>

Addressing how the Indian community is distinguished, the informant indicated whether extended family or a neighbor, the community helps each other out. "Everybody's ready to help. You know, like around here, everybody sticks together. Everyone on the reservation is related as a family regardless [of the degree of consanguinity], and even though they may not be related everybody thinks they are relatives"(Research Transcripts, 1998, K.P.).<sup>1048</sup>

In the Indian school curriculum, transmitting the culture to future generations is routine, and includes instruction in the Potawatomi language. Children are given Indian names, and ceremonies of tobacco offerings are routinely held on Monday

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<sup>1045</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1046</sup> Ibid at 5.

<sup>1047</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1048</sup> Ibid.

mornings to commemorate the beginning of the school week (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.P.).<sup>1049</sup> From this training, the informant has learned the traditional belief that all children are valued, that they are welcomed by the extended family to be supported and cared for with the parents (Research Transcripts, 1998, K. P.).<sup>1050</sup>

Asking what was important for the children, the parents responded that they wanted to "...raise her right." This was later defined as wanting to give her an Indian name because it's one way for Him [the Creator] to know your child (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.P.).<sup>1051</sup> One of the most important cultural values in regard to children is to be there for them, to be supportive, straight and strong (Research Transcripts, 1998, K.P.).<sup>1052</sup>

### ***Traditional Values for All***

To be supportive and there for your child was identified by informants as one of the most important cultural values to transmit to children across all of the communities. How a parent can "be there for their child" was expressed in varying ways. One individual has given her children the opportunity to talk freely with her because "...I don't want him to be afraid of not telling me anything." She also believes that by giving the children the traditional values and beliefs it "brings families closer together and gets them involved, like in having...monthly smudging in

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<sup>1049</sup> Ibid at 6.

<sup>1050</sup> Ibid at 9.

<sup>1051</sup> Ibid at 11.

<sup>1052</sup> Ibid at 13.

which they all have their particular duties (Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T.).<sup>1053</sup> She associated being traditional with being a "better mother," and gave credit to living within the traditions for "giving her hope for the future." Being traditional has kept the family life stable, made sure that the emotional well being of her children remains intact, and gives her the skills to work with the children at the Center (Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T.).<sup>1054</sup>

Having a traditional Dad allowed another informant to experience a stable, caring family life, free from alcohol and one which she aspires to give to her son (Research Transcripts, 1998, W.N.).<sup>1055</sup> Similarly, an elder attributed the traditional values and beliefs given her by a grandparent to ultimately have provided the strength to reorder her life and provide a strong home life for a grandchild, who she is now raising (Research Transcript, 1998, M. P. A.).<sup>1056</sup> Yet another elder credited the wisdom attained in senior years, to a great-grandmother, who raised her to understand and respect herself and others. As a parent, this knowledge has now been transmitted to her own children (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A.).<sup>1057</sup>

A member of the younger generation honored their own father for teaching traditional values by modeling respect and caring for their family; and accepting everyone without condition, qualities he now wanted to impart to the children he served in the program (Research Transcript, 1998, G. G.).<sup>1058</sup>

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<sup>1053</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, L. T. at 10.

<sup>1054</sup> Ibid at 16, 17.

<sup>1055</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, W. N. at 5, 7, 18.

<sup>1056</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, M. P. A. at 3, 6.

<sup>1057</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. A. at 10, 13, 15, 29, 31.

<sup>1058</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, G. G. at 5, 21, 29, 31.

Several believed that in keeping traditional values to love and care for children they were essentially "giving back to the community" that which had been given to them as children (Research Transcript, 1998, J. S.).<sup>1059</sup> One informant realized that "giving back" was inherent in living in the traditions to say "...that's how we were raised...that there's a responsibility to give back to the community...I think that its really important, that whatever I do, I'm going to be giving something back, hopefully, as well as taking and learning and experiencing with the children..." (Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S.).<sup>1060</sup> Some informants termed it a duty for "everybody to pitch in their share to help the kids" (Research Transcripts, 1998, C. R.),<sup>1061</sup> while another considered the opportunity to give back traditional ways of rearing children to the parents a privilege of her employment in the program (Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R.).<sup>1062</sup>

A grandparent, in giving the traditional culture to her grandchild, had explained that this "gift" was for the future family that her granddaughter would eventually have in adulthood. Now a parent, the informant firmly believed that the language and culture she'd been given was truly a gift for the next generation and she is now sharing that gift with her toddler, "so that she will know herself, who she is, her place in the world. That's what we're told that the Creator wants for us. [We] want her to be able to live a good life, you know. To bring the next generation in and

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<sup>1059</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, J. S. at 8.

<sup>1060</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1061</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, C. F. at 12.

<sup>1062</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, N. R. at 5.

be able to take care of them so that we can continue the cycle" (Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M.).<sup>1063</sup>

### *Valuing Children in the Family*

For informants participating in these case studies, living within the traditional teachings has become synonymous with "being" and "acting" Odawa, Ojibwa or Potawatomi. When expressing what it meant "to be" Anishnabe, informants related a conceptual framework of interconnectedness between their personal, familial and communal lives that was characterized by strong affection and social responsibility for one another. The system of beliefs and values that was described by those individuals articulate in the traditions, constructed an ideological tapestry that was thematically interwoven with spirituality throughout its framework. This perception was pervasive even among those whose blended bicultural attitudes suggested that remnants of the traditions were attenuated in their compositional ideology. Whether the informants were born into, raised in, or recapturing their traditional culture, for those involved in understanding and living within the beliefs and values of the traditional way of life, spirituality was inextricable from their identity as an Anishnabe person. These individuals strongly believed that "being a spiritual person" was how as an Anishnabe should conduct their life.

The strongest concurrence of informant attitudes expressed as core traditional values was reflected in the overall concern for the welfare of children and elders

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<sup>1063</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, S. M. at 30, 31.

within the four communities. Children were regarded with the utmost value because they represented the future generations in the fight of the Anishnabe to survive as a people. Having discovered via ethnohistorical research how the culture was compromised, it is understandable why traditionalists conceptualize their preservation and transmission of the culture for future generations as the only mechanism available to defend their Indian identity. Throughout history, from every corner of their lives, the forces of change--economic, ideological, political, and sociological--have intervened to disrupt the integrity of individual, familial and communal life in the decimation of the aboriginal culture. As it was expressed by informants, there are no alternatives to preserving the culture and language within the children. For if they do not, there will no longer be an Anishinabe people.

Elders were revered because they had wisdom to share with future generations; and because they had maintained the language and traditions despite overwhelming pressure and destructive assaults to their person, their psyche and their racial identity. Their stories revealed unconscionable circumstances of personal sacrifice that required children to relinquish sacred traditions in punitive institutional situations that forced compliance and were beyond the power of individual or parental control. There was great sadness expressed by these elders when modern Anishinabe opposed the transmission of the culture to future generations of children. Among many younger members focused on preparing the tribe for economic development and financial prosperity, there is reluctance to "go back instead of looking forward." Elders are saddened because this faction of tribal members could not comprehend the



value of saving the traditions that they had fought so hard to preserve in the face of great adversity.

Informants lived the traditional "valuing" of the child by demonstrating that they were concerned if the children were properly fed, clothed and cared for in life. For informants who were parents, valuing their children took many forms. Sometimes it meant a father, who structured his workday to come to the preschool center daily and eat lunch with his children because their toddler needed help in transitioning from the home environment to a preschool situation. In other situations, it was the mothers who nursed an infant, or cuddled toddlers to sleep; or in the case of a parent who was employed in the neighboring Tribal Offices, it meant coming to the center to take her son outside during the lunch hour, because of a concern that "...he doesn't get enough outside [time]" (Research Transcripts, 1998, W. N.).<sup>1064</sup>

Most often parents "valuing" their children was related through stories, some extremely poignant and difficult to discuss, revelations about personal struggles with addiction and recovery, to ensure that their child would have a better life. In the home of one the parents of an EHS child, I was able to observe how two younger generation traditionalists valued their child by learning the language in order to speak fluent Ojibwa to their toddler who, because of their commitment, was able to respond equally fluently in Ojibwa. The love and respect shown their child throughout the interview was indicative of how children had undoubtedly been raised in the aboriginal culture, which was described earlier in the ethnohistorical research. Their

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<sup>1064</sup> Research Transcripts, 1998, W. N. at 4.

respect and caring for the child's spiritual health was shown in the manner they handled their daughter, both verbally and physically. The confidence and security that this child demonstrated, at home and in the preschool situation, attested to the positive outcome which caring and support can have when it is received from parents.

Valuing children was shown by welcoming the spirit of newborns which the parents, grandparents and community celebrated upon their arrival. This ceremony was a part of the aboriginal culture and described earlier by observers who had lived among the Anishnabe and attended such gatherings. During informant interviews, several individuals described the Spring Feast which had just been held at the opening of the Bay Mills Center. As it was explained, this Feast welcomed the spirits of newborn children and gave thanks for all the children in the community. In observing the manner in which the infants in the EHS Bay Mills Center were handled with great care and concern for their welfare, to not only feed and diaper but also cuddle and rock to sleep, talk to and hold, there was little doubt that these children were valued by the parents who came to nurse, the caregivers who watched them daily, and the community, who have given their support for the development of the center. Nor was there any doubt that the program emphasized the social and emotional growth of the children in their care.

Valuing children was described by several young mothers, who indicated that their pregnancies were welcomed by family, even in situations where these parents were underage and unmarried. In watching the in-home parent training of two Odawa mothers, the extended family support which the parent and child received from

grandparents, parents, siblings, nieces and nephews was evident. As the teacher and parent played with the child, others in the family came over and talked to the child, showing them positive attention, offering support for the program. One mother, who was still in school, was able to leave her child with parents and grandparents daily; and as she indicated, knew that the child was as well cared for as if she were there.

In the home of the grandparents of an HS child, it was learned from our conversations that this extended family routinely provided support and assistance to the young family to help them "get on their feet." Sometimes it meant lending a car, helping a grown child to go to school, and in other circumstances just a short conversation to get them going again. These grandparents now had a younger family of their own, whom they regarded as gifts from the Creator. In watching their interactions, it was clear that these children were accustomed to being treated as persons, being spoken "to" not "at," and given choices not directives. Their silence as they observed our conversations was indicative of what they had been taught in the culture, that having the privilege of listening to adults talking also brought the requirement that they show respect by not interjecting or causing a commotion.

In a much different situation, interviewing a grown child with an aunt and mother, each recalled incidents during their lives together in which there was tremendous love, support and concern shown for all of the children of the family. Stories of poverty and deprivation were interspersed with anecdotes of dedication and love from a mother who would not accept any social assistance for fear of losing her children when abandoned by her husband. Three generations had lived in their

household for several years, as the grandmother had given her home and herself to assisting in raising the now grown granddaughter. Aunts and uncles, whose input was invaluable in helping their niece to get through college, became real people as I watched the interaction of this family and reheard the same stories when we met at a community gathering in the Sault Reservation. It was clear that the extended family was still functioning among the informants in this study.

### ***Valuing Children in the Programs***

Children were valued in the community, which was shown by adult concern and involvement in their life. It was particularly evident at the HS and EHS centers and in the community at large during various gatherings. Adults gave children attention to talk to them, monitor behaviors, providing guidance and non-interfering directives, recognizing them as a person to talk to them and ask how they were doing. Concern for the healthy emotional development of children was demonstrated by adults in the programs. Adults whose behaviors reflected the center priorities to understand each individual child, identify their specific needs, and establish methods to meet those changing needs as the child worked through the developmental process.

Bringing the home and center families together through greater parent involvement ensured that the programs could provide a seamless support network to address whatever individual circumstances arose. Community involvement through volunteers and center gatherings sought to expose the children to a variety of potential resources for them to learn the culture and language. Center training was

provided for those individuals unfamiliar with the cultural norms to help establish a consistent response system, that was capable of building personal self-esteem and addressing problematic behaviors in a constructive manner.

Educational philosophies driving individual behaviors again reflected the value and beliefs that children were important; and that preservation of their psychological health was paramount to establishing a healthy, good life. Activities designed to assist children in becoming independent in the EHS program or school readiness program of the HS unit, addressed the need for children to build a strong self-image and Native identity that would facilitate learning. It was explained that children who feel good about themselves have the courage to move forward and experience unfamiliar skills and absorb new knowledge.

The learning process of Native children was described to be first one of observation; and second, manipulation and experimentation of their environment. It was shared that Native children do not respond well to direct confrontation, so that the centers structure learning opportunities in group settings, with cooperative efforts of many children encouraged. In navigating social relationships in the centers, children are supported in learning to share, being patient and respecting each other—in short, establishing a harmonious environment.

Greater numbers of children are entering the centers with problematic behaviors, which are addressed with the focus of preserving the dignity and self-esteem of the child. Workers in the centers utilize knowledge of the community

norms and word usage to enhance communications with children. Generally, they have shared family and extended family relationships or friendships in common within the community, and have a strong integrated network of insider knowledge that allows the workers to become familiar with family circumstances of the children. Knowing about family situations and community events allows caregivers and teachers the advantage of engaging the interest of the child to stimulate conversations that can increase his verbal skills. The informants use this knowledge for other purposes as well. They are astute to changes in the child's life that can be disruptive to their spiritual balance, as when parents are divorcing or separating. During these times, the staff is able to support the child, and quickly contact parents to let them know when a problem arises so that they can coordinate a home/school solution or refer the parent for some type of assistance.

Informants were quick to explain that silence in the culture is quite acceptable as a response when a child needed time to reflect, observe or think rather than act. It was certainly observed during many of the activities where only a few children were boisterous and eager to respond to questioning posed by the HS teacher after reading a story. Rather these children remained quiet until they had formulated an answer and only then were willing to share their observation. A timing difference between what this researcher as observed in the mainstream culture as a teacher in the majority environment, where children are encouraged to quickly respond with the answer and are often eager to provide their observation even if it is inaccurate.

Harmony was another important value stressed in the programs visited. Children were taught to get along with one another, and fighting or dissension was discouraged. Generally, emphasizing respect for one another, or using the Golden Rule (Treat others as you wish to be treated) as a tool to explain respect to small children seemed to work. Moreover, the key to motivating appropriate behaviors appeared to be the internalization of self-monitoring behaviors, which families also emphasized and centers build upon in maintaining the peace.

Children are encouraged to be introspective, using storytelling as a device to initiate the child's thinking processes about "what they do" and "why they do it." In some centers, elders have become involved in bringing moral lessons to the children through the storytelling process. In this manner, Elders have brought the children an appreciation for all life, recognition of the contribution of animals and plants to feed and provide medicine, while simultaneously learning the legends of the culture.

Teaching the language in the EHS and HS programs has taken the form of learning words and phrases to identify objects in the school environment, animals and other things in the external world. In some cases, elders have provided the instruction, and controversy has developed over the legitimacy of the teacher's knowledge, the objectives of teaching isolated concepts in language over total immersion philosophy, and the value of learning the language at all. In talking to different informants and community members, the representation of anyone of these positions was possible at any given time. Hence, barriers and impediments have circumscribed the full implementation of language programs in all of the centers.

However, programs with Native speakers employed as staff have had the advantage of exposing the children to learning some words and phrases used in the educational process. Even where the speaker can only utter a few words, as in the case of the IHPT teacher who shared the words for shapes and colors with the child and parent using the Odawa language, it appears that some language training is happening and considered better than none at all.

Children are taught independence through various methods which are designed for the level and age of the child. Mealtime affords an opportunity for children to learn how to care for their own needs by setting the tables, serving themselves and cleaning up afterwards. Everyone is expected to participate in the process and content of mealtime activities. Conversation is usually instigated by adults engaging children, but children also routinely talk to peers or anyone else. Parents are always welcomed and families of children from anyone of the different program levels eat together. Older children assume responsibility for younger ones who may need assistance, solace or comfort when a center employee is not immediately available or adequate. Children from different programs (EHS, HS, and Day Care) can generally eat together, as can adults who visit the centers at mealtime.

HS children engage in learning activities designed to assist them in transitioning to a public school situation. Since the EHS program was relatively new, there was little information available among informants regarding the ease with which EHS children have adapted to the HS program. The HS children participating during the time of these case studies will be the first class of EHS/HS children to have



come through the two programs to enter public school next year. It will be important to continue studies on these children to determine if the seamless transitioning of EHS and HS children facilitates their adjustment to the mainstream educational environment.

Some of the HS activities included story time, gross motor physical activities (games, bicycle riding, and running around) outdoors; and small motor coordination skills (coloring, pasting, cutting) during indoor class time. Social-emotional developmental activities included self-control during lessons, meals and naptime; self-monitoring personal behaviors in interactions with other children during educational activities and playtime; and adult assistance for children to better understand and follow directions given during instructional periods and alternative activities.

Although the HS program had only one biracial Native teacher, there was daily interactive relationships between the children and other Native members of the staff, parent volunteers and families, wherein the HS children were able to talk, get a hug or receive some discipline from another Native adult.

### **Transmitting the Culture**

The EHS staff cared for children with parental kindness and concern. This was discerned in the way that they physically touched and soothed all of the children from infancy to HS stages. They were remarkably gentle and familial in the character

of their adult/child relations, and children reacted in kind. There was no scolding, raised voices, nor angry admonishments to compromise the child's self-esteem or erect barriers to impede the child's enjoyment of the EHS or HS settings.

During meals, the children were actively engaged in conversations with the childcare workers, peers and other adults. They asked questions, laughed at silly comments, responded to adult directions without complaint or apparent resistance, and appeared generally relaxed. The children busied themselves with all aspects of preparation, eating and cleaning up with little direction. Childcare workers helped little ones to cut food or pour milk, but even two year-old toddlers were able to pour their own milk into a glass as well as serve their own food using a spoon from a family-size bowl. One year-old children were fed by the childcare workers, or helped themselves from food placed on their highchair tray.

Clean up was impressive with small toddlers scraping plates, wiping tables and chairs, and depositing garbage into containers. All of these activities were done with a minimum of fuss and without disruptive behavior.

During naptime, the silence and patience of these toddlers was extraordinary. It is the policy of the center to cuddle and rock each child to sleep for those needing such attention. Childcare workers supervise and assist children in setting up the room for naptime, laying out mats and obtaining personal or center blankets. The comforting begins with the most needy child to be rocked and soothed by cuddling them in a blanket. Often the toddlers comforted themselves by rubbing or caressing

the workers hands, arms or face. Children not being rocked to sleep, calmly waited their turn to be cuddled, lying silently on their mats, without any noise or commotion, until the child being rocked was asleep and placed on their mat. As the next child was motioned to come up, the others remained silent, waiting for their turn. There were four childcare workers and others who simultaneously comfort children to help them get to sleep. Native flute music soothed the children over a loudspeaker, and a few parents, who regularly came to help their own child to sleep, quietly read them a story or rubbed their back.

Throughout the daily processes, when changing diapers, feeding infants or playing with toddlers, the voices and demeanor of caregivers was noticeably modulated and consistently calm. Children appeared to respond to the adults in like manner. During playtime, listening to stories, the children engaged in interactions with peers and adults as needed, but were generally quiet, with very little crying or yelling.

In the HS classroom, observations occurred in many different situations, including instructional periods, story time, eating, naptime and outdoor play activities. There was a part-Native teacher and two aides who were non-Native personnel. Children were four years old and scheduled to enter kindergarten in the public school next year. There appeared to be less parent involvement at this level, and children were expected to have greater responsibility of their own care. Hand washing before dinner and bathroom use was completed without teacher or aide supervision. Children were required to stop noise making when the teacher delivered

instructions, but during activities children chatted with peers and an occasional adult. This group was much more boisterous than the EHS group, likely due to the type of age appropriate activities typically utilized in the classroom. The children had story time with open questions to test their attention and retention. There was formal hand raising prior to speaking, and some children had to be reminded that only one person talks at a time.

During structured art activities, children sat in groups, with adults moving about the room to supervise and assist. There were some children who didn't complete the lesson because they were engaged in other activities, such as walking around or attending to their neighbors work. Some were curious about the presence of another adult in the room and asked questions. Trying to minimize the affect of my being in the room, I helped some of the children complete their art project when they sought assistance.

The children had two play periods per day, outdoors in a fenced in area where they could play games, play with toys, ride bicycles or swing. Most of the adults supervising the outdoor activities remained in the background, occasionally speaking to one another. Children accessed an adult's attention when necessary, but generally called for their intervention only when a struggle over an object erupted. The manner in which these confrontations were handled was to indicate sharing of preferred toys was expected and everyone would get a turn. This seemed to mollify the complaining child for a short period, and a second attempt to obtain the toy ensued momentarily. These adults did not appear to explain the need for sharing, nor follow through with

monitoring times on the preferred toy to enforce the relinquishment in a timely manner. On occasion a child would become interested in playing a game, which was organized by an adult and played on a limited basis, involving only a few interested children. Others continued singular activities or played with friends, while some children sat down quietly observing the play year.

Naptime was structured to require all children to lie down on a mat for a specific period, whether they slept or not. There were no parents who came during these periods, and the aides did not engage in comforting children. When one child persistently refused to rest, it was difficult for the aid to insist that he lay down; and he did not comply with subsequent directives to remain on his mat.

The curriculum content in this classroom utilized Indian pictures and a few words posted on the walls, but not having a Native speaker in the instructional staff made teaching the language to the children difficult. There was very little mention of any cultural values or beliefs incorporated into the program curriculum. In passing, the teacher commented on a child's dancing skill or participation in a Pow Wow, but neither structured learning experiences or teacher/aide communications contained any systematic cultural enrichment.

### ***In the IHPT Program***

The IHPT program in Petosky had three teachers who worked directly with parents in home situations to assist them in learning parenting techniques designed to

support the development of their child's school readiness skills. The program was specifically designed to enhance the child's verbal communication abilities and build strong socialization skills prior to entering public school or an HS Center.

The three teachers were Native and by their own designation considered themselves to be "traditional," with values and beliefs characteristic of the traditional way of life. All of these informants had a parent or grandparent who had preserved aspects of the aboriginal culture to share with their families. None could speak the language with the exception of a few words, but all had a strong foundation in the traditions and were articulate in describing what values and beliefs they held as an Odawa.

In the IHPT program, the teachers worked directly with the parents to demonstrate instructional tools used to stimulate and motivate the child's interest and response. In all cases, the parent was a mother and the children ranged in age from five months to four years. Three of the parents were all Native, and one was non-Native.

Overall, the style and manner utilized by these teachers working with Native parents and children was characteristic of what they had described as "being respectful" and "treating others with respect." The teachers offered parents information without becoming authoritarian or didactic. In the teacher/parent dyad, both demonstrated equality and respect for each other through their communications which had a bantering style reminiscent of teasing in some situations. The parent and

child communications were less verbal, with more nuance, eye contact and demeanor to supplement and enhance meaning. Their exchanges with parents indicated strong familial connections and community relationships held in common, and they spoke of events and individual situations which appeared to be well known among them.

In working with the children, the teachers used words and terminology that were familiar to the child, which appeared to facilitate their communications and allowed the child to know what was expected of them in the completion of the activity. In showing the child how to do a task, two teachers' directives were more like suggestions for the child to choose, using slight voice modulations to attract the child's attention and engage their interest in the activity. One teacher chose to use the floor as an instructional surface, getting down on the child's level to focus their attention on the materials before them. Native parents were willing to participate, though less exuberant and effusive than the one non-Native parent observed in this program.

During the lessons, grandparents, uncles and even a young cousin joined the group upon returning to the home. Members of the child's extended family all lived in the same household in two case study situations. As the extended family entered the ongoing conversation, each was accorded equal respect by the teacher and parent, bringing them into the conversation where they exhibited the same knowledge and familiarity with the topics of discussion.

In the first situation, the teacher was working with a four-year old child who was preparing to enter kindergarten in public school. The parent was a single mother in her early twenties, living at home with parents and siblings. The lessons were primarily focused on arts and crafts projects, in which the teacher worked with the child to engage her in conversations, tell stories and demonstrate activities and communications styles to the parent. For the duration of the lesson, the teacher remained relaxed and congenial, using voice modulations to signal or redirect the child's attention to the activity. On every available occasion, the child's efforts were praised by everyone, and she was encouraged to try even the most difficult manipulations with the art objects. The child appeared to be attuned to slight changes in the teacher's voice being used as a directional tool; and was watchful of the teacher's demeanor to which she seemed to refer in determining if a portion of the task was complete. By structuring a calm and supportive learning environment, the child was allowed to observe and reflect before attempting any skill; and did not seem to be concerned with failure because there were no adverse consequences for "not doing something right."

The skills development tasks included the creation of a three-dimensional picture using quill art, during which the teacher provided both the parent and child information on the history of quill art construction in the Odawa tribe. The conversation also included prospective projects for the months ahead, allowing the child input in the selection of arts or crafts.



In the second situation, the teacher worked with a teenage mother and her seven-month-old baby. This young mother lived with her parents, who provided childcare while she attended a cosmetology program. Instructional activities included the manipulation of play objects, demonstration of the physical exercises to encourage gross motor skill development (crawling, sitting up), and verbalization to stimulate child responses.

During the lessons, the teacher held and played with the baby, using Odawa words to name colorful objects as the attention of the child and parent was directed to observing the teacher demonstrate different shapes and colors. The teacher discussed developmental milestones, using ordinary language to point out the changes in the child's progression, conferring with the mother, rather than imposing his own views. He used the example of his own child to create an analogy for the parent to compare her baby's current developmental progress and disclose projected changes in the coming months.

Directly instructing the child, the teacher drew attention to the environment, making bird noises and showing the baby a crow. This encouraged the parent to share her child's reaction to touching sand for the time, and feeling the water run over his feet at the local beach. The teacher shared how to use every occasion to interact with the child, even diaper changing moments were described as opportunities to talk to the infant and stimulate their listening, observing and responding skills. With three generations in the household and significant involvement of the grandparents in the

child's care, it was likely that he would be exposed to learning more of the language throughout the years.

Even where there were clear disparities in the age and experience of the teacher and the parent, the tenor of conversations were respectful and congenial. This was especially evident when the teenage mother was shown developmental activities and it was apparent that she was unaware of some of the knowledge being offered.

In the non-Native IHTP situation, the child was alternately quiet and noisy. The teacher initially established a quiet atmosphere for learning at the outset and the child responded by attending and participating appropriately. When free, the mother joined the activity with fanfare and verve, loudly praising the child's work to excite and stimulate the child by her attention. Calming the child using a low voice and eye contact, the teacher continued with the lesson, only to experience another disruption as the parent's exuberance again ignited the child's excitement, which distracted him from the task at hand. Once more, the teacher began using voice modulation and eye contact to direct the child to the continuation of the learning activity.

There was an interruption when someone came to the door and the child followed her away from the activity. The teacher now used a slightly lower pitch to call the child back to the lesson, not rising to follow him or using an admonishment. The child, clearly torn between discovering whom the mother was talking with and returning to the lesson appeared to disregard the teacher, but within moments sat back down and re-engaged in the learning activity.

There was a definite difference in the manner in which the teacher and parent reacted to this child; and a significant change in the way the child responded to these differences in treatment. Although this child has intermittent contact with the biological father who is Native, there seemed to be some recognition in the use of voice and demeanor that this teacher routinely used to communicate an unspoken message for the child to attend to the lesson.

Communications between the teacher and parent were cordial, but less bantering and teasing occurred, as did conversations regarding community events or individuals they knew in common. Although the parent was given the same respect as others in the program, there was less of an open exchange of ideas, or sharing of insights. The teacher/child discussions appeared to focus on maintaining the child's attention rather than demonstrating skills, which seemed to be related to the interaction of the parent in the triad.

In the final situation in which the teacher worked with a parent, both were Native, but the mother had lived away from the community for several years, growing up in the area but not associating with the Indian residents. The child's father was also non-Native, and it was the hope of this parent that the child would become more familiar with the traditions and be proud of her heritage.

In this situation, the teacher was demonstrating how to use story telling and imagination to stimulate the child's ability to verbalize ideas toward the goal of

improving her communication skills and initiate socialization. Entered into the program because she was shy, the parent stated that the purpose was to help her become more assertive and appreciate her Indian heritage. To accomplish these goals, the teacher used activities designed to engage the child in interactive play, with a great deal of positive reinforcement. Throughout the lesson, the teacher allowed the child to take the lead in developing the story and brought the parent into the exchange to practice the technique of supporting the child's efforts to verbalize her thoughts.

Teaching tools included a flannel board, with characters that resembled the fairy tale Goldilocks. The child manipulated the story pieces as she related events and both the parent and teacher reacted to each story segment. Another activity involving a Lite Brite toy which was to stimulate the child's small motor coordination skills in conjunction with assisting her to develop the ability to write the alphabet.

Relations between the teacher and parent were extremely respectful and both treated the child with equal respect as well. The student was an only child, who lived with parents, a grandfather and uncle. Although two of these adults returned to the home during the lesson, none joined in or remained in the teaching area, choosing instead to immediately go to another part of the house. The lesson was punctuated with squeals and laughter as the child created a story that reflected an unusual stream of thought typical of a four-year old. From the parent it was learned that at the beginning of these in-home training sessions, the child had hung her head and spoke using a barely audible voice. After attending this lesson, it was apparent that these activities were accomplishing the goal of stimulating and encouraging verbalization

and communication skills that will be necessary for her to achieve in a mainstream education program.

*In the EHS Lac Vieux Desert*

In the EHS program at the Lac Vieux Desert reservation, there were only two childcare workers who were Native. The remaining staff, including the Director, were non-Natives from the local community. The Center was located on a small piece of recaptured reservation in close proximity to the new gambling casino and tribal enterprise complex owned by the Lac Vieux Desert Ojibwa government. These facilities represented one of the largest employers of local non-Native residents in that area of the Upper Michigan Peninsula.

Prior to my arrival, arrangements had been made by the Inter-Tribal Council to interview the center staff. After meeting with the Director, it was explained that the case study focused on learning the cultural values and beliefs of the Anishnabe, and therefore I would only need to interview the Native staff. Although this had been communicated in the preceding correspondence, the disinterest in interviewing non-Native staff seemed to generate mild surprise. The director indicated time for the two Native employees to interview would have to be cleared with their supervisors, which she proceeded to expedite. The center was divided into two sections with EHS and Day Care sharing the facilities. The children were brought together for lunch, but children did not participate in the preparation or clean up, nor was the meal served family style.

Observations in the programs appeared to unnerve the non-Native staff, who appeared uneasy. Note taking also seemed to raise some concerns, but there was no attempt to discontinue cooperation.

In observing the two centers, I was immediately struck by the differences in the two EHS Centers. The Lac Vieux Desert Program was not populated with parents nor community volunteers as had been apparent in the Bay Mills facility, and there were other small differences that bear mentioning. The organization of the Bay Mills operation was reminiscent of their community organization. It was horizontally structured rather than hierarchical, in a circle of equal participants. The cooks and bus driver had as much freedom to interact and give input to the children, as did the teacher and childcare director. The system and process appeared to function more like an extended family group and was egalitarian in posture.

Early in the research it was evident that the Lac Vieux Desert operation was quite hierarchical in nature, with differences in the equality of staff that were discernible. These differences did not appear to be so much contingent upon knowledge of the child as it was centered on positional authority. A minor incident that occurred during the mealtime best describes the differences in program administration. Meals were distributed cafeteria style, with children provided a helping from the cook or server as they filed through a line. There were no family-style extra helpings provided on the table for the child to help themselves as they needed.

Upon finishing, a child requested another helping of food because he was still hungry. The Native childcare worker sitting at the table indicated that he could have another helping, but was immediately over-ruled by the cook, who was positioned within earshot of the table. She quickly responded to negate the childcare worker's agreement to the second serving, indicating to allow it would violate organizational rules prohibiting additional helpings. Overhearing the incident, the director interceded to allow the second serving, as the cooks and other workers, who were then serving themselves, continued to disperse the remainder of the food for their lunch.

In this small incident there were several differences apparent in the treatment of adults and children in the LVD program. In this hierarchical structure, rules governed the distribution of food to the children and the conduct of those individuals in positions of lesser authority. Determinations on an exception to the rules were made by supervisory staff and, ultimately, referred to the director in charge of the operation. Children were on the bottom of the hierarchy, which was tacitly demonstrated by the need for them to ask for the privilege of receiving another portion of food through the chain of authority. Native childcare workers were beneath the supervisory staff, as were cooks and servers; and the director, who was above everyone, had the power to negotiate the dispensation of extra food despite the rules that applied to the entire organization.

In the Bay Mills Center, decisions about food proportioning were similarly determined by policy and procedure. However, the authority to make the decision on

the distribution was spread horizontally and equally among all of the personnel in the structure and, in fact, included the children themselves. These policies and procedures appeared to emulate the family life atmosphere and community culture of the Center. For example, food was placed on the table in serving dishes, and each individual, adult or child, was given autonomy to help themselves in whatever portions were appropriate to their need. Second helpings were similarly left to the individual and were dependent only upon the availability of the remaining supply. Children were expected to help themselves, without having to ask for permission, which included their decision to serve themselves a second helping. Thus, the child's place in the organizational structure appeared to be equal to adults and other children; and the opportunity to access additional food was contingent only upon individual want and the availability of residual food.

Differences in administration regarding the governance of employees was also evident. In the Bay Mills Center, as it was expressed during the interviews, individuals shared responsibility for all children. Acting as a team, children were provided services and adults contributed to those services as equal partners. Essentially, there was no apparent "pecking order" in their horizontal structure. The only interest to be served that was mentioned during the discussions held with informants from all levels in the structure was that of the child. Hence, when one employee made a decision regarding a child, the legitimacy of their action was seldom challenged, so long as the basis was consonant with the goals of the organization--serving the best interest of the children.



There were differences in the availability of traditional knowledge among the Native employees in the center as well. Interviews with the two Native childcare workers revealed that both individuals had lost much of their culture when they were removed from the community during childhood. The first informant was raised in an urban environment where her parent had relocated for employment. She had only returned as an adult to the Lac Vieux Desert Reservation with a husband who was from the band. Although a grandparent had shared some cultural knowledge with her during those years, she was only able to mention a few traditional concepts, but not able to explain their meaning or function. For instance, in discussing how her grandfather had placed a plate of food at their Thanksgiving table shortly after her grandmother's death, the informant did not associate the import of this action with the Ghost Supper feast.

In observing how this informant worked with the children, it was apparent that she respected them, and this was demonstrated by the manner in which she cared tenderly for the toddlers. She appeared to be knowledgeable about their family situations, which assisted in guiding her behaviors in attending to the child. While, there were no clear instances that could be attributed to the use of traditional values and beliefs or the transmission of cultural knowledge through story telling, singing or language usage, the informant's demeanor was quiet and supportive of the needs of the children.

The second childcare worker, who had been removed and placed in foster care with a white family, had also been raised in an urban environment. Upon attaining

adulthood, the informant returned to the community and became involved in recapturing the traditions. She described immersion in the Traditional way of life through her participation in the Medicine Lodge and the practice of ceremonies and feast celebrations. The informant shared values and beliefs which she indicated were the precepts which were taught to her own children and how she treated the children in the Center. As she had described, she used stories and anecdotes with the children to teach them life lessons, and humor to lighten their spirits. At times when it was necessary, she cuddled the children as she would her own.

The informant had become involved in relearning the language and indicated that she used some of the words with the children. One of the most important aspects of the care provided by this informant appeared to be her understanding of the needs of the children. Having come from a dysfunctional childhood situation in which there had been alcoholism and family violence, the informant indicated that she was able to recognize the needs of children from the same environment and met those needs with an extra measure of caring and affection. In working with the children who were treated like her own, she provided understanding and caring as if they were family. In some instances, this meant holding children to calm them down, in others, it meant playing with them and providing interaction and attention.

Meeting with a parent of an EHS child afforded the opportunity to learn more about the Center operation than resulted from interviews with employees. In describing the program, this informant indicated that the language program consisted of words and phrases given to the children, such as a morning greeting. The cultural

component includes drumming and dancing which is displayed by an elder teacher from another community. The children were taught the use of the drum, but the parent was unable to describe what the Elder's lessons were like, and he was not present during the times I was at the center. However, another informant indicated that this program had been discontinued as a result of some type of community conflict, and the children were now exposed to the language only on an intermittent basis. Cultural training had also been discontinued because the elder had provided that as part of the language lessons. In discussing the existence of culture in the community, the parent indicated that there were only a few families that maintained the traditions. Although this parent came to the center regularly to take her son for a walk at the lunch hour, she was unable to determine if there was a lot of parental involvement in the center activities. While satisfied that he was adequately cared for through the center, she also indicated that there should be more culture and language available to the children.

Observations of the daily activities included playtime, meals, and naptime, when the children were supervised by three childcare workers. The children did not engage in supervised play, but were allowed to explore and select whatever objects attracted their attention. Some of the boys played on a small drum, but did so without adult input to talk about the drum or provide assistance in achieving a cadence. Meals were served with the older children and, as already described, were processed more like a school cafeteria setting than the family structure. Naptime infants were cared for in a separate room, while toddlers went to sleep in a room that was separate from their play area. Adults attending to the children did not rock or cuddle the

toddlers, and infants were held and fed, but not cuddled. Overall, this center provided little opportunity to learn more about the culture or observe its use among the employees.

### *In The EHS Hannahville*

In the Hannahville EHS program, housed in the Hannahville Indian School, there was a mixture of Native and non-Native workers. Both of the informants were Native, one was a teacher and the other a parent of a child in the center. Although neither recalled being raised in the traditions, both were now relearning the culture in order to provide the knowledge to their children.

When asked to describe what the cultural values and beliefs of the Potawatomi were, the first informant explained that she has experienced a growing awareness of the Creator and what he has given Anishnabe people, specifically addressing the blessings from Mother Nature. When asked to explain what some of the beliefs were that the informant held, she indicated that although she does not practice the traditions daily, she nonetheless believes that the tobacco ceremony is the appropriate way for the Creator to receive you in prayer. In describing a traditional value, she shared that elders in the community were respected because they were the teachers of the traditions. To show this respect, the informant described doing things such as cutting their grass, allowing them to eat first at the feast, and otherwise take care of them. She likened the community to "a big family" where everybody was related to everyone else, and you could rely on them for support. Having learned some of the

language in attending the Hannahville Indian School, the informant expressed a desire to know the language to give it to her daughter.

The parent informant described his lifelong residency on the Potawatomi Reservation as an experience that provided him a cultural identity. Having only left for a brief period during childhood, the individual recalled that most of his life he understood and appreciated the land. In the original culture, the informant believed individuals found peace. He valued family relationships and a community in which one could count on the support of others. Although he was not fluent in the language, he has chosen to learn both the language and traditions in order to give them to his child. As a child attending the Hannahville School, he was given an Indian name and participated in the weekly tobacco ceremonies every Monday morning. In practicing the spiritual aspects of the traditions, both informants indicated that these beliefs sustained them through troubled times.

In the EHS program the children were given an opportunity to play with each other in a smaller confined area. The childcare workers engaged the interest of the children, talking with them and using toys to stimulate their attention. There was very little scheduled activity, and there were only a few toddlers present. This was the smallest group of children I observed in the four centers. At least two parents were also present, having come into the center to retrieve their children. The EHS teacher did not spend a great deal of time at the center during the time I was there, but I did have the opportunity to observe the childcare workers in the performance of their responsibilities. The children were treated gently and kindly, both in manner

and in the way that adults spoke to the children. There did not seem to be an extraordinary amount of conversation that passed between the workers and the toddlers. For the most part, they were left to explore independently with input only when they approached an adult. I also did not hear any of the language being used to identify objects or greet the children.

## **CHAPTER FIVE - CONCLUSIONS**

Examining the findings of this research prompted several conclusions regarding the durability of cultural values and beliefs that have been sustained in all four tribal communities from which informants were drawn. As earlier indicated, using Hickerson's (1970) space-time equivalence in history analysis to reconstruct the Anishinabe culture, this research was able to compare several values and beliefs described by informants against ethnohistorical documentation detailing the elements of original traditions associated with being Anishinabe (Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi) in the aboriginal era (Hickerson, 1970).<sup>1065</sup> This chapter relates informant philosophies and behaviors in the preschool situations to the body of literature which explains how cultural continuity affects the design and implementation of education programs for Native children.

### **Transitional Culture**

The inter-generational informants were a diverse group in age, gender and degree of cultural competency. However, it was evident that patterns of uniformity emerged in the belief and value systems that were being discussed. The divergence in cultural orientation appeared to be a function of personal experience, family history and community locations. Although most all individuals could discuss the elements of traditional ceremonies, not all informants believed in them exclusively, nor practiced the rituals daily. This type diversity in cultural orientation has been noted

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<sup>1065</sup> Hickerson (1970) at 6.

in other research examining the acculturation of Native values and beliefs within various tribal groups. Both LaFromboise (1990)<sup>1066</sup> and Walkingstick Garrett (1995)<sup>1067</sup> assessed the extent of "Indianness" subjects had retained using the degree of acculturation which occurred within an Indian community to classify individuals into five categories. These divisions included: (1) traditionals--individuals who had retained fluency in the language, held membership and participated in the Traditions, and were currently adhering to the tenets and practices of the traditions as a matter of daily routine; (2) transitionals--individuals with the capability to speak both English and their Native language, in some cases converted to organized religions, though they did not consider themselves a member of the dominant society; (3) marginals--people who may be defensively Indian, but are unable either to live the cultural heritage of their tribal group or to identify with the dominant society. This group tends to have the most difficulty in coping with social problems due to their ethnicity; (4) assimilated--individuals accepted by the dominant society; embracing only mainstream culture and values; (5) Bicultural--individuals who are accepted by the dominant society, yet also know the tribal traditions and culture. They can thus move between cultures with ease (LaFromboise, 1990).<sup>1068</sup>

Although the research did not similarly classify informants in this study, there were individual differences that if categorized would meet the criteria of each designation. In most cases, the acculturation experience had resulted from being

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<sup>1066</sup> LaFromboise, Teresa D., Trimble, Joseph e., Mohatt, Gerald V., (1990), Counseling Intervention and American Indian Tradition: An Integrative Approach, *The Counseling Psychologist*, October 1990, pp. 628-654, at 638.

<sup>1067</sup> Walkingstick Garrett (1995) at 188.

<sup>1068</sup> LaFromboise (1990) at 638.



removed and placed in a boarding school away from the community, having a parent or grandparent who was institutionalized, or being relocated to an urban area in families seeking employment. All of these situations made a categorical difference in the amount of cultural competency retained by the informant. Overall, there was uniformity in the descriptions of specific values such as: "respecting" and "caring" for children, Elders, everyone in the community. Most explained the social cohesive of Tribal groups as "having a sense of community," which was interpreted to mean "being there for others," giving assistance and support in difficult times, listening to others, sharing food, shelter and clothing when others were in need; acting as an extended family in child-rearing responsibilities, or getting together regularly to "visit."

These values have been identified in other research to be strongly associated with Native communities having a "traditional" culture orientation. Red Horse (1980), studying values orientation among American Indians recognized that the extended family system serves as a guide to direct the socialization of children in the society in learning how to be interdependent within the group. Extended family systems foster interdependence rather than individualism. Although children are expected to be self-reliant, their behavior is shaped from a collateral network of family relationships within the community from which they receive approval and recognition.

Much discussion was devoted to the "Cycle of Life" concept through which informants described children in the progression of development from birth to death

as they absorb guidance, love and accept social responsibility in the maturation process. Interwoven in this concept were the traditional beliefs regarding the emergence of the soul on earth, milestones in learning the spiritual teachings, and life's lessons offered to individuals as they move forward in the integrated network of family, community, spiritual guidance and afterworld experiences to mold value and beliefs in the traditional orientation. Red Horse (1980) explained that children move from birth to death in an arch of development, interfacing continuously with extended family, and at each stage of relational interaction behavior training is accomplished. As children are cared for in the society, they learned from extended family caregivers the obligation of social responsibility for collective child-rearing. In adolescence, as they "prepared to care for" others, youths contributed time and labor to the extended family care network, becoming a part of the interdependent chain of caring adults. In adulthood, individuals are "assuming to care for" others in the group whether they are children, parents, or elders in the extended family system (Red Horse, 1980).<sup>1069</sup> Walkingstick Garrett (1995) indicates that in the Native American culture the extended family network and tribal systems function to transmit social responsibility, ethical reciprocity and values orientation of the community. Family in his definition, extends to cousins, clan members, the community at large, and even includes creatures of the world, nature and the universe (Walkingstick Garrett, 1995).<sup>1070</sup> Examining family relationships among the Ojibwa, Landes (1968) found that children were expected to learn to care for elders, to be kind and assist them whenever

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<sup>1069</sup> Red Horse (1980), at 465-466.

<sup>1070</sup> Walkingstick Garrett (1995) at 188.

possible. In return, elders were viewed as the guardian of the children to provide them with love, and teach children how to live a "right life" (Landes, 1968).<sup>1071</sup>

## **Spirituality**

In this study, informants communicated the importance of being spiritually connected to the Creator, family, others in the community, and all things on Mother Earth. Being "spiritually balanced" has remained a vital part of the ethos embedded in the traditional teachings and worldview of those interviewed. Having spirituality was expressed as a discrete concept (a spiritual connection to the Creator, Manitou, the spirit world); a function of an integrated paradigm (the spiritual development in the Life Cycle of children, the Four Cardinal Directions, and the Midewiwin teachings of the Red Way or Red Path); an essential component of a process (the Ghost Suppers, Sweat Lodge, Tobacco and Smudging Ceremonies); as a behavior outcome (being connected to others, supporting, caring and loving elders, children and members of the community); as a place (being in the sacred circle, living in the Traditional way of life); and as a symbolic object such as the drum, which signified the connection of the Anishinabe to Mother Earth.

Several other researchers have confirmed that "being a spiritual person" or "having spirituality" is an important element in the cultural values and beliefs of Native Traditional systems. Walkingstick Garrett (1994) found that Native Americans believe all things in the universe are "connected and balanced in a

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<sup>1071</sup> Landes (1968) at 12.

continuous flow of cycling of energy." Being spiritually balanced allows individuals to experience life in harmony with all things in the universe wherein everyone and everything has a purpose and value (Walkingstick Garrett, 1994).<sup>1072</sup> In the present study, informants indicated a strong need for spiritual balance and connectedness within their own lives as they interfaced with others in the community. "Being connected" was defined as "honoring the sacredness" of other human beings, recognizing, accepting and communicating their value as a person. When individuals honored others, they were able to achieve spiritual wellness and harmony in their lives. Walkingstick Garrett (1994) explains harmony as living in a balanced fashion as one moves through the cycle of life to maintain a healthy spirit, nature, body and mind. He explains the "Medicine Wheel," which denotes the Circle of Life, the "way of things" or "way of life," as the way that an individual has chosen to focus their time and energies in the four directions (of mind, body, spirit, and natural environment). This theme of "keeping spiritual balance," "having harmony in your life," "walking the Red Path or Red Way," "treating people in a good way" were exemplified by informants in the study as being at the heart of an ideology they termed simply as "living within the traditional way of life." Those individuals "walking in the way of life" are seeking balance and harmony to maintain a healthy existence (Walkingstick Garrett, 1994).<sup>1073</sup> According to Pflug (1998), having spiritual harmony is living an ethical existence in which relationships with others are paramount and characterized by caring (Pflug, 1998).<sup>1074</sup> Informants in this study whether Odawa, Ojibwa or Potawatomi epitomized belief systems that embraced

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<sup>1072</sup> Walkingstick Garrett (1994) at 138.

<sup>1073</sup> *Ibid* at 139.

<sup>1074</sup> Pflug (1998) at 108.

ethical living. They mentioned treating others with respect, caring for others, being supportive in difficult times, putting aside strife or anger to "stick together as a community." Having a traditional outlook meant that even if they didn't belong to the Grand Medicine Society, or practice traditional ceremonies, they nonetheless had formulated a collective philosophy of the tribal group that required them to teach, care and guide all children in the community; assist and care for elders; and simply be there for their fellow community member.

### **Spiritual Disharmony**

Among the Anishinabe "leading a good healthy life" means having spiritual balance, and has always been very important in maintaining clan relationship and social cohesiveness in the community. Like the Hopi, spiritual wellness comes from harmony of the spirit, mind and body. It is a tranquil state of understanding that all is in balance with life, eternity and the Creator (Locust, 1988),<sup>1075</sup> while unwellness is a byproduct of disharmony in spirit, mind and body. Disharmony can be caused from anger, frustration, heartache, or fear, and will eventually result in disease when one's life is not right (Locust, 1988).<sup>1076</sup> An informant in the study, who was a health services provider, shared her view of disharmony to explain that it occurs when the spirit is out of balance. She gave an example of "being out of spiritual balance" as when one is "ashamed of who you are." She indicated at one time it was common among the children to be ashamed of being Indian because that was instilled in

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<sup>1075</sup> Locust (1988) at 321.

<sup>1076</sup> Ibid at 322.

children during the boarding school experience. Several elders remembered how institutional personnel tried to make them feel embarrassed or ashamed of being an Indian by devaluing their culture. Many had been beaten for attempting to hold onto their Indian identity by speaking the language with peers, practicing the traditions or wanting to return to the Indian community. Being shamed for their traditional beliefs and values made children hide this cultural knowledge from Anglos, and especially school personnel. In one instance, an informant shared that her parent had been so alienated from the culture that it took years to let go of the shame to once again identify and embrace her tribal heritage.

The removal and institutionalization of Anishinabe children into religious boarding schools had the most profound effect on individual self-esteem and the integrity of family life within the four communities. Informant data contained almost verbatim accounts of the stories told by Child (1995) that revealed the personal and social ramifications of this punitive educational system. The long-term psychological effects on the spirit, mind and body of removed children has been devastating and cyclical. The beatings received in these institutions, rather than being isolated incidents, were routine and severe, as was not having good food or enough to eat. Crowded conditions in some school dormitories spread life-threatening diseases and many children died far from home. Students were forbidden from using their Native tongue, practicing the traditions, and siblings were separated and forcibly kept apart. One informant recalled the trauma of watching her baby brother being beaten by the Nuns for excessive crying, while she was kept at bay, forbidden to intercede or comfort him. Another remembered the pain of separation from siblings, who were

sent to institutions far from the community. When she was rescued by a grandparent, brought home and taught the traditions, other siblings who were not as lucky were deeply saddened by the fact that they had not had the opportunity to be with family during their childhood years. Another informant remembered having been adopted by an Anglo family as a child which prevented her from finding siblings until adulthood. Although the adoptive parents had provided a good home, this informant felt cheated for not having been raised in the Indian community or having learned the traditions as some of her siblings had the opportunity to do. When informants were alienated from family and community they seemed to develop the resolve to recapture the culture to share with their own children and future generations. These elders worked in the preschool situations, cultural programs and in health care services, helping to infuse traditional beliefs and values into the existing community orientation.

Child's (1995) examination of the boarding school system accurately depicted the subjugation felt by Anishinabe parents made to bow to federal and state pressure to allow their children to be removed from the home and placed far away from their Indian communities (Child, 1995). Parents who refused to cooperate with government officials to allow their child's removal were hunted down and prosecuted for the child's truancy (Child, 1995).<sup>1077</sup> To avoid this consequence, the Anishinabe informants revealed that their grandparents had hidden their children with relatives. In some cases, children were to urban areas, in others, to rural locations where grandparents raised them as their own. Living with grandparents resulted in many

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<sup>1077</sup> Ibid at 13.

individuals learning the language and culture from an elder relative. The fortuity of having this cultural resource available during childhood allowed them to transmit the language, values and beliefs to new generations of Anishinabe children.

Poverty, unemployment, single parenthood and alcoholism were the state's social justification for the institutionalization of dependent children. Once placed, the children were subject to inordinate pressure to relinquish their traditional beliefs in favor of Christianity. Many resisted and were able to retain elements of their culture. Some became very bitter for the loss of an ideology that they believed to be "so gentle and kind to others" to be replaced by a religion that allowed adults to "beat children like dogs."

### **Caring for Children**

For Anishinabe children, one of the most devastating effects of the boarding school experience was the diminishment of self-worth resulting from the loss of parental and familial love and caring during childhood. Informants believed these aspects of child-rearing are most important in assisting children to become spiritually balanced in the Cycle of Life. Many indicated that their personal beliefs regarding child-rearing practices were grounded in traditional philosophy, which guided their care-giving behaviors the preschool situations. Using the framework of traditional beliefs and values to explain how they interacted with children, informants described loving and caring for children as the primary responsibility of their work in the centers. As explained, loving and caring for children gives them a sense of identity,



lets them know they mattered to someone, and helps them to build self-esteem. Framing these values and beliefs as part of the traditional way of life, informants indicated that in the culture loving and caring for children helped them to develop a good healthy and spiritual life. Informants explained that in the teachings, one loves and cares for children when they give them unconditional love and acceptance for who they are; they are positive and try to build self-esteem; they help children learn to cope with life circumstances; allow time and space to "unpack baggage" when out-of-sorts; being there to "talk with them when needed" or "hug them when they cried."

How parents, extended family and the community treated children among the Anishinabe Clan groups was well documented in historical accounts prepared by the Jesuits. New France missionaries had the unique opportunity to observe the parent/child relationship in the early aboriginal culture. They were impressed with the intensity of love and indulgence Natives gave to their children, describing them to be "loved supremely" by their parents (Kennedy, 1971).<sup>1078</sup> Similarly, Nicollett (1970) observed and described a "tenderness and affection that Ojibwa mothers had for their children" (Nicollett, 1970).<sup>1079</sup> Densmore's (1929) ethnography of the Ojibwa recounted the gentleness displayed by Native parents in raising their children (Densmore, 1929)<sup>1080</sup>; and more recently, Landes (1968) found among the Ojibwa, children were treated with kindness, love and caring (Landes, 1968).<sup>1081</sup>

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<sup>1078</sup> Kennedy (1971) at 144-115.

<sup>1079</sup> Nicollett (1971) at 193.

<sup>1080</sup> Densmore (1929) at 58.

<sup>1081</sup> Landes (1968) at 13.

How informants cared for children in the preschool programs varied between centers, age groups and program focus. For instance, the In-Home Parent Training program worked with families to assist them in relearning the culture, apply traditional standards for child-rearing, and adopt different strategies to improve discipline and social responsibility. In the classrooms, playgrounds, lunchrooms, infant care rooms, and Native homes values became actions that exemplified the spiritual core of the traditions. In adult/child interactions children were accorded the respect of any person in the society--they were spoken "to" not "at" throughout the busy day and handled with gentleness and kindness. Though very few in number, what admonitions were given were careful to preserve the dignity and respect of the individual child to not embarrass or cause shame for any reason. Children were allowed to self-monitor their own behaviors, knowing the center rules and expectations, but without authoritarian control. In the words of a Native teacher, they "had the run" of the center at Bay Mills, but the result was far from chaotic. Rather, children were given the autonomy to speak to all adults, peers, and parent volunteers in developing individual self-discipline. Children were allowed to make choices regarding their own behaviors; and the only apparent guideline in the program, which was judiciously upheld, was that everyone treated each other with respect. Many teachers phrased this precept as--"treat others as you would have treat you"--while some recited a version of the Golden Rule. Yet others related this axiom to the traditions as a means of way to maintaining spiritual balance, keeping a good mind, living inside the circle, and respecting others.

## **Respecting Others**

The traditional view that everyone and everything on earth deserves respect and that each thing or person has value, is grounded in the spiritual belief that all things on earth are connected and worthy of respect and reverence. This precept was repeated in almost every informant interview. It was evident in teacher, parent, volunteer, and elder behaviors observed in the four centers. Children and elders had the highest respect within the society because there is a need to nourish and care for the new souls that had come to earth; and society has a commitment to care for the elders, who had cared for them as children. Respecting others was explained in many ways to mean caring, being supportive, avoiding dissention, accepting everyone for who they are, and allowing each individual the right of freedom to chose their own path without coercion. "Because everyone and everything was created for a specific purpose to fulfill, no one should have the power to interfere or impose on others the best path to follow" (Garret and Walkingstick Garrett, 1994).<sup>1082</sup> The philosophical ideal among traditional followers is to respect the natural right of an individual to exercise autonomy and self-determination. Hence, interfering with others' lives, through aggression or intrusiveness, is not tolerated in Native groups (Walkingstick Garrett, 1995).<sup>1083</sup>

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<sup>1082</sup> Garrett, J. T., Walkingstick Garrett, Michael (1994), *The Path of Good Medicine: Understanding and Counseling Native American Indians*, *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, Vol. July 1994, pp.134-144, at 138.

<sup>1083</sup> Walkingstick Garrett (1995) at 190.

## **Classroom Management and Cooperative Learning**

The concept of non-interference was repeated throughout the educational research examining Native cultures in relation to teacher strategies in classroom management, learning styles and methods of disciplining children in Native schools. McAlpine and Taylor (1993) noted that Native teachers did not appear to exercise overt social control, rather allowed children to share responsibility to govern their own classroom interactions with other children (McAlpine and Taylor, 1993).<sup>1084</sup> Using routines, teachers encouraged Native children to exercise freedom in working with and learning from others in groups, which minimized the necessity for their governance and assertion of authority over children (McAlpine and Taylor, 1993).<sup>1085</sup> Developing social responsibility through cooperative action has always been a part of the traditional orientation. Working with others within the society to complete community projects, such as the seasonal activities of the clan groups (gathering, hunting and fishing), was the process by which adults model appropriate behaviors in the training of children in the society. In the process of learning the industrial skill, the child also learned how to cooperate and function harmoniously within the social order. This was necessary for maintaining the social cohesiveness of the group, and to minimize internal strife (Armstrong, 1987).<sup>1086</sup>

In the preschool situations, teachers encouraged cooperative learning, placing children in groups and allowing them to talk freely among themselves. Individual

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<sup>1084</sup> McAlpine and Taylor (1993) at 16.

<sup>1085</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1086</sup> Armstrong (1987) at 16.

students were not pressured to work independently nor answer questions individually. Native teachers avoided distinguishing or singling out students for praise that might separate them from peers. Using strategies that stressed giving, sharing and cooperation rather than individual competition was reminiscent of aboriginal communities that worked for a common goal. Communal learning supports children working together for a common goal, and encourages children to assist less able students in understanding materials being presented (Little Soldier, 1992).<sup>1087</sup> Drawing attention to oneself for praise is unacceptable in the society, especially when done at the expense of others. Rather, teaching children in ways that promote group needs are prioritized as a reflection of the unity of the people (Walkingstick Garrett, 1995).<sup>1088</sup> In the Anishinabe preschool situations, many of these values were evident in the procedures used to teach children new tasks. The manner in which teachers lead discussions to avoid individual questioning, allowed group responses, and the avoidance of exclusivity in the recognition of accomplishments all could be traced back to the aboriginal culture and the way children learned in the socialization process. Children were not compared, shamed children into compliance, nor confronted for behaviors that were unacceptable.

### **Culturally Appropriate Socialized Behaviors**

Using the socialization process to communicate behavior expectations is a rudimentary practice in mainstream educational systems. Where Native students

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<sup>1087</sup> Little Soldier, Lee (1992), *Building Optimum Learning Environments for Navajo Students*, *Childhood Education*, Spring 1992, pp. 145-148, at 147.

<sup>1088</sup> Walkingstick Garrett (1995) at 190.

have experienced problems adjusting to the social order of majority behavior expectations it has been partially due to the cultural discontinuity of dissimilar socialization patterns. For instance, Powless and Elliott (1993) discovered that for Native teachers and Native parents in the preschool situations studied, developing assertiveness was not a personal characteristic that is encouraged or emphasized among the children (Powless and Elliott, 1993).<sup>1089</sup> Extrapolated to mainstream systems where Anglo teachers expect Native students to develop and exercise assertiveness in classroom discussions, answer questions or spontaneously interject ideas and opinions in class, it is clear why Native students have not demonstrated educational success once entering these systems. Wilson (1991) noted that the lack of responsiveness in the classroom situations contrasted markedly with their responses in conversations with other Indian friends (Wilson, 1991).<sup>1090</sup> This phenomenon was also noted by Philips (1983) in observing the differences in cross-talk among Native students working together and their responsiveness during class when asked questions by the teacher. The verbal participation of Native students in group work was extensive and qualitatively different from the whole-class discussions (Philips, 1983).<sup>1091</sup> Because Native students are raised in a society where children are taught to "watch and listen" in learning new skills rather than ask adults questions (Nelson-Barber and (Trumbull Estrin, 1995),<sup>1092</sup> it is unlikely they would do so in mainstream classes; and that Anglo teachers would be able to accurately interpret student

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<sup>1089</sup> Powless and Elliott (1993), at 306.

<sup>1090</sup> Wilson (1991) at 377.

<sup>1091</sup> Philips (1983) at 120.

<sup>1092</sup> Nelson-Barber and Trumbull Estrin (1995) at 177.

reticence when confronted with silence rather than active participation (Walkingstick Garrett, 1995).<sup>1093</sup>

Informants verified that cultural differences in choosing which behaviors were appropriate in order to exhibit knowledge had in fact disrupted their ability to communicate what they actually did know to majority educators. One individual described how a former teacher approached a Native classmate during lessons to badger him for an answer, repeating the question over and over again while standing next to the student in a menacing stance. Thoroughly embarrassed for not knowing the answer, the Native child sank into the seat without saying a word, appearing to accept this Anglo teacher's assessment of his lack of capability. Another informant reported feeling invisible in a classroom where Anglo students dominated the discussions, while she remained quiet, believing she had nothing of any worth to contribute.

Several studies have shown that when Native students are faced with cultural expectations that are discordant with their own values and beliefs, the tendency has been for them to withdraw from the educational situation (Wilson, 1991<sup>1094</sup>; Deyhle 1992, 1995<sup>1095</sup>; Franklin et al., 1995).<sup>1096</sup> For instance, when majority programs attributed Navajo student failure to their cultural heritage, implying that to be less "Indian" would help students to be more academically successful, the Native students reacted to the confrontational atmosphere with resistance, viewing the racially polarized school environment as minimally supportive, offering them little

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<sup>1093</sup> Walkingstick Garrett (1995) at 190.

<sup>1094</sup> Wilson (1991) at 377-378.

<sup>1095</sup> Deyhle (1992) at 35-37; (1995) at 415-419.

<sup>1096</sup> Franklin et al. (1995) at 184.

opportunity to succeed (Deyhle, 1995).<sup>1097</sup> In resolving their cultural conflict, many left school early, while others remained to become invisible in classrooms with the verbally adept Anglo students (Deyhle, 1995).<sup>1098</sup>

These coping behaviors were not unlike the solutions Anishinabe informants found to deal with the racism in local school districts. Several of the mid-life informants had indeed left school early, marrying and returning to the Indian community to raise their families. Among the younger generation, informants related difficulties they had experienced in schools surrounding the reservations. Many of these young adults had been committed to completing high school, and had coped with racist attitudes in whatever context it was presented. One informant indicated that when asked by school officials to cut his traditional hair, he resisted; and with the support of parents, had won the right to wear the long ponytail in a school where male students were made to keep their hair above the collar. Another informant, who was a good student, rejected being placed in easy courses in an urban district; and despite the lack of scholastic support received from the school personnel, completed high school nonetheless. Others related incidents in their personal experience that prompted profound disappointment for not having been given respect for the value of their cultural heritage, nor a commitment from Anglo teachers to help them succeed. This informant indicated that she believed it is essential for Native students to have school support in order to develop the self-confidence necessary to fully participate in the educational program. This informant shared that as a preschool teacher she would

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<sup>1097</sup> Deyhle (1995) at 420.

<sup>1098</sup> Deyhle (1995) at 421.



now have an opportunity to provide other Native children the self-esteem necessary to prepare them for successful transition into mainstream systems.

Making a successful transition from a Native school, whether elementary or secondary, to a majority school system is traumatic, and can have a negative outcome if the new school isn't prepared to provide Native students with the necessary support to enable them to have a positive experience. There is substantial research that demonstrates when Native students fail or lack academic success, it is often related to the negativity they encounter once integrated into local mainstream programs. Wilson (1991) found that Sioux students who had experienced academic success in reservation schools felt unprepared to cope with lowered teacher expectations tacitly communicated in attitudes that indicated Native students lacked intellectual capabilities (Wilson, 1991).<sup>1099</sup> Similarly, Moore (1994) found that Seminole students with good scholastic records in primary grades in reservation schools experienced educational difficulties that put them at risk of dropping out of school once integrated into majority systems (Moore, 1994).<sup>1100</sup> For whatever reason, it is clear that although Native students experience educational success in Indian community programs, once transitioned into majority systems a number of these students encounter educational difficulties.

McQuiston and Brod (1985) suggest one reason might be that reservation-based children entering mainstream programs are essentially learning a foreign

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<sup>1099</sup> Wilson (1991) at 378.

<sup>1100</sup> Moore (1994) at 166.

culture, with behavior norms modeled by Anglo teachers, in a social context that is far removed from the values and beliefs of their home communities (McQuiston and Brod, 1985).<sup>1101</sup> Cultural discontinuity theories have explained behaviors of "castelike minorities" to infer that their resistance and rejection of majority values is unavoidable where the educational institution is controlled by the dominant group, economic opportunity in society is circumscribed by the inferiority of educational options available to minority children, and the belief exists that their social position is inevitably entrenched (Ogbu (1982; 1987; 1990).<sup>1102</sup> In discussions, informants described their reasons for school failure and a lack of academic achievement. It was apparent that most individuals believed cultural dissonance was an important underlying factor that impeded their school success. Specifically, individuals mentioned lowered performance expectations of Anglo teachers, who didn't know or value Anishinabe student capabilities; blatant racism that prompted teachers and students to use derogatory remarks in referencing reservation life and family dysfunctional situations; and a general insensitivity toward Anishinabe cultural values and beliefs to stereotype, vilify and their ridicule Native ancestry. They consequently lost all interest in achieving in an educational environment they perceived as confrontational, and where most felt unwanted by both teachers and students.

Anglo teachers working in Native communities have overtly blamed the interdependence of extended family systems for deterring students from striving for academic goals. Using the story of the "lobsters in the bucket" as an analogy to

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<sup>1101</sup> McQuiston and Brod (1985) at 52.

<sup>1102</sup> Ogbu (1982; 1987; 1990).

depict the socialized acceptance of school failure, Anglo teachers have indicated that when Native students try to "better themselves" they are discouraged and pulled down by others wishing them to remain in the community. Many majority teachers have blamed Native values that emphasize strong community ties to be detrimental to individual hopes for academic improvement (Deyhle, 1995).<sup>1103</sup> Several informants iterated the "crab in the bucket" story to explain the theory of "academic mediocrity" in which Native students refuse to aspire to educational excellence because to do so would be "acting white" and might separate them from their Native peer group. According to informants, there are problems with estrangement from the community when Native students assimilated Anglo values in order to enhance their academic achievement in majority programs.

However, most informants believed that their child's greatest challenge to academic success has been the prejudicial attitudes of Anglo teachers forced to work with Native students in local school programs. Among informants there was a great deal of mistrust for mainstream education systems that seek to change the cultural orientation of Native students in order to "better educate them." Parents, who prefer their child remain socialized within the traditional culture, view majority education systems as disruptive to that goal. Indeed, Spindler (1974) indicated that where schools were created for the purpose of aiding in the assimilation of dominant values, the program was found to be disruptive to the transmission of the traditional culture (Spindler, 1974).<sup>1104</sup> Some of them firmly believe that Indian schools are the answer

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<sup>1102</sup> Ogbu (1982; 1987; 1990).

<sup>1103</sup> Deyhle (1995) at 416.

<sup>1104</sup> Spindler, George (1974), *The Transmission of Culture, In Education and Culture: Toward an Anthropology of Education*, G. D. Spindler, ed. pp. 279-310, at 305-306, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

to maintaining cultural continuity and thereby motivating student achievement. Much of the literature on cultural discontinuity in education indicates that such thinking may have merit, and that in certain situations cultural discontinuity does indeed create barriers to individual achievement for Native children (Ogbu 1982, 1987, 1990<sup>1105</sup>; Deyhle 1992, 1995<sup>1106</sup>; Wilson, 1991<sup>1107</sup>; Kasten, 1992<sup>1108</sup>; Wood and Clay, 1996<sup>1109</sup>; Moore, 1992).<sup>1110</sup>

### **Communication Differences**

Throughout the study I observed differences in the way that Native adults communicate with Native children whether the exchanges took place in the classroom, the community, at social functions or in the family home. Children were treated as a "person" within the society, and accorded the respect to speak with them as an equal partner in the conversation. Conversely, there was a qualitative difference in the manner in which non-Native teachers interacted with the preschool children. Where the hierarchical structure of the center under an Anglo director appeared to utilize authoritarian communications between employees and children, children failed to respond as an equal. Rather, in speaking with Anglo personnel from this center there was very little reciprocal interchange and children did not seek out staff to talk with on a routine basis. In the other programs, communications between Native staff and children assumed the tone of interested banter. The children talked about things

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<sup>1105</sup> Ogbu (1982) at 302; (1987) at 331; (1990) at 49.

<sup>1106</sup> Deyhle (1992) at 32-33; (1990) at 419-420.

<sup>1107</sup> Wilson (1991) at 378.

<sup>1108</sup> Kasten (1992) at 109-110.

<sup>1109</sup> Wood and Clay (1996) at 54.

<sup>1110</sup> Moore (1994) at 166-168.

going on at home, about siblings and parents. In the Anglo staffed centers, the children sought Native caregivers whenever possible for answers to questions and individual assistance. Even where Native staff had lesser authority than the teacher or primary caregiver, children gravitated to them for interactions.

Overall, Native children demonstrated great interest in speaking to each other during preschool activities, and engaged in conversations with adults for occasional input or guidance. Philips (1983) had observed similar behavior among the Warm Springs Indian children where peer exchanges took precedence over teacher/student conversations as children engaged in group participant structures (Philips, 1983).<sup>1111</sup> McAlpine and Taylor (1993) found that Native teachers believe that children learn best by interacting with others independent from teacher influence. This preference for peer interaction is culturally determined among aboriginal populations where children are expected to have more communications with individuals their own age (McAlpine and Taylor, 1993).<sup>1112</sup>

Using cooperative or group learning as was observed in the preschool programs, is consonant with the Anishinabe culture that relates to the way children obtained subsistence skills in the aboriginal clan structures (Densmore, 1929; Clifton, 1977; Roufe, 1975).<sup>1113</sup> In most instances, the children were encouraged to use observation as a tool in first learning and understanding a new skill. Teachers demonstrated while the children gathered around in groups and then tried the skill on

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<sup>1111</sup> Philips (1983) at 119.

<sup>1112</sup> McAlpine and Taylor (1993) at 10.

<sup>1113</sup> Densmore, (1929) at 119; Clifton (1977) at 116; Roufe (1975) at 20-32.

their own. Learning from adult modeling is also consistent with the manner in which Native children have attained new skills in aboriginal cultures (Densmore, 1929).<sup>1114</sup> Wright (1996) found that among the Inuit, Native children have superior visual and spatial skills, which may have developed from a cultural orientation that emphasizes observational learning. It was characteristic of the nonverbal parenting style of this Native group for children to be taught to "learn through looking" and then participation (Wright, 1996).<sup>1115</sup> Other research supports the theory that Native learning styles are developed in collaboration with the cultural orientation of Native groups. Nelson-Barber and Trumbull Estrin (1995) found that Navajo children prefer to "listen -then do" or "watch than do" as they learn absorb new information. Van Hamme (1996) suggested that an effective teaching strategy for Native children would be the presentation of material in a visual-spatial mode, with demonstration and modeling of a task rather than verbal instruction (Van Hamme, 1996).<sup>1116</sup>

Philips (1983) found that Native students manage their communications in the classroom to comport with the socialized rules of speaking learned in the community. While Anglo students typically interject, talk simultaneously while others are talking, and are forceful in gaining the teacher's attention to obtain the floor--these behaviors are inhibiting factors that tend to limit the spontaneous participation of the Native child in classroom discussions (Philips, 1983).<sup>1117</sup> Native children have been taught to interact with others in a respectful way, which in their culture allows individuals to obtain and hold the floor without interruption until finished. They generally do not

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<sup>1114</sup> Densmore (1929) at 61.

<sup>1115</sup> Wright (1996) at 748.

<sup>1116</sup> Van Hamme (1996) at 28

<sup>1117</sup> Philips (1983) at 115.

monopolize conversations nor compete for control over another's speech. Assertive behaviors that prompt children to ask questions, interrupt, speak for others, tell others what to do, or argue are associated with the kind of independence valued in majority systems, but are contradictory to what the Native child has learned at home (Walkingstick Garrett, 1995).<sup>1118</sup>

This research comports with what informant shared were their experiences in the communication process of mainstream classrooms. Several individuals related how their socialization to the orientation of Native values prohibited the kind of assertiveness in classroom conversations that is not only expected but rewarded in mainstream schools. Informants indicated that Anishinabe children are taught to listen when adults speak to them, to be patient and respectful in conversations with others, and that repeated questioning or interjections while others are talking is considered impolite and intrusive. As it was explained, among Native people, individuals tend to do less talking and more listening. In fact, informant discussions were difficult to initiate because most individuals found it hard to discuss themselves at any length. They intimated that in the traditional culture children are taught to not draw attention to themselves, nor seek praise or distinction from the group. When individuals do not behave in such a manner they are behaving inconsistent with cultural values and are generally accused of "acting white."

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<sup>1118</sup> Walkingstick Garrett (1995) at 190.

## **Culturally Determined Behaviors**

In program observations it was evident that even small toddlers demonstrated the ability to understand the socialized expectations for children as they laid quiet, patiently waiting their turn to be rocked to sleep, making no complaint or disruption as the caregiver attended to others. During lunch, children freely spoke with peers, and on occasion with adults without hesitation. Although playtime prompted some moments of dissention when more than one child wanted the same toy, adults deferred from issuing authoritarian ultimatums, and only interjected a peaceful resolution when the situation was unable to be reconciled. Native teachers identified behaviors they emphasized in the classrooms to include tolerance, acceptance of others, and the avoidance of confrontation. These behavior values were transmitted to children in an indirect manner, sometimes through storytelling or by giving encouragement for remembering to be respectful to others. Native teachers modeled appropriate behaviors in being respectful to everyone-- the children, working cooperatively with the center staff, and through their relationship with parents and other community members. To demonstrate how the children were valued, teachers gave substantial amounts of love and caring, which was communicated with encouraging words and numerous hugs. This positive feedback was consistent even when the child was out-of-sorts or being obstinate. As explained, Native teachers recognized that in some instances children came to the program with problems from a home environment of poverty, alcoholism and family stress. They believed that part of their job is to give children a place where they can relax from being preoccupied with family problems. To that end, they have tried to create a school environment



where children feel safe and accepted unconditionally. Through this process, informants indicated children can build self-esteem, emotional stability and learn new coping skills to get them through life. As one informant stated, in order to teach them sometimes we need to heal their spirit first. The best description of at least one of the centers is that it was able to emulate the extended family where all of the adults within the strata of responsibility routinely contributed to the welfare and guidance of growing children, being mindful of the holistic needs for the mind, body and spirit.

Creating an extended family group in the preschool situation is in keeping with the cultural values and beliefs which govern the relationship of adults and children in the community. In indigenous societies it is common for all of the extended family to be involved in rearing the children in the group (Garrett and Walkingstick Garrett, 1994).<sup>1119</sup> Informants shared that was not uncommon for children to live in the household's of grandparents, uncles, aunts. Many informants described how they were raised by grandparents and other extended relatives due to family disintegration upon the death of parents or dysfunction from alcoholism. Some remembered that their parents had even raised unrelated children within the family unit, which was considered customary among the Anishinabe. In some cases, informants were privileged to learn the language and culture from grandparents, which they recognized as a unique opportunity to pass this valuable information onto their own children.

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<sup>1119</sup> Garrett and Walkingstick Garrett (1994), at 138.

In the Anishinabe culture, Elders still believed it was their job to teach the culture and language to younger generations. This social responsibility has a strong foundation in the traditions. Research among other Native groups have shown that elders similarly believe their role is to be a teacher and caretaker of the children in the Tribal group. Informants shared that when Elder's gave their students attention to tell stories or teach them the culture, it made the students feel very special. The teachers believed that giving the students their cultural heritage helps to establish a sense of Indian identity and pride in being Indian. This they believed also helps them to improve school-related skills because their self-esteem was uplifted in knowing "who they are."

Passing down the heritage through the oral histories of the group is a vital component within the traditions to ensure the continued existence of the Tribe. So important is the input from elders in Native societies that young children without elder relatives often "adopt" grandparents, attaching to them the significance of extended family, listening and following their guidance (Red Horse).<sup>1120</sup> Among the Inuit, sharing knowledge and caring for all children in the society was seen as an investment in the intellect of the children to make possible the survival of the entire group. In Native cultures, children were viewed as an economic element in the tribe, someone to care for the elders and the next generation of children (Williamson, 1987).<sup>1121</sup> This view was also repeated by several informants in the study. They indicated that "the children were their future" because "they will care for us when we

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<sup>1120</sup> Red Horse (1980) at 466.

<sup>1121</sup> Williamson (1987) at 66-67.

are old." Most informants who identified with being traditional explained that whatever they did for the children of the society today would undoubtedly enable the culture to endure in future generations.

### **Traditional Beliefs**

There was a small group of informants that had a strong foundation in traditional knowledge who were familiar with the beliefs of the Midewiwin Society. These individuals still adhere to the teachings of the Medicine Lodge to reject any form of foreign ideology that conflicts with the traditional way. It was from this group of traditional informants that the study was able to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the spiritual beliefs that direct the daily lives of individuals who live within the teachings. Traditional informants described their beliefs associated with the Medicine Lodge to include: tobacco offerings; seasonal celebrations; naming rituals; use of the sweat lodge and smudging for cleansing the spirit; Ghost Suppers to feed the dead in traditional burials; knowledge of, and reverence for, the Drum; the use of dreams and spirit visits to guide and instruct individual spiritual journeys through life; and recognizing and maintaining a good, healthy life characterized by abstention from the use and influence of alcohol.

However, explanations given by informants to define "having traditional beliefs" was much more than the symbolic representations of various elements in the belief system. Being Traditional meant having spirituality, being a spiritual person, living a spiritual life, recognizing a spirit in everything and everyone, preserving the

spiritual health of themselves and the children they served, being spiritually connected to everyone, and having a good mind. These informants not only articulated, but also demonstrated, the spiritual values found in the traditions in their behavior towards others, by the commitment to building and sustaining a spiritually strong preschool program where little children could enter an educational situation for the first time and remain spiritually and emotionally safe. As one informant had described, their program deals with the whole child, their mind, body and spirit. Caring for the spirit meant that teachers didn't ridicule, embarrass or punish children. Rather, having a spiritually-based program meant that children could come to a risk-free environment where learning could be fostered because adults attended to the emotional needs of the child first. These informants exemplified the collective responsibility that adults in the traditional way owe to children--to love, care and accept them unconditionally into the world. Several informants described the Cycle of Life where the spirit of the babies were welcomed at birth into the society, and guided in their spiritual growth as they matured. At the Bay Mills Center, a Spring Festival was held to welcome the children to the center and celebrate their birth. At each stage of their development, children are expected to learn lessons of life, which are taught by example from parents, grandparents, extended family and elders in the community, so that by the time they are elders the wisdom learned can be recycled and taught to the new generations of children in the society.

## **Harmony in the Classroom**

In the preschool program, informants indicated children are assisted in their development by instilling self-monitoring behaviors to help them learn how to cope with social responsibility both inside and outside the context of the educational situation. Recalling how the children played actively, seemingly without adult interference during the community gatherings, it was apparent that their socialization skills had been well learned to obviate the need for close adult supervision. Similarly, in the preschool situations, children played together amicably; and with little authoritarian direction, experienced very little peer conflict.

As informants explained, by nurturing the spirit children learn how to develop "a good healthy way of doing things" that resulted in positive life experiences, and the self-esteem to make it possible to achieve whatever personal goals they chose to pursue. Primary among the spiritual teachings is for children to learn how to "be kind and treat others as you want to be treated." One informant shared and demonstrated how he respected each child's needs and tried to meet them through the program instruction. This individual was using the cultural teachings he'd received as a child to show children how to create quill artwork. During this activity, the informant engaged the child in a discussion regarding the activity and what was going on in life. Because the child and the teacher were both from the Native community, they were able to share information about relatives, community events and had the same expectations about social behaviors, which the child had already been taught by the parent.

## **Influence of Elder Teachings**

In the traditional belief system, elders are considered an invaluable resource in the four communities visited. Elders influence the development of the child in a holistic manner to assist in the formation of the child's character. They offer children intelligent conversation and reciprocal relationships in which the child is regarded as a person to be accorded the same respect as an adult. In the preschool programs and in the home situations, informants indicated that Elders taught children the crafts, traditional dancing, storytelling, and food preparation. In the Bay Mills Center, the children helped to serve elders visiting their center. In the Lac Vieux Desert Center, an elder taught the children the language and traditional drumming.

Grandparents interviewed shared that their participation in raising grandchildren was to give the child a sense of self, to let them know how each individual belonged to the entire community, that they were a resource to be shared with everyone not just the parents. In return, parents taught Anishinabe children to respect elders, listen to them, and do what they tell them to do without complaint. Many informants explained that teaching children to respect elders consisted of showing them how to provide for their needs, whether that meant feeding them first at a gathering or taking them food next door. Elders in these communities were honored for their age and wisdom, which in the Cycle of Life is the socially anticipated status for everyone in elder years--to be cared for and respected because of the knowledge accumulated during the maturational process.

## **Spiritual Values in the Classrooms and Community**

Having spirituality in the classroom required Anishinabe adults to value a child's emotional and psychological well being. Informants indicated protecting children meant not exposing them to life circumstances that would destroy their spirituality. One informant described how spirituality is taken away by "windegos," forces that rob children of the spiritual gifts bestowed by the Creator. These forces can include parental drinking, abusing or neglecting children, allowing a child to adopt behaviors that are destructive to building good character. As it was explained, giving children a strong cultural identity is essential in helping them to understand what the Creator wants for them; and gives individuals the strength to reject those things in the outside world that would interfere with their spiritual growth. Thus, adults assist children to have spiritual health by protecting them from physical, emotional or psychological harm. They also help children to experience normal development by nurturing their coping skills and encouraging self-discipline; respecting the child's personal dignity; healing them by talking, loving and caring for them as a worthy person; "always being there for them;" and giving them the traditions to help maintain a strong healthy life.

Informants included in the definition of being spiritually connected "watching-out" for all children, and "taking them in" when necessary. Children were taught that being spiritually connected also meant to preserve harmony between yourself and others, and to promote harmony within the community. To have harmony in one's life was explained as trying to have a good, healthy and moral

existence. To not have disharmony, one must avoid confrontation, and strive for internal peace.

Several informants revealed that although their beliefs had been altered in response to many external bicultural influences, they nonetheless retained the spirituality associated with the traditional way of life; and that this collective ethos exemplifies love, caring and cohesive support for one another within the society. The importance of this finding, that traditional values and beliefs continued as a powerful force in the framework of socialization for children in the society, cannot be understated. What these case studies revealed is that children being raised in the Native communities where traditionalism continued to have a significant influence did develop a worldview that emphasized different social priorities than their Anglo teachers and classmates in the educational systems of the dominant group. At least for those Anishinabe informants who participated in this study, there was a strong desire to retain these differences in the socialized view because that is what formed their cultural identity as an Ojibwa, Odawa or Potawatomi. The spiritual basis of traditional teachings gave them a foundation for how to interact with others; and helped them remember not to forget the children or elders in their society. Thus, living within the traditions assisted informants to find and maintain internal peace in their own life. Because some informants were traditional, they aspired to actively maintain the healthy life style in order to give it to the children. In doing this they rejected alcohol or substance abuse as a destructive force, which helped them to keep a good mind and avoid spiritual unwellness. By respecting everyone and avoiding confrontation, the spirituality of the entire groups was fostered and families could



retain the social cohesion necessary to continue to functioning as a distinct cultural group. Finally, informants understood that in order to remain cohesive and uphold the traditions, they had to become involved in their communities, always be supportive, love and care for each other. Among younger generations of Anishinabe, observing this social philosophy as children appeared to inspire a great desire to continue the values orientation of the communal structure in which parents and grandparents had always enjoyed acceptance and support.

These values affected how adults reacted to children in the preschool setting, what emphasis was stressed in the implementation of the program priorities, and what expectations were held for children in the developmental cycle of the preschool experience. Learning culturally-related behaviors was integrated into the curriculum of daily activities of the centers, and less emphasis was placed on school-related skills that were in conflict with the cultural values and beliefs of the community. Whether studying Anishinabe names of animals, being taught to respect each other in play or being shown love from adults building character, the interactions between adults and children were demonstrably influenced by the spiritual values and beliefs articulated in the interviews.

Another significant finding from the case studies was that these informants relied upon their traditional values and beliefs in making important life decisions about the quality of educational opportunities available to their children. They profoundly felt the traumatic affect that the boarding school education had wrought on their parents or grandparents in previous generations. Informants who had been

institutionalized as children recognized how that experience had interrupted their childhood development to cause long-lasting emotional damage. Many related stories of sustained involvement with alcohol, so significant that it had destroyed their family life in young adulthood, and caused subsequent generations to become involved with alcohol or substance abuse as well. Others related how returning to the culture had changed their lives and given them a strong identity on which to rely in restructuring their own lives to improve the lives of their children. Being a good parent in the society today involved actively assessing their own lives to improve the outcome of their children's life cycle. As informants explained, with greater awareness of the needs of children being taught in the preschool and In-Home Parent programs, lives have had to change to ensure that for this new generation of children, there would be much love and spiritual peace.

### **Informant Beliefs About Majority Education**

A long-term effect traced to the boarding school experience was the development of mistrust for any educational option offered by the dominant group. Overall informants indicated that Native students have had negative experiences in mainstream systems with racism, lowered teacher expectations and poor academic support from teachers. Most informants were concerned that local districts had preconceived notions of Native student ambition and capability that had not changed despite Tribal efforts to encourage Indian children to pursue secondary graduation and post-secondary education. Many parents mentioned that they were supportive of embedding the language and culture into the preschool curriculum as a means of

assisting children to establish a strong cultural identity that would help sustain their self-esteem as they transitioned into mainstream programs. Similarly, these parents believed that language and culture should continue into the public school system once the child has been integrated. However, local schools have not initiated language or culture programs to address the unique emotional and psychological needs of Anishinabe youth. Except for the two elementary schools located within the reservation communities, Anishinabe children are bereft of any opportunity to study the language or learn their Tribal history in a public school situation. Given the information provided by informants regarding the damaging effect that diminution of the culture has had on opportunities for Anishinabe children develop pride in their Tribal identity, it isn't difficult to understand why so many leave the mainstream system prior to graduation and consistently fail to succeed while functioning in the program.

### **Tribal Solutions to Improve Educational Programs**

Of the four Indian communities visited, only the Potawatomi Indian Tribe has developed an education program serving reservation children, kindergarten through grade twelve that is totally under the control of the Tribal government. The Hannahville Indian School, which opened in 1975, is funded solely through Tribal economic development resources. Their independence from the receipt of any federal or state allocations has allowed the Hannahville School Board to design a culturally relevant program that meets the unique academic and affective needs of Potawatomi children. This school offers children opportunities to learn the Potawatomi language

through the 12<sup>th</sup> grade, and has integrated traditional values and beliefs into the daily curriculum. Each week on Monday, school begins with a Traditional Tobacco Ceremony to ask for the Creator's blessing on the week activities.

Informants from the Bay Mills Ojibwa Reservation community indicated that a group of supporters has already begun a coordinated effort to investigate the possibility of beginning an Indian way school on that reservation. This school would incorporate the cultural values and beliefs of the traditions into the program structure, utilizing Native instructors for language, culture and classroom teachers whenever possible. In the urban Indian community of Petosky, there was interest in developing a Head Start Program to provide another vital component in the preschool system which Native students from the Early Head Start In-Home Parent Training Program could enter before going into public education. Much of the Early Head Start In-Home Parent Training program is already imbued with traditional curriculum, teacher practices and retraining parents the culture. If initiated, the Head Start Program would be structured like the Early Head Start Program to incorporate the values and beliefs of the Odawa community.

Although new tribal educational initiatives continue to erode old assimilationist policies promulgated by federal and state agencies, informants indicated they have a long way to go to change the views of community detractors who believe that teaching Native language and traditions in schools is disabling to children learning academic skills in the preschool and elementary environment. However, in many Native communities Tribal Colleges have taken responsibility to

lead efforts to create articulation agreements with four-year institutions to admit and prepare Native students for certification as a Head Start or public classroom teachers. Many of the Tribal institutions are currently providing language and culture instruction to Natives and non-Natives alike; and several have participated in designing Native American curriculum to integrate traditional values and beliefs into Tribal Schools and local education agencies. A good example of Tribal College involvement in the grassroots efforts of the community to revitalize the culture is the development of the Bay Mills Community College Nishnaabemwin Language and Instructors Institute. This program trains language instructors, who then work within the Tribe to integrate Ojibwa into the college, local schools, adult education programs and for use in community events.

A few of the informants were employees of the Bay Mills Community College, which is one of seventeen Tribally operated Community Colleges in the American Indian Higher Education Consortium, dedicated to building strong Indian communities through their involvement in every aspect of local community life. Located in the village of Brimley, the Bay Mills Community College, which is operated by the Bay Mills Ojibwa Indian Tribe, not only offers Ojibwa history and culture, but also three different Native languages for students seeking to learn more about the Odawa, Potawatomi or Ojibwa dialects. Students completing the Nishnaabemwin Language and Instructors Institute earn a diploma, which qualifies them to provide instruction to others, including those studying to be classroom teachers. One informant involved in the program described his responsibility to relearn then teach the language as being a part of an effort to reestablish language

speakers within the Bay Mills Community. The instructional approach utilizes a holistic integration of the language into student coursework, thus enabling individuals to appreciate the cultural prospective created by the subtle differences in meaning in the language itself. Students who have retained the language from elders or learned a dialect through the college program use this knowledge to provide Native language skills to children in the surrounding Tribal schools at Bay Mills and Sault Ste. Marie, in the summer immersion program and throughout the school year in community-based adult education. The College has established a partnership with the Head Start Program to provide culturally sensitive education and training to Anglo Head Start staff in preparation for their employment in Head Start facilities. As a community project, the college erected a library with classroom space for community programs, and an art museum to display artifacts and recent works of Tribal members.

Reasons for the Tribal Colleges to become involved in local education programs varies throughout the communities. Tribal Colleges provide mentoring and tutorial assistance in local school programs; directly educate students in programs which train Native teachers in the culture and language; and have established crossover enrollment policies that allow secondary students to obtain high school credit for coursework taken through the Tribal Community College. Other Tribal Colleges now offer GED and adult education instruction, develop Native curriculum and train non-Native students to work with Indian populations, and projects to preserve elder knowledge. One of the most important activities of the Tribal Community Colleges has been their role in preserving Native heritage through the revitalization of the language, history, art, music and dance among the youth in the

communities. Through these efforts several communities now hold annual Pow Wow celebrations where children from the reservations can get together for traditional dancing, singing and drumming.

Another critical role that Tribal Colleges have played in Native education has been to use the articulation agreements to create seamless programs of instruction where Native students can be accepted from the local Tribal College into four-year teacher education programs. This has resulted in an increase in the number of new Native teachers achieving certification and becoming available to work with Native children across the United States (2001 Report).<sup>1122</sup> Given the dearth of Native American teachers and administrators available for employment in reservation schools and local districts, this is an essential component in the revitalization effort to utilize teachers raised in the culture to disseminate this knowledge among Native children (Pavel, 1995).<sup>1123</sup>

Not unlike the findings of this research, the report indicated that within Tribal communities, Indian schools and local education programs, there is a need for Native teachers to work with Indian children if these students are to experience academic success. In 1993-94, only 6 percent of all publicly funded schools providing education to Indian students had an Indian teacher on staff, and less than 1 percent of all public elementary and secondary school teachers in the United States were

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<sup>1122</sup> *Building Strong Communities: Tribal Colleges as Engaged Institutions*, prepared by: *American Indian Higher Education Consortium and the Institute for Higher Education Policy*, Tribal College Research and Database Initiative, <http://www.collegefund.org>, at 13.

<sup>1123</sup> Pavel, D. Michael (1995), *Comparing BIA and Tribal Schools With Public Schools: A Look at the Year 1990-91*, *Journal of American Indian Education*, Fall 1995, pp. 10-15, at 10.

American Indian. Today there continues major problems in finding qualified Native teachers to work in the remote communities where Indian reservations are generally located. However, when Native teachers are recruited from their own communities, there is a greater likelihood that many will remain to become more involved in the educational activities of the home/school community environment (2001 Report).<sup>1124</sup>

The report recognized that there is a great need for Native teachers, who bring with them knowledge of the traditions and an understanding of the way Native students learn, in order to improve the potential for these children to experience a better educational outcome. Native teachers serve an important function as role models in the classroom to ameliorate the misimpression among Native students that achieving academically is not synonymous with living in the traditions. The student/teacher classroom relationships can also assist Indian children to overcome endemic social problems which in the past have impeded school performance and resulted in their systemic underachievement (2001 Report).<sup>1125</sup>

During the interviews, informants shared several reasons for developing a cadre of Native American teachers to work with Indian children. They indicated that Native teachers bring a unique cultural awareness of the values and beliefs prevalent within their Native community. In the classroom, their cultural awareness allows them to better understand the needs of the child and address those needs in a culturally sensitive way. As one informant shared, being Anishinabe and having had

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<sup>1124</sup> *Ibid* at 14.

<sup>1125</sup> *Ibid*.



the same life experiences as the children in the center, gives her the ability to recognize when children are having a family crisis and allows her to help the child work through those issues. With hugs, love and caring in copious amounts, the children respond to this Native caregiver recognizing that a common bond of values and beliefs binds them together in the culture.

The value of Tribal College involvement in community life is evident. Most of the faculty are members of the Indian community with life experiences similar to those of the student body, which allows faculty to understand student difficulties and support their academic efforts. Educational initiatives sponsored by the Tribal Colleges involve community members, and give back to the community cultural benefits that some Tribal societies have lost. Engaged in tutorial and mentoring assistance, Native students and faculty help children to build self-esteem to improve their test scores. College personnel and students provide Indian children with technology instruction, introduce math and science in culturally appropriate ways; and they work with the governments to operate apprenticeship programs and school-to-work grants. Faculty assists local schools to develop Native curriculum, and participate in professional development for teachers and administrators.

The Fort Peck Community college operates a Montessori school that has incorporated immersion instruction in culture and language in the preschool curriculum. This program allow Native teachers to share with children the spiritual "way to live" rather than espousing religious doctrine. As was explained in the report, spiritual traditions provide children the tools for learning, showing them how

to merge life experiences with the sacred teachings for a grounding in the spiritual reality of life (2001 Report).<sup>1126</sup> The Fort Peck Montessori program strongly resembles the educational philosophy espoused by the Bay Mills Head Start and Early Head Start Programs in that it involves teaching children the spiritual traditions through daily life experiences as a means of building self-esteem and giving skills to cope with life. As Anishinabe teachers explained, by healing their spirit children are free to learn new skills in a risk-free school environment.

### **Reliability of Research Results**

The results of these case studies strongly demonstrated that traditional values and beliefs continue to imbue the sociological and ideological foundations of the four Anishinabe communities visited. Behaviors of participants in the preschool situations appeared to be impacted by those values and beliefs as adults shared classroom management responsibilities with students, monitored social relations between children, and engaged students in classroom instruction. Observations in alternative situations verified that the traditions continued to govern adult/child relationships whether individuals were in parental homes or community locations.

The study is limited in its reliability due to the nature of the qualitative research process, which recognizes that unique situational circumstances and differences among informants are not likely to replicate the same process nor produce identical results. Another reliability problem that should be noted is the limitation of

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<sup>1126</sup> Ibid.

having a small informant group—24 individuals from four different Native communities were interviewed—which were chosen for their current participation in the programs visited. Their selection from a diminished pool of potential community informants may have limited the opportunity to secure and include diverse individuals with vastly different views on the essence of what constituted the traditional values and beliefs which affect children, parents and teachers in socialization of children in the community. However, it is important to mention that the qualitative research process that was employed in this study has been utilized by several other ethnographic researchers investigating the Native values and beliefs in other Anishinabe communities to elicit results that closely resemble what was found in this study.

LeCompte and Preissle (1993) caution that in qualitative research, where data is recorded in the natural setting from informants that are diverse in traditions and ideology, are less likely to be replicable because the exact event cannot be identically reproduced even in the same setting (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993).<sup>1127</sup> However, researchers seeking to generate and compare the validation of constructs may not need to replicate exact situations in order to examine the similarities and divergence of those constructs. In the human context, with cultures that are dynamic, no subsequent qualitative research is likely to discover exactly the same findings. As with the results of these case studies, prior and subsequent examinations of Anishinabe informants discussing traditional values and beliefs would undoubtedly reflect a progression or digression typical of a culture in transition.

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<sup>1127</sup> LeCompte and Preissle (1993) at 332.

The research used mechanical devices to tape record the discussions with informants that were subject to subsequent review when the transcriptions revealed patterns of informant concurrence or divergence in descriptions of cultural values and beliefs. Thus the constructs that extracted from the interview text were refined from multiple resources prior to being shaped into a theoretical framework to explain the culture.

What this qualitative research discovered, that additive elements are constantly changing the texture and interpretation of informant's impressions of their traditions to reformulate and adjust social paradigms is likely to be true of any subsequent replication of the situational circumstances of this project.

## **Issues of Validity**

### ***Internal Validity***

Validity in ethnographic research depends on the ability of the researcher to demonstrate that the propositions generated, refined or tested match what occurs in human existence (LeCo

and observer shared in their perception of reality (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993).<sup>1129</sup> To answer this question, I refer to the close working relationship that this researcher established as a fellow Native American in discussing the meaning of data and participant observations with the informants in the communities and the verification process that allowed informants to examine their text and change or explain those things they considered ambiguous.

The time limitation of this study (three months) did not allow for subsequent re-investigation in the community to determine whether progressive or cyclical changes were affecting the ongoing outlook of informants involved in the research. However, transcripts which were reviewed and altered and telephone conversations with select informants clarified any differences in the content or process which informants felt did not represent their true intent or purpose.

The observer effects were moderated by the cooperation of informants to identify and refer several additional informants who were familiar with the traditions to serve as an informational resource to check data already collected. The credibility of data in this study was trustworthy due to this type of corroboration which was consistent across generations, genders and variations in social and economic status of the informant population.

In the observational phase, the observer effect was checked against the informant's interpretation of events and the basis for behaviors documented in the

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<sup>1129</sup> Ibid at 342.

classroom and community situations. Having Native heritage and being familiar with the traditional teachings in my community of origin, this researcher was careful to not impute inaccurate meaning to participant data or actions in dealing with children. However, because of the common aboriginal bond of both the researcher and the participant, informants freely expressed that they trusted this researcher to not misinterpret what they were trying to say nor use the research results for a detrimental purpose. Their ease in discussing difficult topics such as the family disruption resulting from the boarding school experience, racism in the schools, and the alcoholism that has affected generations of tribal members was an attestation of the trust placed in this researcher because due to our common racial and cultural bond.

In the analytical phase, internal validity was protected by using only the terminology provided by informants in the interviews. Coding depended upon the meaning attributed by the informant to the phenomenon or idea being discussed. Since the selection of informants was limited by the number of individuals participating in the summer programs, the study added a number of other community members including grandparents and elders to augment the body of cultural knowledge available to the study

To ensure that the data collected and the observations made in the field were consonant with ethnographic accounts over time, the research included an extensive investigation into the historical context of the evolution of the Anishinabe culture. This inquiry revealed that several components of the cultural values and beliefs articulated in this study had been sustained through centuries in similar investigations

by other ethnographers examining the elements of the three different Tribal groups. Looking at data and behaviors of participants in this study in the context of the aboriginal culture, the research found that the original teachings which had been handed down in the oral histories of the four groups had persisted to allow a comparison between the ancient and transitional cultures. This comparison provided credible evidence that allowed the research to decide that an accurate interpretation had been made of informant values and beliefs from the meaning and understanding individuals had imputed to their culture. While this technique was not able to definitively settle minor differences in rival explanations for conflicting data, it did reveal the evolution of cultural knowledge in communities affected by bicultural experiences of individuals living in transitional periods. The transitional data could then be compared to life circumstances of individuals providing discrepant interpretations of cultural phenomena to better understand the inherent disparities therein.

### ***External Validity***

To the extent that any ethnographic study results can be generalized beyond the informant group understanding of the culture, this research was able to provide yet another vein of information in the stream of research knowledge that explains how cultural values and beliefs impact the behaviors of Native adults and children acting within the cultural milieu of their Tribal preschool program. In examining other research that had similarly compared the cultural values and beliefs of distinct Native groups (Ojibwa, Odawa or Potawatomi) to find how their orientation affected

individual behaviors in various situations, the project found that there was consistency in the use of like terminology and theoretical frameworks to define cultural phenomena that strongly resembled how informants in this study had described their understanding of Anishinabe values and beliefs. Much of this comparative research was completed after the data collection and analytical process was first completed. The information found provided an analytical tool that allowed this research to then compare the paradigmatic structures of this study to other research disciplines; and to also evaluate how the theoretical constructs had been formulated within from their research results. This ethnohistorical investigation established that there was typicality in the language to describe the phenomena being used among the distinct groups over time; and that like descriptions transcended academic disciplines such as the health services field, social worker and psychologist. Furthermore, constructs that had appeared in early research, continued to have solidarity with later research of the same groups by other professional disciplines. This finding appeared to provide these study results a modicum of external validity that could be substantiated through decades of previous research.

Of course, the limitations of individual researcher and a small informant population, which was selected from a circumscribed pool of potential interviewees, can at best only provide a small slice of the cultural values and beliefs that are held by the thousands of other Anishinabe individuals living and acting in Tribal societies across the nine other Native communities. Nonetheless, among the four informant groups there was uniformity in their recognition and understanding of the cultural



values and beliefs that comprised the essence of a unique worldview held by the modern and ancient Anishinabe person.

In any research there are dissenting opinions among informant groups regarding the viability of retained cultural orientations as it affects the modern life of children in the community. This group of dissenters believed that the culture hampered youths from fully participating in the economic progress being made by Tribal governments in the new millennium. These individuals questioned the value of integrating the language and culture into school curriculums, or establishing an Indian way school when there was so much more for children to know in the mainstream of American life. Upon further examination it was decided that this research should anticipate that categories of differing views would be present as a function of the transitional status that this culture was experiencing in the different stages of acculturation (LaFromboise, 1990;<sup>1130</sup> Walkingstick Garrett, 1995).<sup>1131</sup>

### **Policy Recommendations**

The focus of this research was to discover how the cultural values and beliefs impacted the behaviors of teachers, parents and staff in the preschool situations of the Anishinabe programs. Among the twenty-four informants there was significant uniformity in their descriptions of the values and beliefs to discern that a unique worldview characterized the cultural orientation of the groups interviewed. There

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<sup>1130</sup> LaFromboise (1990) at 638.

<sup>1131</sup> Walkingstick Garrett (1995) at 188.

was substantial agreement on what were the educational needs of Native children and how to provide for those needs in a culturally appropriate manner. The consensus was that *all school programs educating Anishinabe children need to*: (1) provide language and culture instruction as part of the curriculum; (2) assist the child to build self-esteem and a strong Indian identity; (3) support the child's efforts to improve academic performance; (4) provide a spiritual grounding that will help the child cope with life; (5) and be cognizant of the child's needs and meet those needs with culturally appropriate solutions that can be supported by the parents and community.

Of importance to this group was their concern for a quality education program that would provide students with strong academic skills in a socially friendly environment, which would not sacrifice the transmission of cultural values and beliefs individuals believed essential to maintaining a healthy and productive life. There were observable differences in the way Native teachers perceived and interacted with Native children that demonstrated a need for their presence in Tribal programs and mainstream classrooms. For instance, Native teachers often used storytelling as an instructional device to communicate lessons to the child, as was the use of analogy to associate concepts that were unfamiliar to the child. Informants used words, terminology and phrasing that were customary in the culture which allowed children to make sense of what was being described or to better understand directions given during an activity. These words and terms were among those informants had repeated in the interviews, in the homes and at community gatherings. Eye contact, voice modulations, demeanor and gesturing were other examples of how the Native teachers were able to use culture to connect with their students in the conveyance of

messages and expectations. In situations where the Native teachers and children appeared to display consonance in their understanding of communications, whether by words or tacit messaging, the expectations of the teacher were fulfilled by the child. In these circumstances it appeared that the mutual understanding of participants was promulgated by their shared culture, which often did not necessitate extensive explanations or exhortations. Without having interviewed the children to discover the basis for their reaction to adult communications, it is impossible to know whether the culturally transmitted message had motivated the resultant response.

Finding that the cultural values and beliefs contributed to the behavioral decisions of teachers and parents in the preschool situations of this study raises additional questions as to how these children will integrate into majority systems once their preschool experience is concluded. This questions begs continued research as these children progress through mainstream programs at the elementary levels. If as Wright (1996)<sup>1132</sup> has suggested, Native children experience a decline in performance and achievement as they progress through majority education programs, it will be necessary to examine levels of performance as children emerge from the Head Start programs in a longevity study that reexamines student progress each year they are in the mainstream situations. Using ethnography, investigation into why and how progression or digression occurs in majority systems needs to be completed with parents, children and teachers in the elementary schools.

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<sup>1132</sup> Wright et al. (1996) at 734.

An important discovery of this study was that schools intended to serve the educational needs of children in the four communities have historically treated Native students with irritation and rejection when they refused to act in ways that indicated students had assimilated majority values. We know from informants that teachers have exhibited racism in comments made to parents regarding the home life of children that imputes family dysfunction and the spread of diseases in the school environment. From personal experience, informants have indicated that Anglo teachers communicate lowered performance expectations and achievement outcomes for Native students in comparison to what they expected from students in the majority groups. We also know that informants believed that the curriculum has not only misrepresented Indian history but stereotypically diminished Indian heritage as well, showing bias against the traditional values and beliefs that Native children brought to school.

Deyhle (1995) found in research among the Navajo, where school administrators and teachers have exhibited racism to devalue the Native culture, students feel rejected and leave school early--almost 55 percent of Navajo students abandon school prior to graduation due to the racism experienced in mainstream systems (Deyhle, 1995).<sup>1133</sup> As informants in this study have shared, the success rate of Anishinabe students in local high schools serving reservations students and urban Indian communities remains abysmally poor, with only 50 percent of all Native students graduating annually.

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<sup>1133</sup> Deyhle (1995) at 420.

There are important administrative policy implications for schools serving Native students that transcend geographic location and ethnicity of the surrounding communities. In Michigan, despite the diversity of Anglo populations that comprised the school culture where Anishinabe students have been integrated, assumptions that Native children lacked the capacity or tenacity to complete high school programs are prevalent. Informants felt lowered expectations served to justify a lack of staff commitment to challenge or encourage Native students to attempt college preparatory courses. Where students have opted for more challenging schedules many were not given the necessary support to succeed. Informants shared that unless Indian youths distinguished themselves in athletics or demonstrated unusual academic achievement, little is done to support their efforts to attain educational excellence.

These are issues that local school administrators will have to address in order to change existing perceptions and systems that produce negative achievement results for Native students. For instance, Anglo administrators will be challenged to alter entrenched teacher attitudes that impute to Native students the inability to achieve academic excellence, and replace their lowered expectations with school-wide commitments to expect quality performances from Native children.

In the development of strong school/community relationships between majority schools and Tribal communities, administrators will have to coalesce Anglo staff, students and local residents in cooperative efforts to welcome Native children into the school environment and appropriately address racism on a district-wide basis. If culture and language are educational components that are essential to provide

Native children with meaningful educational opportunities to build self-esteem and experience increased academic achievement, district boards, school administrators and teachers will have to adopt an appreciation for the value of the traditional culture brought to schools by Native students clinging to their tribal identities. To do this, mainstream schools will have to find a way to work with Tribal education agencies to cooperatively write culturally-relevant curriculum and integrate these instructional elements into the body of existing curriculum requirements without sacrificing the integrity of current state mandates.

There are many opportunities for local schools to create linkages with higher education programs such as the Bay Mills Community College to support teacher preparation and professional development training of educators working with Native children; to collaborate on writing Native curriculum or improve instructional programs to meet the needs of Native students, or support school efforts to improve individual academic performance through mentoring and tutorial services of college students and community volunteers. Whether local school boards will cooperate with Tribal colleges to give credit for language and culture studies completed through cross-registration procedures is yet to be resolved. If mainstream programs are to accommodate the differences in belief systems to allow Native students equal time off from the school schedule to participate in traditional ceremonies, feasts, subsistence activities or language classes offered through the Tribal College, administrators will need to receive Native input through mechanisms and channels of ongoing outreach to Anishinabe communities.

These challenges require school district administration and policy development boards to critically examine the current levels of service and evaluate district commitments to improve the quality of programming for Native children which they may already consider equitable and sufficient. How the state can become involved to induce compliance and assist local districts in these endeavors through alternative certification procedures, restructuring curriculum requirements to include Native studies in the high school agenda and allow credit for courses taken at the Tribal College is yet unknown. What these studies have revealed is that Native informants were very concerned about the quality of educational services available to their children in majority systems, and that these individuals believe that districts must reconcile these issues if their children are to experience academic success.

As a rule, informants expressed mistrust for mainstream institutions, and believe that administrators have failed to recognize the problems or needs of Native children coming into their systems from a culturally different lifestyle where Anishinabe values and beliefs affect the composition of the family structure, child raising practices, and the emphasis placed on educational success. When families encourage children to remain on the reservation because they have personal and family support from relatives and friends in the community, school personnel have characterized this type of social cohesion as a drawback to individual accomplishment. Where families, estranged from the local schools because of their own unhappy experience have failed to participate or become involved in their child's education, administrators and teachers have criticized this lack of parental involvement as being unconcerned about their child's education. When

administrators or staff have exhibited racism toward Anishinabe students, the tendency has been for parents to withdraw further, instructing their child that the school is an unfriendly place where educational opportunities are limited and success is compromised by fixed attitudes of Anglo people who dislike Indians.

Parents shared that when students have entered local schools having a strong traditional identity, they have been penalized or made fun of for believing in the old ways. They indicated that teachers or administrators with attitudes that diminished the cultural values and beliefs have adversely affected their child's self-esteem. In some instances, such devaluing of the culture has resulted in student resistance to school rules and behaviors that have caused students to be "kicked out" of the school program. From the interview text it was evident that there is substantial anger and frustration on behalf of students and parents when the educational experience resulted in damaging emotional trauma that has caused their child to leave school early. Informants shared that it was well known that Indian students are treated differently by teachers and administrators in disciplinary situations. Most often Native students are removed or expelled for behaviors that Anglo students exhibit without repercussion. This fact has only served to confirm feelings of mistrust and suspicion that the racism in the school is the basis for the different treatment of students guilty of the same infractions.

This mistrust is one reason given for support among Native communities to develop an Indian Way School that will focus on the needs of Native students. Informants believed that helping Native students build a strong cultural identity will



teach them how to cope with life's circumstances without resorting to self-destructive behaviors. Most informants admitted that the reservation and urban Indian communities suffer the same social problems as the surrounding populations. Alcohol and drugs have affected their youth as much as other students in the mainstream school environment. They believe that being traditional and recapturing their spirituality will give the children the self-esteem necessary to reorient their energies to work for a better life and community for Native children of the future. Indeed, many young informants who had returned to the traditions spoke of being able to reject alcohol or drugs as a means of improving the chances that their child will have a better life, one with more self-esteem and an Indian identity that "lets them know who they were" in the world. If districts fail to address necessary policy changes to accommodate the needs of Native children, it is likely that community members will push for Tribal governments to create collateral systems that are able to more appropriately address the educational needs of communities involved in the revitalization of the traditional culture.

Individuals involved in the preschool situations were well aware of the needs of Native children coming to these programs. They were careful how they acted and reacted to the children on a daily basis. There was concern for the child's spiritual well being which was demonstrated in the attention given to the holistic needs of children--the emotional, mental, social, physical, educational, familial, and communal elements of life that impacted the child's ability to function as a human being. These informants referred to themselves as being "connected" to the children, parents and other adults in the society. The program environment was characterized by adults

giving understanding, support, concern and cooperation. To connect with parents, centers made routine outreach through daily contact. Parents received support for all aspects of their lives, and the in-home parent trainers facilitated the networking of services. In essence, these programs appeared to adhere to the precepts which were characteristic of the clan system among Traditional groups.

Finally, informants demonstrated grave concern for the value of mainstream educational programs that do not offer their children appropriate teaching or learning opportunities and generally result in the underachievement of Native children. In discussing this problem, most of the informants were able to describe specific instances of prejudicial treatment in majority systems, which they considered to have damaged their children or their own opportunity to succeed. Many parents expressed the hope that by providing children with a strong sense of Indian identity and self-esteem prior to entering the majority program, some of the negative influences could be ameliorated. However, from the interview text it was also learned that there are conflicting opinions of the value of further isolating Anishinabe children from the mainstream of educational and economic opportunity. Many informants were ambivalent about trading a technologically progressive education in the majority setting in exchange for preserving the cultural values and beliefs available in an Indian Way school, even though many believed such values would beneficially support their child's educational achievement in the future. It is a debate that can only be assisted from further research in how the cultural values and beliefs affect the educational progression of Native students in the public programs.

## **Implications for Future Research**

Continuing research studies are necessary to determine the effect that the EHS and HS programs are having on the success of Native children as they enter the mainstream elementary situations. Follow up studies are necessary to examine the differences in the performance of children who have emerged from these programs in comparison to the children who have not participated in either the EHS or HS program. There is also a need to complete further studies on programs which have effectively utilized components of the traditional cultural values and beliefs to determine how these elements affected the behaviors of teachers and successes of students as they worked through their daily lessons.

Further research is also necessary to determine the extent and affect of the frustration and isolation experienced by Native students in the local public schools once they are integrated from a reservation school program. If as these informants have indicated there is a prejudicial reception waiting for them as they merge into the mainstream systems, how is their daily performance impacted in a hostile environment? Hopefully, these are some study initiatives that the academic community will find worthy of further investigation in the future.

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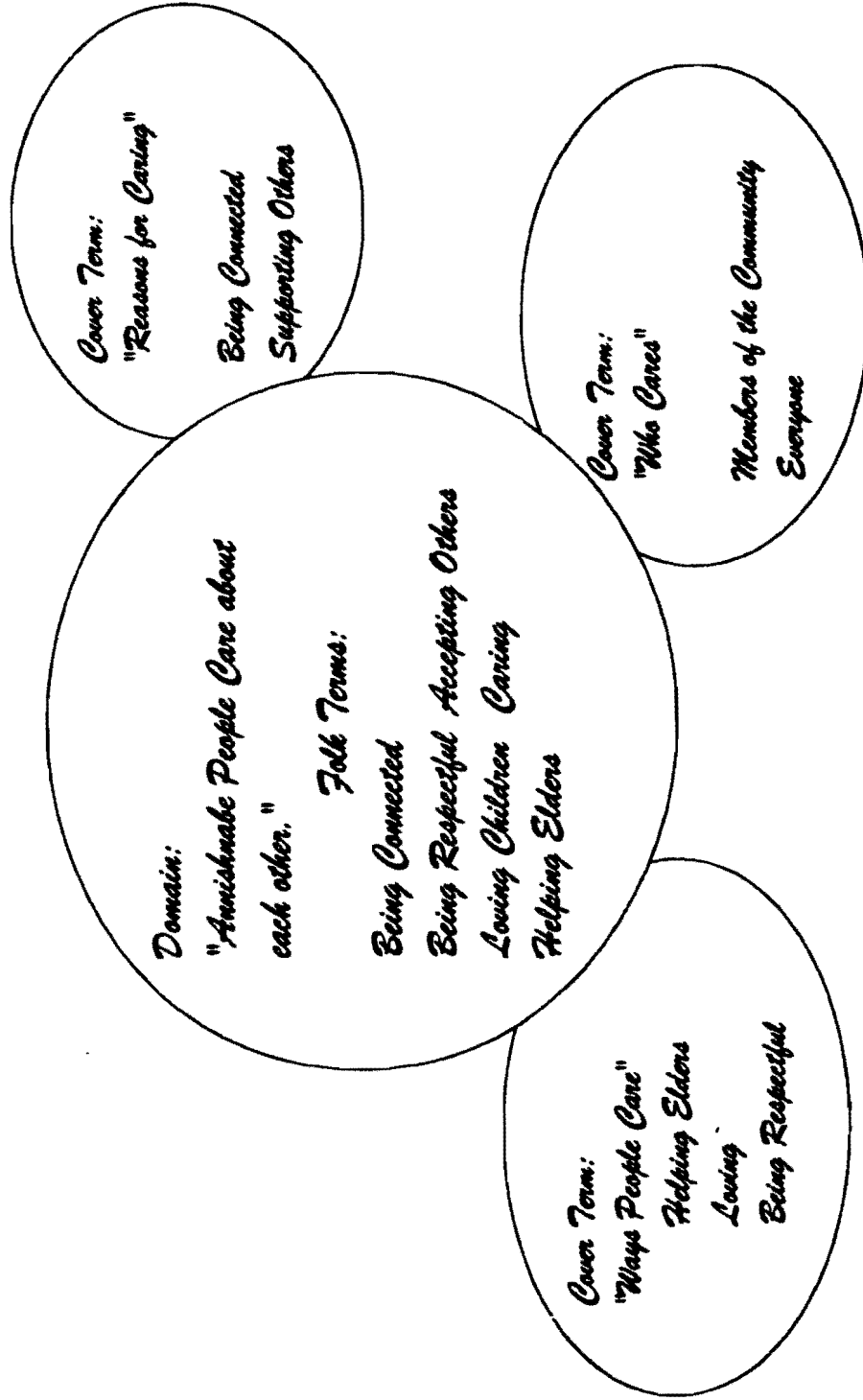
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# Folk Taxonomies - Domains and Cover Terms

Figure 1 - Page 409



# COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS

## "The Structured Reality"

### Of the

### Traditional Burial

#### Attributes of Cultural Concepts of Informants

Status of Culture	Four-Day Fire	Feeding The Spirit	Wake & Viewing At Home	Friends Gather For Support	All Souls Day
The Lost Culture	Calls it a bonfire but doesn't know the purpose	Views this concept as a "Pagan Practice"	Has Wake and Viewing at a Funeral Parlor	Friends Support but not around the home`	Maintains annual celebration to honor the dead
The Preserved Culture	Maintains Four-Day Fire, burns tobacco, has ceremonies	Holds the Ghost Supper, feeds the spirit, feeds community, who eat for the dead	Has Wake and viewing at home; has food at home	Friends maintain vigil for family until body is buried, visit for Four days	Does not recognize All Souls Day Celebration; does not attend
The Recaptured Culture	Holds Four-Day Fire; burns tobacco and holds ceremonies	Has Ghost Supper, may or may not feed the spirit; has food at the community hall after burial	Wake and Viewing can be at home or in Funeral Parlor	Friends Gather for Support, at home or at the Funeral Parlor	Recognizes All Souls Day as occasion to celebrate, but does not relinquish other elements of the Traditional Burial

# LIFE CYCLES

## SACRED CIRCLE

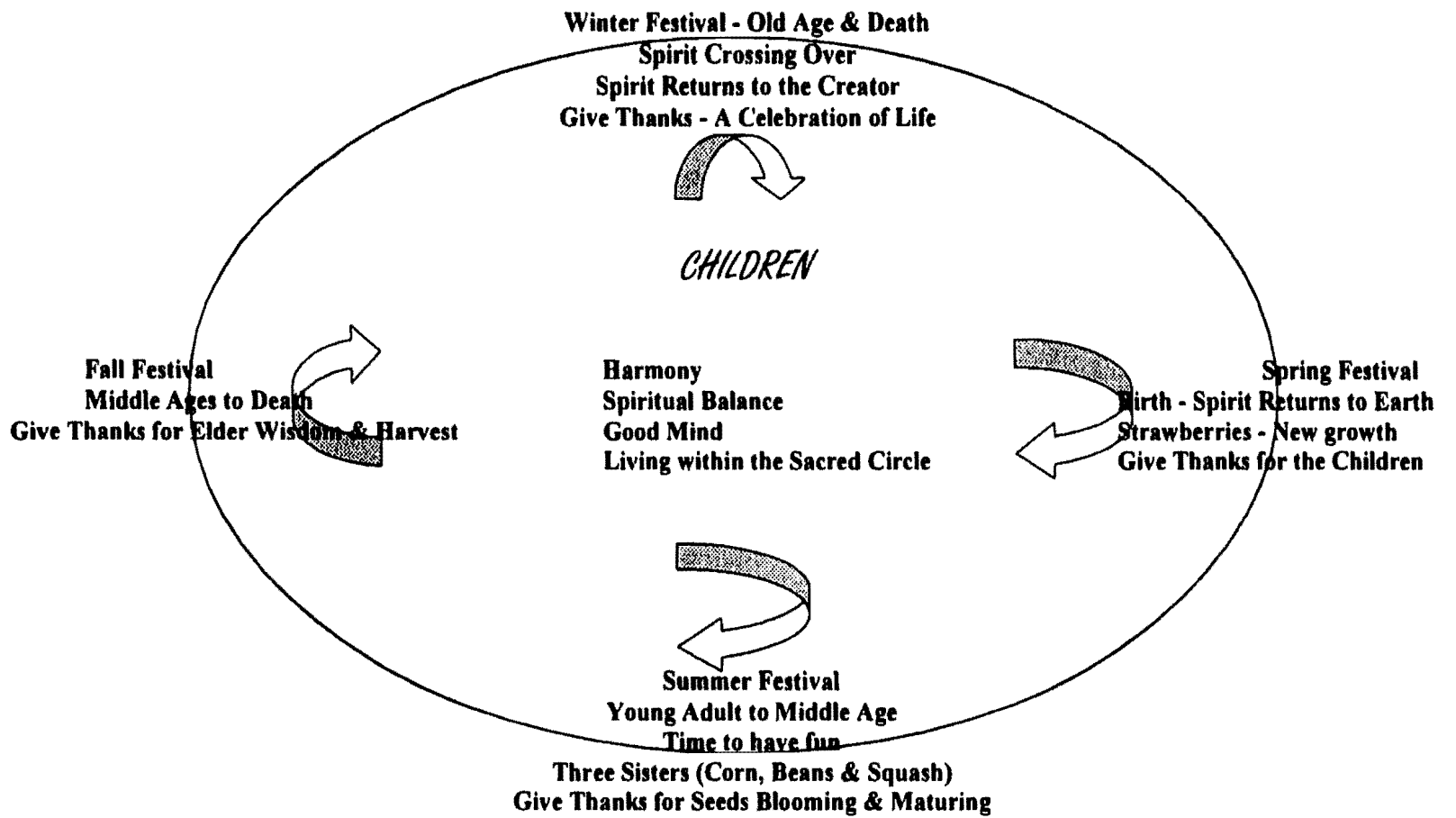
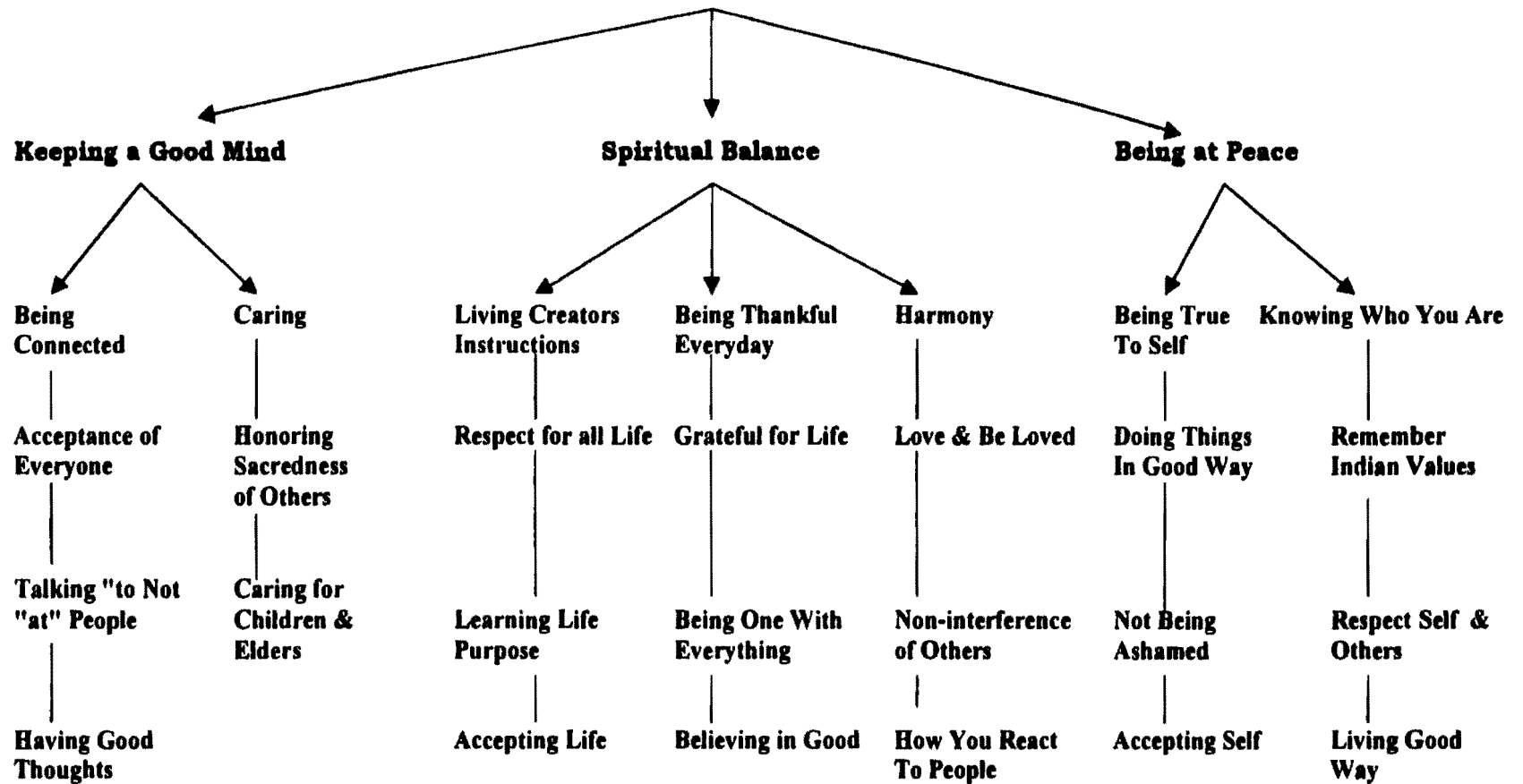


Figure 2 - Page 411

**THEMATIC STRUCTURE OF**

**SPIRITUALITY**  
**Living In the Circle**



# TAXONOMY OF "Anishinabe People care about each other."

Figure 4 - Page 413

<b>Respecting Elders</b>	<b>Help Around the House</b>	<b>Run Errands</b>
		<b>Give Meals</b>
		<b>Responsibility for Children</b>
		<b>Designated Parent Surrogate</b>
	<b>Extended Family Status</b>	<b>Inclusion in Family</b>
		<b>Give Advice</b>
	<b>Elders Have Wisdom</b>	<b>Spiritual Guidance</b>
		<b>Discipline Errant Behavior</b>
	<b>Elders As Teachers</b>	<b>Teach Children</b>
		<b>Teach Language Cultural Knowledge</b>
	<b>Spiritual Guide After Crossing Over</b>	
<b>Being Supportive</b>	<b>Being There for Them</b>	
	<b>Helping Families/Each Other in Need</b>	
	<b>House Always Open to Everyone</b>	
	<b>Part of Everything in Universe</b>	
<b>Being Connected</b>	<b>Talking "to" not "at" Someone</b>	
	<b>Acceptance of Everyone</b>	
	<b>Giving Thanks for Everyone/Everything</b>	

**Participant Consent Form**

I, \_\_\_\_\_ consent to participate in the research conducted by Lois M. Jircitano during the months of May through August, 1998. I have been fully informed of the nature of the research, any risks that participation may involve and the uses of any personal information that I will be asked to disclose. I am aware that I may decline to participate in the study at any point during the study, even if I have already started to participate. I am also aware that if I do not wish to continue to participate in the study, I will not be penalized in any way and I am still entitled to any remittance that was guaranteed for participation. I am aware that my responses will be made anonymously and no one will have access to my responses except the researcher and his advisor. I am aware that my responses will in no way be used by any individual for the purposes of making a decision about my future and that I have a right to examine the overall results of the research and any conclusions drawn from these results.

I sign below that I consent to participate freely, without coercion, having completely read this document.

Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Signature)

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Date)

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Print)

Further information may be obtained by contacting:

Lois M. Jircitano  
(716) 731-9396; [lmj5@acsu.buffalo.edu](mailto:lmj5@acsu.buffalo.edu)

**VERIFICATION STATEMENT**

**As requested: I, \_\_\_\_\_, have read the transcript of my interview with Dr. Lois M. Jircitano, completing research during the summer of 1998 in the Inter-Tribal Head Start and Early Head Start Programs, and community at-large; and do generally (agree/disagree) with its contents. I therefore (wish/do not wish) to change portion(s) of the enclosed transcript, and have so indicated by my (comments/lack of comments) within the text, and by my signature on the bottom of this verification statement.**

**SIGNED:** \_\_\_\_\_

**DATED:** \_\_\_\_\_



**LOIS M. JIRCITANO, Ph.D., J.D., M.A., B.S., A.A.**  
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Greenbrier, Tennessee 37073  
(615) 382-0608  
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[lois@jircitano.com](http://lois@jircitano.com)

### **EDUCATION**

- Ph.D.**            **State University of New York at Buffalo**  
**Educational Administration; Graduated 2001**
- J.D.**            **State University of New York at Buffalo, School of Law**  
**Law and Juris Prudence; Graduated 1982**
- M.A.**            **State University of New York at Buffalo**  
**American Studies; Graduated 1990**
- B.S.**            **State University College at Buffalo**  
**Special Education, Elementary Education; Graduated 1976.**
- A.A.**            **Niagara County Community College**  
**Arts and Social Sciences; Graduated 1974**

### **STATE CERTIFICATIONS**

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <b>School Administrator Supervisor</b><br><b>Status: Provisional</b> | <b>New York State</b><br><b>Issued: 2000</b>     |
| <b>School District Administration</b><br><b>Status: Permanent</b>    | <b>New York State</b><br><b>Issued: 1996</b>     |
| <b>Special Education Teacher</b><br><b>Status: Provisional</b>       | <b>State of Tennessee</b><br><b>Issued: 1996</b> |
| <b>Special Education Teacher</b><br><b>Status: Permanent</b>         | <b>New York State</b><br><b>Issued: 1984</b>     |
| <b>Elementary Education Teacher</b><br><b>Status: Permanent</b>      | <b>New York State</b><br><b>Issued: 1982</b>     |

**UNIVERSITY TEACHING - COLLEGE ADMINISTRATION**  
**& NEW YORK STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT EXPERIENCE**

**Western Kentucky University  
Educational Leadership and Behavioral Sciences  
1 Big Red Way  
Bowling Green, Kentucky 42101**

**Assistant Professor  
Graduate School of Education  
1998 to Present**

- Teaching:** Public School Law; Special Education Law and Finance; Special Education Administration; Qualitative Research Methods; student advisement; Director of Minority Leadership Training Program.
- Supervision:** School administrators/teachers in fieldwork practicum for extending administrative certification; licensure for Director of Pupil Personnel Services; Director of Special Education; Supervision of Instruction.
- Community Service:** University Ombudsman on the President's Committee for Sexual Harassment; in-service training of local districts for Sexual Harassment, Section 504 and other related legal issues; participant of Kentucky University Consortium of Educational Administrators formulating statewide guidelines for Educational Leadership Programs. Co-coordinator of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6th Annual Regional School Law Conference.

**Niagara County Community College  
3111 Saunders Settlement Road  
Sanborn, New York 14132**

**Sp. Asst. to President  
for Equity/Diversity  
1994 - 1995**

- Human Resources Functions:** monitored employment practices; resolved Human Resource disputes; enforced college student/employee policies; investigated and reconciled faculty/student and employment discrimination, sexual harassment and 504 Disability Services issues.
- Training:** provided college-wide training in equity/diversity to administration, faculty and staff; monitored college compliance of Titles VI, VII and IX; Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act; the ADA and ADEA; administered program grants.
- Community Service:** worked with community leaders to develop minority recruitment and retention policies; provided community training in gender equity issues; co-coordinated Western New York Regional School-To-Work Consortium grant with 16 school districts, 8 colleges, business and industry.

**New York State Education Department  
Counsel  
Albany, New York**

**Asst. Legal  
1989 - 1993**

- Assistant Legal Counsel:** researched and prepared Commissioner's regular education/special education appeals; wrote education law, rules and regulations, and supporting legal memoranda; responded to district inquiries related to local and statewide issues; revised state education/local district contracts; monitored education corporations and proprietary school operations.
- Department Training:** participated in training of state employees in cross-cultural issues, TQM; Employee Relations Dispute Resolution; development of linkages between local/state agencies.
- Community Service:** designed and delivered cross-cultural rehabilitation and independent living training statewide to improve accessibility/outreach for under-served populations.
- Research:** compiled, prepared and presented comprehensive disability research study of under-served groups to NYS Board of Regents; participated in the establishment of a statewide network to improve intergovernmental/interagency linkages to increase services delivery.

## **PUBLIC SCHOOLTEACHING EXPERIENCE**

**Williamson County School District  
Brentwood, Tennessee**

**Behavior Intervention Specialist  
Fall 1996 – Spring 1997**

•**Behavior Intervention Specialist:** planned/implemented behavior intervention program (BIP) for high school students with severe emotional disabilities; served as liaison to administration and faculty for disciplinary actions; acted as collaborating teacher and co-instructor; coordinated IEP preparation, assisted in ARC meetings; outreached parents; and supervised teacher assistant.

**Niagara Wheatfield Central School District  
Sanborn, N.Y. 14132**

**Special Education Teacher  
Spring 1994**

•**Special Education Teacher:** evaluated and coordinated IEP preparation for ED/LD students; assisted in scheduling support services; acted as collaborating teacher for mainstreamed students; completed annual reports, participated in CSE meetings, worked with parents; and supervised teaching assistant.

**Orleans/ Niagara Board of Cooperative  
Educational Services  
Sanborn, New York 14132**

**Special Education Teacher  
1987 - 1989  
1977 - 1978**

•**Special Education Classroom Teacher:** evaluated/designed remedial programs for high school, middle school and elementary students with ED/LD classification; coordinated IEP preparation and participated in CSE meetings; outreached parents; and supervised teaching assistant.

**Wyndham Lawn Home for Children  
Lockport, New York**

**Special Education Teacher  
1976 - 1977**

•**Special Education Classroom Teacher:** provided education and behavior management programs for students with SED; member of Multi-disciplinary Institutional Team to develop and implement facility-wide behavior goals and objectives; supervised teaching assistant volunteers.

## **UNRELATED LEGAL EXPERIENCE**

**Seneca Nation of Indians  
Irving, New York**

**Legal Counsel/Consultant  
1982 - 1987**

•**Legal Counsel:** prepared legislation/regulations and supporting legal memoranda; prepared and negotiated utility, commercial and residential leases; created business and corporate structures; monitored federal, state and local community services grants; provided legal advisement for departmental and cabinet operations.

•**Liaison:** to federal and state agencies, departments and special committees; monitored compliance to all federal and state laws, rules and regulations.

## RESEARCH/TRAINING & GRANT WRITING EXPERIENCE

**Native American Services of Erie  
& Niagara Counties  
Buffalo, New York**

**Project Coordinator/Trainer  
1994 - 1996**

- **Research Coordinator:** Investigated status of health education services of NYS Department of Health and American Indian Health and Community Service agencies for underserved populations on statewide basis; designed outreach methods; compiled data; and assisted in the coordination of culturally competent curriculum design
- **Community Input:** Implemented statewide community-access program to receive input and open communications with underserved populations; provided advisement and training to NYS DOH on culturally-competent access methods; established statewide meetings; and chaired input process; chaired statewide curriculum development meetings throughout NYS with representatives of the six Indian governments for the formulation of training materials and NYS DOH Curriculum Development Staff.
- **Training:** Prepared training schedule and finalized training curriculum with DOH personnel and Indian representatives; implemented statewide training initiatives; coordinated the Development of and Inter-government agency Resource Manual for statewide distribution.

**Northern Arizona University  
Institute for Human Development  
American Indian Rehabilitation Research  
& Training Center  
Flagstaff, Arizona**

**Research Consultant  
1994 - 1995**

- **Consultant/Researcher:** Co-investigator on research team identifying non-intrusive research techniques & identifying key informants within the American Indian populations of NYS; assisted in development of information resources manual; initiated inter-disciplinary relationships between university staff, state, and Indian programs; assisted in the preparation of Final Research Report.

**State of South Dakota  
Department of Human Services**

**Research/Grant Consultant  
1994 - 1994**

- **Researcher:** Designed access and documentation procedures for outreaching underserved American Indian populations in State of South Dakota to document service populations for Rehabilitation Services and Independent Living; coordinated statewide meeting of nine Sioux Indian Nations to complete needs assessment; compiled data.
- **Grant Writer:** Design a statewide services program to address the needs of itinerant distance servicing for nine Indian reservation communities; prepared successful statewide service grant funded by the U.S. Rehabilitation Services Administration to receive additional funds beyond the grant request.

**AWARDS • PAPERS • PUBLICATIONS**

- **National Association of Native American Studies Conference, Paper presentation, Cultural Aspects of Preschool Education of the Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi, Houston, Texas, 2001.**
  
- **Presentation, Cultural Aspects of Preschool Education of the Ojibwa, Odawa and Potawatomi, Cornell University Conference for Doctoral Students in Education, October, 2000.**
  
- **Presentation to the United South and Eastern Tribes Conference, research grant proposal in Head Start Education Projects on Indian five reservations, Miami Florida, 1999.**
  
- **National Council of University Administrators Award for outstanding dissertation 1999, chosen to participate in the National Graduate Seminar, sponsored by the University Council of Educational Administrators, American Educational Research Association in Montreal, Canada, one of 40 students chosen internationally for recognition of the quality of their dissertation work, 1999.**
  
- **Women of Color Literary Journal, State University of New York at Albany, accepted and published two poetry selections, 1993.**
  
- **Changing Systems for Rehabilitation Services of Native Americans in New York State, paper accepted and presented at Northern Arizona University, Institute for Human Development, American Indian Rehabilitation Research and Training Center, Flagstaff, Arizona; delivered at the National Conference on American Indians with disabilities in Phoenix, Arizona, June 1992.**
  
- **Independent Living Services for American Indians in New York State, Final Report of Native American Research Project, presented to the New York State Board of Regents, 1992.**
  
- **Report to the New York State Judicial Commission on Minority Representation: Indian Issues, research document and legal memoranda referenced and published in the New York State Legislative Commission on Minorities Report, Volume Five, Appendix—Staff Reports and Working Papers, April 1991.**
  
- **Issues Related to the Development of Indian Codes and the Re-assumption of Criminal Jurisdiction, paper presented at the Judicial Conference of First Nations, Cornwall, Ontario, 1990.**
  
- **Non-Native Justice/Native Justice: Concepts in Conflict, paper accepted and presented to the Intercultural Institute of Montreal, Montreal, Quebec, 1990.**

- **Hispanic American, Native American and Asian Law School Association**, served as Vice President of student organization and assisted in recruitment and retention of Minority students, 1978-80.

- **Akwesasne Notes**, American Indian Newspaper, accepted and published two poetry selections, 1980.

- **Exit, Niagara County Community College Literary Journal**, accepted and published five poetry selections, 1974.

- **President's Plaque Award** for meritorious service to the Niagara County Community College for initiation of **Native American Student Union**, served as first President and organized month-long cultural exchange program, 1974.

