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ABSTRACT

Divided into five sections, the monograph is intended to make students aware that the practices customary to social work agencies are not relevant to the needs of most American Indian clientele. The first section provides an overview of the following historical, geographical, and cultural areas of American Indian tribes: California, Plateau, Great Basin, Southwest, Plains, Southeast, Woodlands, North Pacific, and Arctic Coast. The overview briefly describes some characteristics of the Pomo, Me-Wuk, Nez Perce, Northern Paiute, Washo, Navajo, Blackfoot, Sioux, Choctaw, Iroquois, Tlingit, and Eskimo tribes. Section II summarizes the commonalities in religion, family structure, child rearing, the elders, communication, life, health, and culture found among the different tribes. The third section discusses the similarities of the tribes and compares them to the dominant society. This section explores the conflicting values of the dominant society and the American Indian regarding religion, family system, child rearing, the elderly, communication and oral tradition, and world view. Four case studies of actual cases that came through an urban Indian agency are discussed. Next, the dual perspective framework, which is perhaps the most relevant approach for serving American Indians, is discussed. The monograph concludes with a 266-item unannotated bibliography of materials pertaining to human behavior. (NQA)

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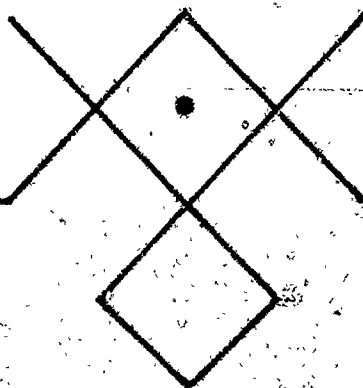
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Human Behavior and American Indians

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INTRODUCTION

San Francisco State University received funds for a five year training grant for American Indian social workers in 1977. Since then, twenty five students have participated in the project. All are working for the betterment of American Indians.

The Project is governed by an Advisory Board, which consists of four community leaders, two Native American Social Work Project students (one undergraduate and one graduate student) and three faculty members.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

A major goal of the project is to develop curriculum which addresses the needs of American Indians in the areas of Social Policy, Social Work Methods and Human Behavior.

Accreditation Standard 1234 A states:

A school must make special continual efforts to enrich its programs by providing racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity in its student body and at all levels of instructional and research personnel, and by providing corresponding educational supports.*

According to the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) there is a great need for ethnic minority content. From talking with other educators, Schools of Social Work are only touching a minimal base on ethnic minority content. Many programs offer elective courses on ethnic minority content; but because of a student's tight scheduling, many students never take those courses. Content more relevant to social issues concerning ethnic and cultural diversity should and can be integrated in the social work curriculum to assist the student in developing a knowledge of social work in the Indian community.

PROCESS

Questionnaires were sent out to different agencies to obtain their opinions on what subjects should be included in the curriculum. Also, personal interviews focused on curriculum were conducted with Indian community leaders and people who have served the Indian clientele. These opinions were placed on a priority list and discussed with the Native American Social Work Advisory Board members, all the graduate students in the project, and other Indian leaders. Their input was solicited and prioritized. The information obtained was drafted into outline form and an analysis of the content was made. It is hoped that this Indian social work curriculum will be used in courses now offered in social work programs.

* Council on Social Work Education "Accreditation 1234 A"

A bibliography is also included for future references.

Because of the diverse population of American Indian tribes, a table of content has been included to familiarize the student with a geographical/cultural base area for the tribes. The general characteristics of that area, are listed with specific tribes of that region. It is difficult to make a generalization about all American Indian tribes because of their diversity and different cultural practices. Commonalities do exist and are enumerated throughout the Urban Indian Reader. More specific information can be obtained through self-directed reading in the bibliography. Our main purpose is to make students aware that the practice customary to social work agencies are not relevant to the needs of most Indian clientele. Just one example of the different Indian client needs is cited in this case vignette.

"A 26 year old Navajo man was hospitalized in a mental institution for 18 months after being diagnosed as schizophrenic. No one at the hospital attempted to secure an interpreter since the patient did not speak English very well. If an interpreter had been called, the attendants would have discovered that he came from a traditional background and had little contact with the ambient society. He also was born during a solar eclipse, which destined him to take part in periodic ceremonies. If the ambient society had known about the cultural values of the Navajos, a diagnostic mistake might not have been made." This is just one of many examples of the different values and customs that exist between Indians and non-Indians, that interfere with diagnosis and treatment. These errors cause much unnecessary suffering for American Indian clients.

I. GEOGRAPHICAL/CULTURAL
AREAS OF NORTH AMERICAN
INDIAN TRIBES

By

Margaret Eisenbise

CALIFORNIA

"Kroeber suggested that there were probably over 500 tribelets, and conservatively estimated that they range between 100 and 500 persons per group."¹ He suggested that the tribelet (or village community) was the equivalent of the tribe among some other American Indians, since it was usually the largest group over which any one person, leader or chief, had recognized authority.

Their food resources consisted of a great variety of plants, fish birds and mammals (deer, elk, and antelope). The lean time of the year for most aboriginal Californians was the early spring, before plant growth began and before the start of the salmon run. It was then that the threat of starvation was most serious. The foods that best met the qualifications for storage: acorns, large game and fish. The acorns could be kept without treatment; fish and game may be stored if they are dried or smoked.

"Probably every people in California observed some rite for girls at the verge of womanhood; the vast majority celebrated it with a dance of some duration."² These ceremonies differ somewhat, but two universal features that were prominent included abstention from flesh and use of the head scratcher. Boys were initiated into religious societies when they became adolescents. Outside of the initiation there were no ceremonies such as the girls' adolescence ceremonies.

Young girls usually married shortly after puberty to young men. Some experts say marriage by purchase was prevalent throughout California.

Some young girls did marry older men especially if the husband was wealthy or powerful. Most men had only one wife; however polygamy was generally accepted through California. It was considered proper for the chief to have more than one wife, a reflection of his economic and political status. California tribes seem to follow the patrilinear system, i.e., the descent from the male side. Divorce was frowned upon since it disturbed the economic alliances established by marriages. Divorce, however, was possible.

"The manner of disposing of the dead varied greatly according to regions in California."³ Cremation and burial seem to be equally distributed throughout California. If the dead was buried, many tribes held wakes and "mourning ceremonies". The majority of the tribes burned or buried the deceased person's property. If more specific information is needed, please refer to the different tribes interested.

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1. Native Californians P. 101.
 2. The California Indians P. 49.
 3. The California Indians P. 35.

THE POMOS

"Pomo", though it now signifies "people", originally, meant "earth" or "earth-people", being evidently related to the wintun pum, paum, which denotes, "earth".¹ The Pomo tribe of California belong in speech and origin to the wide assemblage of Indian natives that have been designated the Hokan family. In this family other tribes include: The Esselen, Salinan, Chumash, Yuman, Washo, Yana, Chirumariko, Karok, Shasta, Achomawi, and the Atsugen. Some say the Pomo is the best known for their basketry including the feather-work that is decorative of their baskets. Other tribes are known as basket weavers but not well-known as the Pomo.

There are three regions which the Pomo inhabited: the coast, Russian-River Valley, and the lake district. The lake district Pomo included the tribal groups of: Eastern Pomo, northerly group; Norther Pomo, Eastern Pomo, southerly group; Yukian Wappo, and the Southeastern or Lower Lake Pomo.

The types of dwelling used by the Pomo depended upon the climate and vegetation of each district. Some were made of redwood bark and others of grass. The political unit were two classes of chief--the major or "great chiefs" and the lesser, or "surrounding chiefs". The former was the head of the community--not only his own town it appears, but the group of little settlements that constituted a political unit.

The acorn was their main food supplemented by seeds, roots, berries, fish, and game. Clothing is marked by its simplicity. "Ritualism, in particular, reached a high stage of development. The status of women is

high; there is a tendency toward matrilineal descent, and some say the Pomo practiced unilineal kinship (solely through the male or female). Adolescence rites are meager, through there are strict observances covering menstrual periods."²

Marriage was often arranged by parents, but girls were rarely forced to marry men they did not like. The bridegroom is expected to make generous gifts to the bride's father. Great prestige came to parents and families when a marriage was successful so care was often taken in choosing mates. Young men had to prove they could support a wife before marriage was allowed. As among many California Indians, there was a taboo about talking to your mother-in-law. They did practice polygamy, but in certain areas it was frowned upon.

"The Pomo Indians of Northern California cannot comprehend suicide as we know it. To them, every death and misfortune was the result of indirect or direct retaliation either from (1) the supernaturals; or (2) from some individuals."³ Sickness and misfortune are always believed to be results of the breaking of a taboo, or the work of a malicious enemy. A healing doctor is usually called in to perform a ceremony appropriate to the situation. Songs are sung and other treatments are applied.

Among the Pomo, they formerly burned their dead. Now they bury their dead. It is believed they held wakes and wailing ceremonies. The widow cut or burned off her hair and smeared her forehead with pitch and ashes.

1. Tribes of California. P. 147.

2. American Archaeology and Ethnology, V. 36. P. 98.

3. Native Californians. P. 319.

THE ME-WUK (MIWOK)

Me-Wuk means "people". There are two ways to spell Me-wuk/Miwok. I prefer to use the first spelling. Many texts use the latter spelling. There were three divisions of the Me-wuks: the main body on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada, the Coast Me-wuk, and the Lake Me-wuk. Their dialect was from the Penutian family.

The Me-wuk lack any true tribal organization, as did so many of the California tribes. They were divided into balanced halves or moieties. The descent is from the father, patrilineal, and the moieties were at least theoretically exogamic. "The Miwok term for such a lineage is nena. The word nena has a twofold meaning. It means not only a male lineage or patrilineal joint family, but it also means the ancestral home in which the lineage is supposed to have arisen."¹ Each nena is exogamous and belongs to one of the patrilineal exogamous moieties called Land and Water.

The main diet of the Me-wuk was acorn, which is abundant throughout California and is easy to store. Small berries (manzanitas), nut bearing trees, shrubs, wild onions, clover, mustard greens, and many other wild plants were also among their diet. Deer and fish were the main meat and poultry.

The villages had chiefs, which were hereditary and passed through the male descent. They also refer to other villages by the four cardinal points: ta-ma-line, north; hi-so-to, east; tcu-me-to, south; olo-we-to, west.

It is said the Me-wuk married relatives, but there is no sound proof to substantiate it. Different writers have their style and view point

on the cultural aspect. They practiced polygamy, in which many California tribes did. It was normal for a man to marry sisters.

"Cremation of the dead was the usual but probably not universal practice of the Miwok."² My mother never saw them cremate the dead. "They would usually hold ceremonies in which the body would be in the round house. The round house is the Me-wuk's ceremonial place. Dancing and wailing around the body for seven days and nights took place. On the seventh day the body was buried. Three days after the burial, ashes would be put on the grave. This ritual was to make the body rise. The deceased person's belongings were burnt."³ My Mother also said no small children were permitted to attend the burial. Cutting the hair off was the normal practice for the deceased person's family. Because of regulations, the body of the dead is no longer placed in the round house but is taken to a funeral home for burial.

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1. The California Indians. P. 375.
 2. Handbook of Indians of California. P. 452.
 3. Reference, Bernice Hunter DeCampo.

THE PLATEAU

The Plateau is an interior highland area bounded by the Cascade Mountain range in the west and the continental divide or the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains in the east. On the south it blends into the Desert Basin, and to the north its boundary is less well-defined. The culture of the Plateau resemble their neighbors--The Plains on the east, the Northwest Coastal people in the west, and the desert dwellers to the south. The Plateau area include the western quarter of Montana, Southwest British Columbia, eastern Washington, most of Idaho, and north-east and central Oregon.

They were transitional people, moving seasonally to take advantage of the food supply. Their main diet was salmon along with other fish and plant vegetation. When deer was available, it was extensively hunted for food and skins. Their dwellings in the Plateau region fall into three general classes: the earth lodge, the mat lodge, and the tipi.

Villages rather than tribes were the main political unit in the Plateau area. "The village was governed by a headman, sometimes referred to as a chief."¹ He was chosen in some groups by the village adults and in others was ascribed his position by inheritance. There were four language families spoken: Salishan (of uncertain derivation), Sahaptin (a branch of Penutian), Algonkian, and Athabascan. Some of the tribes in that area include the Kutenai, Nez Perce, Yakima, Wasco, Klikitat, Lillooet, Flathead, Coeur d'Alene, and a few others.

"Ceremonial recognition is given the girl's attainment of puberty,

throughout the Plateau. In some parts, however, the observance are scarcely more extensive than those accompanying each subsequent menstrual period.²

As in other Indian tribes, isolation is practiced during menstruation. The girl stays in a small hut some distance from the house.

It is believed the tribes of the Plateau region followed the patrilineal descent with marriage occurring outside the village. Usually the village consisted of family members. Disposal of the dead varied among the tribes, "but the more common methods of disposing of the dead was by burial in the ground, especially on stony hillsides, and covering the grave with stones to keep off the wild animals."³ Other forms of disposing the dead included cremation, in trees, on elevated platforms, and in small elevated houses.

1. Native American Heritage. P. 125.

2. Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America. P. 52.

3. Tribes of the Columbia Valley. P. 190.

THE NEZ PERCE

The Nez Perce Tribe call themselves Numipu. They apply this term to the tribe as a whole, having other names for the geographical division. Linguistically the Nez Perce are connected with several important tribes living west of them. The best known are the Palooos, Wallawalla, Yakima, Klikital, and Tenaino. They are all similar in culture as well as language. The range of the Nez Perce extend from the Bitterroot Mountains on the east to the Blue Mountains on the west. Thus, while mostly in Idaho, they extend to Oregon and Washington.

There were at least four distinct types of houses: a long communal house--- this was the most important, as a single structure it housed many families; A circular tipi lodge---this was the usual form of housing when traveling; Menstrual lodge---it was circular and used by women during the menstrual period, and before and after childbirth; Sudatory lodge--- during winter the boys above fourteen years of age and the unmarried men usually slept here.

The tribes was divided into bands in the villages or geographical areas. Each village had its chief, its fishing place, and its strip of territory along the river. "The position of chief was obtained by election. Although fathers were often succeeded by their sons, this was only because the latter had a strong following and not because the chiefship was regarded as hereditary."¹ They also had a village council consisting of chiefs and elderly men. The council helped the chief in administering justice, and to discuss intervillage matters and affairs of peace and war.

Discipline of the family was through the heads of the families, the chiefs, and the council. Matters of the household were in the hands of the husband and father.

"Marriage by purchase seems to have been the prevailing form among the Nez Perce."² It was arranged by the parents and a price paid in blankets or horses was given to the father of the girl. Boys sometimes married around fourteen and girls even younger. The Nez Perce practiced polygamy far more than monogamy. With one to four wives. "Inheritance was through the male line."³ Making it patrilineal rather than matrilineal. There was no formal divorce, but in case of separation, all property went to the husband.

Abortion was uncommon, but it was a disgrace to have a child outside of marriage. During childbirth, older women acted as midwives and were paid for their services. While the woman was pregnant, she was confined to the menstrual lodge and had to cook her own meals along with the other women on their menstrual period.. This confinement usually was two or three months before birth and about two weeks after. Twins were considered as lucky both to the parents and to themselves. Grandmothers devoted a lot of their time to raising the children. Children were trained to be quiet and obedient, but were kindly treated and seldom had to be punished.

When a person died, they were buried and dressed in the finest clothing and favorite necklaces and ornaments. The face was painted and kept in this state of condition for two or three⁰ days. Usually the grave was in sight of the village. If the person died away from home, his body was buried there and not transported. Often the property of the dead was buried with them. Sometimes the killing of horses were buried over the graves or near it. "The funeral ceremonies were simple, and are but little known. At the

side of the grave the shaman made a brief speech, commenting on the achievements of the deceased and expressing general grief."⁴

The house in which the dead person had lived was torn down, sometimes destroyed entirely or moved to another place. The mourning practices consisted in wailing, in cutting the hair short, and wearing poor clothes. Widows cut their hair to the line of the neck and could not marry until it had grown to the bottom of the shoulderblades.

1. The Nez Perce Indians. P. 242.
2. The Nez Perce Indians. P. 250.
3. The Nez Perce Indians. P. 246.
4. The Nez Perce Indians. P. 252.

THE GREAT BASIN

The Great Basin is divided among the neighboring culture areas: California, the Plains, the Plateaus, and the Southwest. Some 90 desert valleys comprise the Great Basin and covers an area of 210,000 square miles. The Basin's western boundary is the Sierra Nevada, and its eastern, the Wasatch Range, 570 miles distant. Its total length is about 800 miles, including most of Nevada and large parts of Oregon, California, and Utah. Some of its lakes are very large; Pyramid Lake in Nevada, 120,000 acres, and the Great Salt Lake over 1,000,000.

All the groups in the Great Basin spoke the Shoshonean language of the Uto-Aztecan family, except for the Washo near the California border who spoke a Hokan language. Some tribes located in the Great Basin were: Utes, Northern and Southern Paiutes, Chemehuevis, Paviotsos, Shoshonis, Washos, and the Achomawis.

"Residence is fluid, being optionally either exogamous or endogamous with respect to the band and either patrilocal or matrilocal, with slight preference for the latter."¹ Mobility was essential to existence, and this meant but few possessions and those of most essential nature. "The traces, therefore, of the ancient people of the desert do not reveal the elaborate and artistic utilitarian and ceremonial objects that were possessed by those in the more culturally favorable areas surrounding the Great Basin."²

The normal organization was the family units, including some in-laws and friends. There was no tribal unity, and clans, too, were absent.

On occasion, when families joined in the winter and on hunts, men and women, would dance and sing together, gamble, and tell stories. Group solidarity was also promoted by a sweathouse, it served as a men's club, a meeting place, and a lodging for unmarried males."³ Their political units were called kin and clique. The unit was comprised of a number of bilateral relatives joined by various combinations of friends or acquaintances. The elders are important to the younger people especially to help maintain the traditional kin and clique.

Their diet consisted of vegetation: seeds, berries, nuts, leaves, stalks, tubers, roots, and bulbs. Animal food supply was scarce, occasional antelope and deer, and rarely a mountain sheep. Rabbits were their main meat supply. Fish was also among their diet.

The Great Basin Indians made modest dwellings, and shelters of poles, foliage, and brush, or they occupied caves. Conical lodges made of base poles covered with more poles, brush willows, and earth were common.

"Dwelling by modern standards are substandard. Cabins are common and they are usually poorly built since many of them are abandoned or even burned when someone dies in them. Secondary structures such as the tents, the lean-to, and the conical-shaped mensirual hut are also common."⁴

Marriage was an economic alliance and was usually arranged through the parents. "Generally "matrilocal" residence after marriage was practiced. Sometimes this was due to a kind of bride service, sometimes such residence was maintained until children were born, because the aid of the maternal grandmother was sought in childbirth and infant care."⁵ Divorce did not exist, but because of self preservation, a person could not afford to stay single for long.

1. The Current Status of Anthropological Research in the Great Basin.
P. 58.
2. Stone Age in the Great Basin. P. 5.
3. The Indian Heritage of America. P. 128.
4. The Current Status of Anthropological Research in the Great Basin.
P. 33.
5. The Current Status of Anthropological Research in the Great Basin.
P. 59.

THE NORTHERN PAIUTE

The Northern Paiute extend from southern Oregon to Idaho to south-central Nevada and eastern California.

Because of the highly dispersed and sparse nature of food resources in the Great Basin, it required the people to band together in small groups. The small nuclear and extended families were the most efficient social groupings for exploiting the limited resources of this vast region. Larger social groupings were brought together for communal hunts.

Daily life centered around the nuclear and extended family where the oldest able male of the extended family normally directed affairs. Practically all aspects of organized social life were regulated by kinship, which began to influence the individual even before birth. Expected mothers were instructed by relatives on prenatal care. "Mothers tried to determine sex of the child by magical means, they avoided certain foods, and they exercised regularly."¹

During childbirth, the mother was isolated in special house. The husband avoided contact with his wife and could not hunt for a month, thus it might endanger the baby. The mother was assisted by any available older woman; if there was difficulty in the delivery, a shaman was called in. Children were not weaned until they could walk. At this time they were named usually by the mother's parents.

At the first sign of puberty, girls were isolated for about one month in a special house where they were attended by their mothers or older female relatives. Special instructions on womanhood were told.

Usually for boys, puberty observances were signified by the first game kill. His family or relatives did not eat the first kill but they reserved it for nonrelatives.

Girls usually married shortly after puberty and sometimes sooner for boys. Boys chose their mates, and if the girl's parents offered him food, he was accepted and moved in with them. Shortly afterwards, the parents would meet and exchange gifts as a means of publicly announcing the marriage. The couple usually stayed with the girl's parents until the first child. Polygamy existed among the Northern Paiutes, although somewhat rare. Divorce existed and was frequent and easily obtained.

Life expectancy was low among these people. When death occurred, close relatives went into mourning immediately, but the corpse was not removed from the house until the next day. Before removal, the body was ritually washed, painted, and dressed in good clothes. Some were cremated, but more often buried on rocky slopes or on mountains. The ceremony ended with a eulogy by an esteemed older man with a request that the deceased ghost not return. Most of the dead's property was burned.

Close relatives cut their hair and sometimes burned it. The widows could not remarry for at least one year. Most people avoided graves, because ghosts were thought to cause illness, accident, or death for anyone whom they encountered.

Today among the Northern Paiute, children learn English as a first language and pick up Paiute from their grandparents, before children use to learn their native tongue first then learn English.

Pregnancy and childbirth have changed considerably. Before a woman-with-child would have a mid-wife to help her along with delivery

along with other women attendants and delivery the baby at home. Now she attends pre-natal clinics and has her baby in the hospital with male physicians delivering. Men were not allowed before in aboriginal times. Some of the practices are disappearing such as cooking the mother's milk to insure a good milk supply, no proper disposal of the afterbirth to insure future pregnancies. The grandmother is no longer needed to guide and help rear the children. Her beliefs are in contrast with her daughter's views.

The educational system have changed their ways also. Children learn to be more competitive and individualized. These are in direct contrast to the old ways. Because in school they are rewarded for being competitive, aggressive, having leadership and individual achievement. At home these are frowned upon and sometimes call for punishment. "Aboriginally the purification rites which terminated childhood and signified adult status came when the child was approximately twelve. This was the time when the child had proven his ability to be a productive member of the group. Today the twelve year old simply continues on in school."² These are some of the ways today's society has changed some of the old ways, but many Indian tribes are going back to some of their cultural practices.

1. Indians of Idaho. P. 152.

2. Some Aspects of Change in Northern Paiute Child Rearing Practices. P 173.

THE WASHOS

The Washo tribes is a part of two cultural areas: California and the Great Basin. When talking about the Washos who occupy the Great Basin, their boundaries will be between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada, roughly the states of Nevada and Utah. The common language spoken among the Great Basin Indians was the Uto-Aztecan, but for the Washo it was the Hokan language, which is said to be the oldest language spoken in California.

Their diet consisted of a variety of vegetation. The piñon nut was the primary supply of food since it could be stored. Rabbits were the principal game, fish was also a part of their diet along with deer, antelope and mountain sheep whenever available. There were two types of houses, the winter house made of slabs of lumber (cedar and other conifer barks), and the summer house made of brush.

"the term family is best used to describe that social unit which has the responsibility of producing and training children, although even its everyday English the word has other connotations."¹ The family was the basic economic unit, moving in search of food. Despite the pressure brought by Whites; the Washo family remains a constant unit and with it much of the old rituals. Societies can be divided into matrilineal, those which requiring residence with the wife's parents; patrilineal, those requiring a newly married couple to set up house on their own. "All three types of postmarital residence are reported in about equal number by the Washo."²

Marriage was a concern for the entire family. If a son or daughter displayed interest in marriage, the family would consider the person's working ability before encouraging courtship. If both families agree the union, there was an exchange of gifts. Older Washo speak of a native ceremony of placing a blanket over the shoulders of a couple and having a respected elder lecture them on the responsibilities of marriage and parenthood."³

The Washo were occasionally polygamous, particularly if a first wife was barren, or if a young man was particularly energetic in his hunting and fishing and had a good reputation as a good provider. When a woman becomes pregnant and has a child, her ability to work was reduced until the child was weaned. During pregnancy a woman observed no particular rituals or taboos, if no older relative was available. The birth took place in a regular dwelling, the mother was attended by older females, relatives, or friends. Delivery was in a prone position. When the baby was born, it was bathed and wrapped in soft material. The afterbirth was wrapped in bark and buried. The mother usually rested, some say for a month to six weeks because she was considered to be in a delicate condition. Frequently an aged parent was added to the household. They helped in caring for and instructing the children as they were weaned and forced to depend less on the mother. Even today there is the warmth and respect for an elderly person

"The basic principal of Washo kinship reckoning was bi-laterality, that is, an individual Washo considered relatives of his mother and father as being related to him equally."⁴

When a person died, his home was burned or abandoned. His clothing and personal property were also burned or buried with him. "Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried."⁵ Anyone

using his property was liable for a visit from the ghost. "The brief Washo burial prayers were really exhortations to the dead person to accept his death and leave the living alone. The spirits of the dead was to be greatly feared and avoided."⁶ Belief in ghosts and personal power was an important factor in Washo child raising practices. Parents refrained from striking or spanking a child for fear of angering some dead relative.

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1. The Two Worlds of the Washo P. 38.
 2. The Two Worlds of the Washo P. 39.
 3. The Two Worlds of the Washo P. 40.
 4. The Two Worlds of the Washo P. 46.
 5. The Washo Indians P. 9.
 6. The Two Worlds of the Washo P. 59.

THE SOUTHWEST

The cultural area of the South west comprise the states of Arizona and the western two-thirds of New Mexico, as well as southeastern Utah, southwestern Colorado, and a part of western Texas. The Southwest has many tribes, listed are a few of them which have divisions of smaller bands: The Navajo, which is the Nation's largest Indian tribe, the Apache, Havasupais, Walapais, Yavapais, Yumas, Cocopas, Hopis, Zunis, Chemehuevis, Kiowas, Pimas, Papagos, and the Pueblos. The Tribes of the Southwest are known for their pottery, weaving, and jewelry making. They were also agriculturalists and farmers.

Some of the world's richest natural resources are located in the Southwest. The Southwest tribes have maintained their religious ceremonies and still practice them today. The language spoken in the Southwest present similar variations and lead to analogous conclusions. Two of the larger linguistic stocks of North America, the Athabascan and Shoshonean are represented in this region.

"One form of social grouping, that by clans, is represented in several parts of North America as well as in Australia and elsewhere in the world."¹ The Navajo are represented by clans. The clans are exogamous and are usually matrilineal, that is, they must marry outside their clan and the descent is through the female.

Since there are so many tribes represented in this area, it would be better for the reader to research the tribe they are interested in.

1. Indians of the Southwest. P. 97.

THE NAVAJOS

Today the Navajo are the largest Indian tribe in the United States. They live in north-central Arizona, Southern Utah, and Western New Mexico. The Navajo word for themselves is "Dine", which means "people of the surface of the earth."¹ The Navajo belong to the Athabascan language group.

Though the Navajo took up the Pueblo dress, loom and weaving practices, and many ceremonies, they kept their distinctive house. This was the hogan, a log-framed, earth-covered, circular structure with the doorway always on the east. Although in recent years, Navajo have moved into contemporary housing, that hogan is still important for ceremonies.

Like the Pueblos, the Navajo developed matrilineal clans; but kept their local group or band autonomy. Among the northern Athabascan, the position of the women was not high. Among the Navajo women, they held a strong and respected place in society. She was important economically because she controlled lineage property, which passed through women. The Navajo belonged to out-fits and much larger groups called clans. "the clan was matrilineal (each member belonged to his mother's clan) and exogamous (each member had to marry outside the clan and outside his father's clan)."² Clan elders were responsible for clan members' behavior and for training their children.

The reaching of womanhood is something to be proud of and is announced to the community. "When a girl reaches puberty, the family has the appropriate sing, a four-day affair."³ The girl observes ceremonial restrictions

during that time. The girl is thought to be ready for marriage now. There is no celebration for the boy; but when his voice starts to change, there is a talk.

It is said that the Navajo men took more than one wife "Polygamy has of course been forbidden by the United States Government and now one wife is all that is officially recognized."⁴ A marriage is arranged through the male's family. Gifts are offered to the bride's family, usually horses. "Today the dowry might be cash or some other gift."⁵ If the couple did not get along well after marriage, the man could leave. Since the woman was economically independent, the man would return to his mother's house or go live with another woman.

"When an individual is very ill, he is removed from the hogan to a neighboring shelter or unused hogan where he is dressed in his best clothes and jewelry no matter how much he may be suffering."⁶ A medicine-man is called to look after the dying person and songs are sung. When death occurs, the person is buried and all his possessions are burned. "The family mourns for four days beginning with the night on which the death occurred, or if it happened in the daytime, with the first night following."⁷ The family remain quiet and leave the hogan only when absolutely

necessary and then accompanied by the head mourner.

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1. Native American Heritage. P. 240.
 2. Native American Heritage. P. 237.
 3. Navajo Indians Today. P. 78.
 4. Social Life of the Navajo Indians. P. 58.
 5. Navajo Indians Today. P. 80.
 6. Social Life of the Navajo Indians. P. 141.
 7. Social Life of the Navajo Indians. P. 143.

THE PLAINS

The Plains Indians bordered the Canadian and the Mexican border, and the people from the Rocky Mountains eastward to the forest fringe near the Mississippi river. "The people that we speak of as the Plains Indians were thus made up of many diverse groups who moved in from widely separate regions and were descended from differing stocks."¹ Many tribes moved into this region after the introduction of the horse. Before the coming of the horse, life on the plains was cramped and limited. The Plains tribes would move their camps using dogs to pull their poles and other belongings. Moving their camps were essential for their livelihood because the buffalo was their main source of survival. The Plains people would have to move frequently to keep up with the wandering herds of the buffalo.

"Thirty-one separate groups or peoples are classified by scholars as making up the Plains of which the most typical are the Teton-Dakota (Sioux), Blackfeet, Crow, and Gros Ventre, on the northern plains, and the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Comanche, and the Kiowas in the southern part of the region."² The Plains Indians were so diverse in the language, that they made up sign language using their hands and bodies. This became the universal language of the Plains. When we speak of Plains Indian we are using a very general term to describe the many different people who built their life around the buffalo, the horse, and camp circle.

Large game--elk, deer, antelope, and especially buffalo (bison)--formed the greatest part of their diet. Fish was not a main source of

food, but was consumed when other food was scarce. Wild plants such as berries, chokecherries, wild turnips, and other edible plants were used. Maize, beans, squashes or pumpkins, and sunflowers were the principal crops. The women did most or all of the cultivating.

The houses or dwelling of the Plains Indians consisted of tipis (Lakota), which were made of buffalo skins and later with canvas. These homes were also convenient for them since they traveled so much. The earthlodge was another form of fixed housing which were located to permanent villages. Their clothing consisted of dressed skins.

The tribes were divided into clans. Some were matrilineal, which meant everything was the women's and the children and husband took on the wife's lineage. A few of these matrilineal Plains tribe include the Crow, Hidatsa, and Mandan. The other tribes were patrilineal clans, which followed the male's lineage. Some of these tribes included the Lakota, Omaha, Ponca, Iowa, Kansa, and Osage.

The most generally approved form of marriage was through purchase or gift giving. "Full fledge polyandry (marriage of one woman with two or more husbands) was not a Plains institution, though polygamy (marriage with two or more wives) was commonly allowed."³ A prominent Plains Indian might have several wives, especially because of the surplus of women when their husbands fell prey to war, but the majority of marriages were monogamous. In marriage there were certain taboos: for example a man could not speak to his mother-in-law.

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- 1.
1. Indians of the Americas. P. 128.
 2. Indians of the Americas. P. 128.
 3. Indians of the Plains. P. 81.

THE BLACKFEET

In the northwest corner of the Plains, next to the Rocky Mountains in Montana and in adjacent parts of Alberta, Canada, were the Blackfoot tribes: The South Piegan, North Piegan, Blook and Northern Blackfoot. The Blackfoot spoke a variety of Algonkian. "Most authorities think they were pushed out of the east by tribes that were themselves pressed by Europeans."¹ Meat was their favorite food, buffalo, antelope, and deer. The men were the hunters and the women gathered roots, tubers, seeds, and berries. "The Blackfoot never ate fish, though fish were in the rivers."²

The Blackfeet were a patrilineal family. Most of their men were monogamous, though some wealthy men had more than one wife. Proposals for marriage usually were arranged by either the girl's or the man's parents and often without the knowledge of one or both contracting parties. Gifts were exchanged between the two families, but mainly the man would offer gifts to the prospective bride's family. "The chief grounds for divorce from the man's point of view, are laziness and adultery."³ "From the the women's point of view, adultery does not justify divorce, but neglect and cruelty may result in abandonment."⁴

During the time of birth, a medicine woman was usually called to administer decoctions for internal use, which it is believed facilitated delivery. Other women also attended to the pregnant woman. Men would not come around the birthplace for awhile as their medicine and war power would be weakened. Children were taught early to res-

pect their elders and never to talk back. Used as punishment for bad deeds were dashes of cold water or a forced plunged. Striking a child was not regarded as proper. The favorite bogie man is the coyote or the wolf. Later when the use of alcohol came into existence, a drunken man was used as a threat to small children.

"When one is taken ill the family sends for a medicine man, promising him a horse."⁵ If a person dies in the house, it is abandoned for a time only. When all hopes of recovery is lost, the person is painted and dressed in his best costume and taken to a tipi so the house will not need to be torn down. After death the body is wrapped in a blanket or robe and buried within a few hours. In recent years, Indians have been forced to use coffins and to practice interment. In former times, tree burial was common but now they are rare.

At death, there is a great wailing among the women. Their hair is cut short, a practice often followed by the men. The mourning period is indefinite.

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1. Native American Heritage. P. 266.
 2. Native American Heritage. P. 267.
 3. Social Organizations and Ritualistic Ceremonies of the Blackfoot Indians. P. 14.
 4. Social Organizations and Ritualistic Ceremonies of the Blackfoot Indians. P. 14.
 5. Social Organization and Ritualistic Ceremonies of the Blackfoot Indians. P. 30.

THE SIOUX TRIBE

Indians of the Siouan linguistic stock occupied the central portion of the continent. They were permanently plains Indians, ranging from Lake Michigan to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Arkansas to Saskatchewan.

"The term Siouan is the adjective denoting the "Sioux" Indians and cognate tribes. The word "Sioux" has been variously and vaguely used. Originally it was a corruption of a term expressing enmity or contempt it was applied to a part of the plains tribes by the forest-dwelling Algonquian Indians."¹ "So long ago as 1836, however, Gallatin employed the term "Sioux" to designate collectively "the nations which speak the Siouan language,"² and used an alternative term to designate the subordinate confederacy -i.e., he used the term in a systematic way for the first time to denote an ethnic unit which experience has shown to be well defined.

The Sioux clothing was commonly comprised of breechcloth, moccasin, leggings, and robes, which consisted chiefly of dressed skins, though several of the tribes were made of simple fabrics of bast, rushes, and other vegetal substances. Fur robes and rush mats commonly served as bedding, some of the tribes using rude bedstands. Their main source of meat was the buffalo, in which everything was utilized.

Arrangement for marriage was negotiated through parents or elders; among some tribes the bride was purchased. Among others there was an interchange of presents. "Polygamy was common; in several of the tribes.

the bride's sister become subordinate wives of the husband. The regulations concerning divorce and the punishment of infidelity were somewhat variable among the different tribes, some of whom furnished wives to distinguished visitors."³

The Sioux today reside for the most part, on a dozen government reservations. Nine of them are in South Dakota. More than half of the population have migrated to major cities. The Sioux reservations in South Dakota are Flandreau Reservation in the eastern part of the state, to Pine Ridge the largest in the southwestern part. The remaining seven in the state are: Rosebud, adjoining Pine Ridge on the east, Cheyenne River in the west central part, Lake Traversie Reservation in the northeast, Crow Creek in the central part, Yankton in the southeast part, Lower Brule adjoining Crow Creek on the west, and Standing Rock adjoining Cheyenne River on the north and going into North Dakota. Not all Sioux reside in South Dakota but reach into other states such as Nebraska, North Dakota, Montana, the Great Lake states, and Canada.

The South Dakota Tribes are usually governed by a tribal council, usually with a chairman and other officers elected at large. Members are elected from each district or community.

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1. The Sioux Indians. P. 5.
 2. A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes...in North America. P. 120.
 3. The Sioux Today. P. 26.

THE SOUTHEAST

The tribes of the Southeast are generally known as the "Five Civilized Tribes."¹ Other tribes in the Southeast include the Yuchi of Oklahoma, the Natchez and Chitimacha near the Mississippi River, the Calusa in Florida, the Catawba, and the Lumbees just to name a few. The "Five Civilized Tribes" are made up of the Cherokee, the Creek, Seminole, Choctaw, and the Chickasaw.

The Indians of Southeast occupied a solid block of territory east of the Mississippi and conformed to a common culture type. Most spoke the languages related to the Muskogean stock, except for the Cherokee who were related to the Iroquoian group, and the Yuchi who were distantly related to the Siouan. The Cherokee were located in the Appalachian Valleys of the Carolinas and Tennessee region; the Creeks in Alabama; the Seminole in Florida; the Choctaw in Mississippi; and the Chickasaw in Tennessee. The tribes livelihood centered around agriculture, which tasks were largely in the hands of the women. Hunting was a man's main occupation.

The social system was based on matrilineal descent, and the household grouping was in terms of matrilineal residence. The matrilineal lineages and clans were usually named after animal or birds--or other aspects of nature--and these lineages and clans were further grouped into larger aggregations called phratries or moieties. Polygamy was allowed, but only wealthy men and chiefs had many wives.

Some Southeastern tribes had centralized political structures and

definite social classes. Warriors performed their own religious rites for success in war, but the major religious observance was the planting and harvesting. Most

"Most Americans would probably be surprised to discover that the fifth ranking state in Indian population is North Carolina. The 1970 census lists 75,644 Indians in the South, most of whom are descendants of Native people indigenous to the area."² There was a major attempt to integrate southern Indians into white culture through enslavement. By the early eighteenth century, South Carolina became a flourishing Indian slave trade center, but a series of wars and revolts by African slaves made the whites fear that the two exploited groups might band together to overthrow the white majority. The South Carolinians began a policy to divide and rule to keep Africans and Indians separated. Indian tribes were paid to torture rebellious slaves; black militia were used to fight against Indians; enslavement of Indians was ended. There were considerable inter-marriage between Indians and Blacks, as was true with Indians and whites that is described in the next paragraph.

Most southeastern Indians continued to organize their societies around matrilineal kinship groupings. Women exerted a more active role than European women. Because there was mixed marriages between whites and Indians some of the tribes were exposed more to white values. "Usually the product of marriages between white frontier male traders and Indian females, the children of these unions were given the derogatory title of "mixed bloods" by whites. Yet among the matrilineal societies of the Indians, in which descent was traced completely through the female line, the children of an Indian mother would be accepted as a full member of the society, no matter which ethnic group the father belonged."³

Marriage were arranged usually by the boy's mother's sister. The girl was not told of the arrangement. If her family approved, word was sent to the boy's family. Marriages were not forced.

"Women, perhaps because of their specific procreative function, were particularly likely to cause pollution, and they had to take special care when they menstruated and when they were pregnant."⁴ When menstruating, women were to stay apart from others by staying in a small hut.

"From the point of view of the Southeastern Indians, the most important of all the rites of passage were the mortuary ceremonies which marked the transition from life to death."⁵ There was usually a death cry or wailing, leaving of food and water with the corpse, burying of their personal possessions, and preserving of bones of the dead in a basket or chest for a time and then re-interring them at a later date. Mourners frequently cut their hair.

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1. The American Indian. P. 16.
 2. The Southeastern Indians. P. 1.
 3. The Southeastern Indians. P. 15.
 4. The Southeastern Indians. P. 319.
 5. The Southeastern Indians. P. 327.

THE CHOCTAWS

"This seems to have been the largest tribe in the Southeast next to the Cherokee, although the Creek Confederation taken together may have equaled or surpassed it at times."¹ The original region in which the choctaw occupied was Mississippi until their removal to Oklahoma around 1830.

Their houses were made of logs and others built of clay mixed with straw or grass. The diet of the Choctaw was squirrels and small game in the summer and large game in the winter. Fish and surrounding vegetation was also a source of food. Agriculture was also employed by the Choctaw.

"Like the Chickasaw, the Choctaw were divided into two great moieties, but in contradistinction to them these were strictly exogamous and there was greater constancy in the terms applied to them."² They also belong to clans in which six were cited: Wind, Bear, Wolf, Panther, and Holly Leaf. "Marriage was regulated by the two moieties, each man or women ordinarily taking a spouse from any group of the opposite moieties."³

The Choctaw, in agreement with all of the neighboring tribes, imposed upon their women complete separation from the family at every menstrual period. Women during their menstrual cycle would leave the house and retire to another set aside from that purpose. The husbands and any male would not come into contact with any women in that condition.

There were several reported ways of a young man seeking a wife. One way was for the youth to go to the girl's house and bring gifts; if the

parents took the gifts, it meant they accepted him for their daughter. Another way cited was the young man would approach the maternal uncle--never the mother or father--and they would agree on the price, which is paid to the uncle. Another way was arrangement between the two mothers or nearest female relatives; and if they agreed, they approached the chief to obtain his consent. After marriage, the mother-in-law was forbidden to look at her son-in-law. If separation occurs, and the couple has children, they accompany the mother. Polygamy did exist, but it was not universal.

During childbirth, the woman goes to a place of solitude, usually in the woods unattended. After delivery, she returns to her daily routine. Pregnant women and their husbands abstain from salt and eat no pork otherwise it might harm their children. Children are not weaned until they are tired of their mother's breast.

When a person dies, his body is placed on a stage or scaffold which is erected. His body is covered with a blanket and branches and is layed to rest there until his flesh is gone. The bones are then placed in a box. Food and things necessary in life are placed next to the scaffold to ensure his soul of a journey to a new country. They also practiced wailing ceremonies for the dead. The mourning period varied from three months to a year and the women cut their hair. It is said the soul took four days to make its journey to another world.

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1. The Indians of the Southeastern United States. P. 121.
 2. Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of the Choctaw Indians. P. 76.
 3. Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of the Choctaw Indians. P. 83.

THE WOODLANDS

The Woodlands area is the largest of the cultural areas in which the Indians of North America have been grouped. It extends from the Mississippi River eastward to the Atlantic Coast and roughly from the north of Tennessee into most of the eastern half of Canada. Most of the tribes share a similar language and culture. There were some thirty major tribes that spoke Algonkian language, nine that spoke Iroquoian, and a few such as the Winnebago and Santee Sioux that spoke Siouan. Listed are a few tribes in that area: Cree, Micmac, Nanticoke, Illinois, Kickapoo, Fox, Sauk, Menominee. Ottawa, Potawatomi, Iroquois, Chippewa (Ojibwa), Winnebago, etc..

The tribes of the Woodlands area were semi-nomadic due to the availability of food. Their food supply consisted of their hunting, fishing and wild crop gathering abilities. Agriculture was practiced a little and consisted of corn, beans, and squash. Wild rice was and still is one of the main staple food supplies for the Woodland Indians. The Woodland settlements were referred to as "villages" or "bands". The smallest social units was the nuclear family: (husband, wife or wives, and their unmarried children). "Every individual was a member of a clan a unilineal group with stipulated descent. These were patrilineal and exogamous."¹ The chieftainship followed hereditary lines. "It appears most probable that the chief was selected by the council from a number of hereditary candidates on the basis of personal qualities and abilities."² His major role was one of maintaining peace and order in the community, making decisions, and determining a course of action with regard to the

welfare of the tribe.

The tribe that spoke the Iroquois language followed the matrilineal descent of their clans, while most of the Algonkian tribes followed the patrilineal descent. The Iroquoian tribes live in multifamily long houses. In material culture they share many of the similarities with the other Woodland tribes.

Usually marriages were arranged by the family of the young man. Most marriages were monogamous, but polygamy was sanctioned. An important man could have two or rarely three wives. Gifts were often exchanged between couple's parents. Marriage involved no formal ceremony, the couple merely went off together for a few days. If separation occurred, the women would return home to her father's lodge.

During childbirth, a woman was to stay in a special hut during the menstrual cycle. It was felt the blood connected with menstrual and birth was unclean. There were some taboos during pregnancy such as staying away from certain animals or foods to prevent deformity, death or bad habits for the child. Experienced women help in the delivery. Through infancy, the child was kept close to its mother. Children were rarely punished and parents seldom raised their voices against them.

When a person grows old, they more than likely live with a married offspring. They could help with the children, clothing, and light tasks. Their knowledge could also be taught to the young. When a person dies his hair is braided, and his body washed and dressed in his best clothing. His favorite possessions are buried with him. The body is carried out through the west side of the tipi or house and never through the door. Food is left by the grave to ensure a safe journey for the soul. The funeral ceremony depended on the society to which the deceased had belonged.

People in mourning usually paint their faces and wear old clothing. The mourning period usually lasted a year; and at the end of a year, there is a ceremony for "restoring the mourners". The public comforts the relative and presents gifts and food for a feast.

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1. The Woodland Indians. P. 49.
 2. The Woodland Indians. P. 52.

IROQUOIS

The six nations of the Iroquois Confederacy include the Mohawks, farthest east, between the Mohawk River and the Adirondack Mountains; the Oneidas, next westward, around Oneida Lake and the eastern tip of Lake Ontario; the Onondagas, in the center; the Cayugas, farther westward around the shores of Cayuga Lake; the Senecas, living about the lake and river of their name and on westward to the Genesee River; and the Tuscaroras, who were driven out of North Carolina around 1715 by white settlers. These are the tribes that make up the Six Nations. Before the Tuscaroras were added to the confederacy it was known as the Five Nations of the Iroquois in New York. All these Iroquois people had much in common. They were all of the same blood and spoke the same basic language. They worshipped the same Great Spirit through similar ceremonies, lived close together, and had similar social organization and mode of life.

The Iroquois social structure was built on clans. The families of the clans were traced through the female line. They were a matrilineal society, and the female had a higher place in social life and public affairs than was usual among other Indian tribes. When she married, the husband usually came to live in the house of her clan. The children took on the clan name of their mother. They were an exogamous clan regarded all members of a clan as one family, and therefore, not proper marriage mates. A man was free to marry any woman who was not of his mother's clan, but he could not marry a member of his own clan however distant the blood relationship.

The clans were named for familiar animals or birds--bear, wolf, turtle, heron, eel, snipe--which scholars commonly refer to as the totems of the clans. "Each Iroquois house had its totem carved or painted above the door."¹

There were many religious and social customs that were so interwoven, it was impossible to separate them. "The Iroquois believed in a Great Spirit and Evil Spirit, twin brothers born of the daughter of a woman from the sky. The good brother created man, the sun, moon, and stars, and all useful plants and animals. The evil one, jealous of his twin, tried to undo all the good by making poisonous plants and reptiles, discord and disease."²

When an Iroquois dies, his body richly clothed and painted, was carried to a distant spot, placed on a bark scaffold, and surrounded with food, bows and arrows, pipe and tobacco. It was thought that the spirit hovered near the body for several days, so every night for half a moon a fire was built near the scaffold in order that the man's soul might prepare its food. Sometimes a bird was freed above the body to carry the spirit to another world. The mourning period usually lasted a year. When the body was wasted to a skeleton, the bones were reverently gathered and stored in the bark house of his clan.

The exact date of formation of the Iroquois League of Nations is not known. "Scholars today think the League of the Iroquois may have been started early as five hundred years ago; it is known to have been operating in some form in the early fifteen hundreds; Lewis H. Morgan, an early student of the Iroquois, sets the date of complete organization at 1570."³ The League was ruled by a council of fifty sachems, all equal in rank and authority, who combined themselves all the powers of government. A fixed number of sachems were assigned to each nation and these were

elected within that nation by the several clans. The post of sachems were both hereditary and elective: Hereditary in the clan and nation, for the office remained forever within that group; elective since at the death of the sachem any member of his clan within the given nation could be chosen to replace him.

The Consitution of the United States is borrowed from the Iroquois League of Nations. A similar format is used if you examine both documents.

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1. Indians of the Americas. P. 168.
 2. Indians of the Americas. P. 173.
 3. Indians of the Americas. P. 177.

THE NORTH PACIFIC COAST

The Indian tribes who live in this area include: the Coast Salish, the Nootka, the Kwakiatl, the Bella Coola, the Tsimshian, the Haida, and the Tlingit. The main source of food is provided by the sea. The tribes of the North Pacific Coast are known for their elaborate wood carvings.

The house types differ according to regions. Most were built from wood using different structural types. Some built rectangular gabled--roof houses; other used pile dwellings which were built partly or entirely over the water.

"The basic social unit of the North Pacific Coast civilization was a group of people defined according to a recognized principle of kinship and associated with geographical locality; the guiding themes of social organization were hereditary transmission of status and privilege, with stress on material wealth. The autonomous local kin group was organized by matrilineal, patrilineal, or bilateral reckoning of descent."¹ These three systems depended on the geographical location. In the northern area the kinship was through matrilineal descent; these tribes include the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, and Haisla. In preference for paternal descent, but it was mostly bilateral. In the south, patrilineal descent was stressed, although it was without any formal organization into patrilineal clans.

Members of local groups were divided into categories of "privileged ones" (chiefs and nobles), commoners, and slaves who were not considered members of groups. Membership in the division of nobles and commoners

were hereditary. The chief was usually the head of the group and had certain rights or powers to make decisions for the group.

When a girl reached puberty, she was secluded from others and attended only by an elderly female relative. Some taboos or restrictions relating to food had to be avoided. Bathing rituals normally occurred during seclusion or at its termination. Girls from high ranking families may have a potlach, in which a feast was given. This, however, was not a part of the puberty rite. Concluding the puberty rites, the girl was regarded as a young woman, eligible for marriage. "There was not boys' puberty rites on the North Pacific Coast. However, among groups who stressed the guardian spirit quest, the arduous routine of bathing and fasting began more or less of the time of puberty."²

Marriage was a social issue rather than a personal one. The union between two people was a matter of group concern, because the interests of two groups of kin converged on the couple and on the children to be born. It was universally regarded that a person of high rank marry into a family of high rank, intermediate status marry their equivalent and so forth. "Wealth played a prominent part in marriage in the form of the bride price; universally required to establish a legal and proper union."³ The bride of high ranking families was expected to give gifts of great wealth. The delivery of the bride to her husband and family was a formal ceremony with feasting and elaborate festivities.

Polygamy was practiced not only by men of wealth but commoners. Most men only had one wife, except for the higher ranking people.

During childbirth, "the infant's mother was usually secluded for a varying numbers of days, during which she was kept on a restricted diet, being permitted no (or few) fresh foods, and being universally

enjoined against eating fresh salmon."⁴ Among some tribes the father's diet and activities were somewhat restricted during his wife's lay-in.

At the end of seclusion, the parents were purified by ritual bathing.

Methods of disposal of the dead varied widely from one part of the area to another: in wooden storage boxes, in caves, suspended from trees, set atop memorial poles, or in canoes raised on scaffolding, and cremation. Among the southern divisions, the body was removed from the house as soon after death as possible. Wakes were held by the northern groups. Removal of the body through a hole in the wall was almost universally practiced, so that the living would not have to follow the path of the dead as they passed in and out through the door. Everywhere the personal possessions of the deceased were buried with him, burned, or deposited at the grave. A mortuary potlach was given in honor of a chief usually by the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian. Female mourners cut their hair short in sign of mourning. Both the principal mourners and pallbearers had to be ceremonially bathed or otherwise purified before they could resume their normal lives.

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1. Cultures of the North Pacific Coast. P. 46.
 2. Cultures of the North Pacific Coast. P. 101.
 3. Cultures of the North Pacific Coast. P. 53.
 4. Indians of the North West Coast. P. 174.

THE TLINGIT

The country of the Tlingit Indians belong to that magnificent bit of coast line which stretches from Pudget Sound in the south to Glacier Bay and Yakutat, in the north along the Northwest Coast of the North American continent. The northern end of the coast in southeastern Alaska is the home of the Tlingit. Their language is part of the Athabascan.

The Tlingit's house is a low, square structure made from spruce, or cedar planking. Carvings are also seen in the house structure. The floor is of earth with platforms used for beds covered with cedar barks. The village consist of rows of houses along a beach or river bank. Doorways always face the water. Living in the villages are individuals who identify themselves by using a common name, a number of crests, and who believe in a common local origin. These groups, are called clans, "Individuals composing a clan also believe themselves to be related through females and are an exogamous group."¹ The real important unit is the local division of the clan which acts as an integral part of the village. The clan, as a whole, has no chief and no common territory. "Every Tlingit is born into one or three matrilineal totemic phratries in Tlingit society."² The members of the phratry consider themselves blood relatives and prohibit marriage within the group. Each Tlingit is born a member of a clan. The clan has a name denoting its place or origin, a story of its genesis, and a history of its migration. Like the phratry, the clans are exogamous, matrilineal, and totemic. But while the phratry is the ceremonial unit, the clan

is pre-eminently the political unit.

At puberty, girls were put behind a screen for as long as four months to one year. A girl of high ranking family stayed even longer. During this time her mother taught her songs, legends, manners, and the duties of a woman. When she came out of seclusion, she was ready for marriage. "Cross cousin marriage among the Tlingit was the rule."³ When a young man was ready for marriage, he had to get permission from his uncle and the bride's parents. His uncle or his mother's sister acted as go between. There is always a bride gift; the gift consisted of the same things as those used in a potlatch.

"At childbirth, the expectant mother retreats to a nearby hut, yanauskahiti, which is built anew for each birth."⁴ She is attended by her husband's sister. If the birth appears difficult, a shaman is called who performs a ceremony near the woman invoking the aid of the spirits. The attending woman and shaman get paid for their services.

In early times, the dead were cremated. The body was washed, dressed, and seated at the head of the house and around it the people feasted for four days. At night the women wailed. Food was put into the fire so that the spirits of the dead ancestors could eat. On the fourth day, the body was placed on a large pile of logs and burned. The ashes were placed in a small box until a totem pole could be erected, at which time they were placed inside. After being exposed

to Christianity, the dead were buried and poles erected over the grave. Now tombstones are used. A potlatch is given to those who worked on the burial. Usually the opposite phratry handled the burial.

1. The Social Economy of the Tlingit Indians. P. 38.
2. The Social Economy of the Tlingit Indians. P. 23.
3. The Social Economy of the Tlingit Indians. P. 22.
4. The Social Economy of the Tlingit Indians. P. 84.

THE ARTIC COAST

The norther most culture area, the Artic, embraces the Aleutian Islands, almost all the Alaskan coast, except the Panhandle, the Canadian Artic, and western Greenland, is inhabited by the Eskimos and in the Aleutian Islands, the Aleuts.

The Eskimo occupied many areas with tribes located in different regions: The Chugachigmute were located on the northern half of the Kenai Peninsula; the Kaniagmute lived on Kodiak Island (formerly Kaniag Island), and the mainland of the Alaska Peninsula; Western Eskimo who inhabited the Artic from Kotzebue Sound to Demarcation Point; the Central Eskimo who were located in Canada; and the Eastern Eskimo of Greenland. Although each lived in their own isolated region in family groups, all of them spoke the same dialects; and they maintained a rich and full existence despite the Artic life.

"The Aleuts, who were slightly different people from the Eskimos (although they apparently shared a common ancestry), inhabited many of the islands of the long chain of Aleutians."¹ They were influenced by many cultures of the northwest Alaskan Coast, but "like the Alaskan Eskimo possessed also some culture elements that had come to them directly from Asia and from contact with Indians of the Northwest Pacific Coast."² The Aleuts were carved wooden hats, wove beautiful basketry, and in their death rites and ceremonial distribution of property showed a tendency to social divisions--all traits of Northwest Coast Indians.

All the necessities of life used by the Aleuts were produced of their

environment. They were primarily seal mammal hunters who lived on the flesh of seal, sea lion, and whale. Their diet was supplemented with shellfish, birds, fish, roots, and berries. To learn more about their customs and social organization, further readings are encouraged.

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1. The Indian Heritage of America. P. 62.
 2. The Indian Heritage of America. P. 62

THE ESKIMOS

The location and distribution of villages depended on the different seasons that provide food. Most of their food supply depended on animals because the country does not produce vegetation sufficiently to sustain life. Seals are one of the main source of substance for food and material things. When the winter snow began to melt, the Eskimos have to abandon their solid snow houses for light tents, made from the seal skins.

"The social order of the Eskimo is entirely founded on the family and on the ties of consanguinity and affinity between the individual families."¹ Generally children are betrothed when very young, but these engagements, not being strictly binding, may be broken off at any time. When they reach maturity, the girl learns the duties of a woman and the boy those of a man. As soon as he is able to provide for a family, she has her share of duties, they are allowed to marry. The consent of the bride's parents are always necessary.

"Though polygamy is permitted in most Eskimo communities, monogamy is generally the rule, since only exceptionally good hunters can provide for more than one wife."² Sometimes the second wife is taken when the first is barren (having no children he has no sense,"³ says the song), or if she gives birth to only girls. There is no marriage ceremony, but the marriage customarily arranged by old women, the husband sometimes paying a price for the girl or using coercion. Divorce is common, for males it is failure of the wife

to produce children. A wife may leave a husband who does not provide for her, and the children accompany the mother.

A strange custom permits a man to lend his wife to a friend for a whole season or even longer and to exchange wives as sign of friendship. The husband is not allowed to mistreat or punish his wife; if he does, she may leave him at any time. The wife's mother can always command a divorce. Both can remarry any time.

There is no historical record of any special ceremony for the birth of a child. There were restrictions or taboos for the expected mother. The eating of raw meat before and after birth was forbidden. The mother was isolated in a small hut just before childbirth. The sick and girls menstruating were also isolated in the same manner. Children are treated very kindly and are not scolded, whipped, or subjected to corporal punishment. Among some tribes infanticide has been practiced, especially if there was difficulty in providing for them. It is not known if the Eskimo were matrilineal or patrilineal. From the reading, it can be gathered they followed the matrilineal descent. Some examples are: if a woman dies, the husband leaves the children with his parent-in-laws. He returns to his family. If the man dies, the woman and children return to her parents. This also happens in divorce.

Funerals depended on the region and social class of the deceased. Some were given elaborate funerals especially if they were of high status; others were buried or cremated. A great part of the personal belongings of the dead are destroyed or placed by his grave. Inheritances were few, the oldest son living with the parents was the inheritor.

1. The Central Eskimo. P. 170.
2. The Roles of Men & Women in Eskimo Culture. P. 73.
3. The Roles of Men & Women in Eskimo Culture. P. 73.

North American Indian Tribal Locations 20th Century



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II. SUMMARY OF TRIBES

By

Wynne Hanson

&

Margaret Eisenbise

SUMMARY

The preceding historical overview of the geographical/cultural areas enumerates the diverse aspects of American Indians of numerous tribes. However; this overview also reveals the many commonalities amongst the different tribes, many of which persist today.

Though tribes held different religious beliefs and conducted different religious ceremonies, it was noted that all tribes practiced some form of religion. It is also important to note that religion held a prominent place in the lives of all Indian people and continues so today.

The family structure was close knit and loyalty to family members is still a high value among Indian people. As revealed in the geographical/cultural section, many tribes belonged to clans or some sort of kinship system. Others were nomadic and did not have such a system. The family was the network used most often. The respect for the individual is not to be confused with total interdependence. Indians are comfortable with interdependence amongst the people with the right to make ones own decisions and choices starting at an early age.

Child rearing practices varied among the tribes but the common characteristic which all incorporated was respect for the young. Physical punishment was not used; shame or ridicule, and the use of a spirit figure was used to correct deviant behavior. This is still the case as there is a very low incidence of child abuse in the Urban Indian Community. Children continue to be valued highly regardless of the financial status of the parents. There is no such thing as an illegitimate child. Children born-out of wedlock are valued as highly as those born in wedlock. They are the future leaders of the Indian people.

Many elders were in charge of teaching the children the traditional way of life. Elders were looked upon with respect and honor. The elders are still viewed as the preservers of the Indian culture. They are looked upon as having special knowledge and wisdom and assume the role of teacher to the younger generations.

Communication is a combination of non-verbal body language and verbal storytelling which includes use of metaphor and understatement. Storytelling was and continues to be part of the communication style. The Oral tradition was handed down to each generation regarding the origin of their tribe and other creation stories. The White society has attempted to record Indian oral tradition resulting in a loss of the original content and meaning.

People are more important than time, and Indian people live and work at a relaxed pace which allows time for proper greetings of acquaintances. Most Indian people hold an existential philosophy toward life. The meaning of life for them is not dependent upon material wealth, prestige, or educational degrees. Death is viewed as a natural event. Most Indian people believe in life after death and are taught to view death as a natural event.

Most Indians do not separate the mind, body, and spirit but practice holistic health. They see disease and sickness as caused by an imbalance in their cosmos. They live in harmony with mother earth, and their natural surroundings. Each part of their daily life centers around the spiritual and the thankfulness to the Great Spirit for giving them Turtle Island to watch over as its guardians.

Practically all Indian people demonstrate cultural persistence in spite of the efforts of the United States government to assimilate them into the

dominant society. They have survived centuries of oppression and humiliation by a colonialist government. There have been numerous laws passed which uprooted Indian people from their homelands and herded them on to barren reservations. Their individual tribal councils were replaced with government bureaucrats. Their children were taken from them and placed in boarding schools. They were forbidden the freedom of practicing their native religions and speaking their native languages. It is a miracle that so much of the culture is still intact after such elaborate measures were taken to destroy the basic institutions of family and tribal government. Indian people today are still struggling for self-determination, the right to control their schools, social programs, and natural resources. They continue to hold values that are in conflict with the dominant society.

Since most social service agencies are a part of the dominant society, it is obvious that most American Indians hold values which conflict with the policies of these institutions. Indians do not receive relevant services from these agencies primarily because personnel staffing these agencies are ignorant of these value conflicts.

The American Indian then is composed of many different tribes with each having their own distinct culture and tradition. There are however many similarities. Some tribes or individuals in a tribe might be more traditional, less traditional, or more assimilated into the dominant culture. Each person has to be assessed as an individual and this is where the professional training of a social worker comes into practice.

III. IMPLICATIONS FOR
SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

By

Margaret Eisenbise

III. IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

After looking over the historical, geographical and cultural areas, one can see the difference as well as the similarities among the tribes. Now let us turn to the similarities of the tribes and compare them to the dominant society. The dominant society differ remarkably from American Indians in their orientation. The American Indian has a culture to be proud of, and more and more of the younger generation are participating in this heritage.

On the following page there is a list of the dominant society's values as opposed to the American Indian values. Throughout this section, we will explore these conflicting values.

RELIGION:

Religion continues to play an important part in the lives of American Indians today. From the first day of life, an Indian child is born into some type of religious rite. It may be to ensure good health or to give the baby a name. It is also not unusual for an Indian person to embrace both his own traditional tribal religion and/or a Christian religion. The American Indian usually respects other people's religions, and does not force religion on others.

Though some of the religious ceremonies have been lost due to government restrictions on practicing them, the majority of the ceremonies have been revived and the younger generation has begun to practice them again.

INDIANNESS

AMERICAN INDIAN IDENTITY CONTINUUM

Degree of Indian Blood

ASSIMILATED AMERICAN

INDIAN

Urban/Industrial values

Tribal/Traditional values

BREAKDOWN OF THE INDIAN GROUP

MAINTENANCE OF THE INDIAN GROUP

individual emphasis
future oriented
time, awareness
youth
competition, concern
aquisition for self
conquest of nature
saving
theoretical
impatience
skeptical
guilt
social coercion
immediate family
materialistic
aggressive
overstates, over-confident
noise
converts others to religion
religion - segment of life
land, water, forest
private domain
avarice and greedy
use of resources
wealth
representative gov't
space living-privacy-
use of roominess
strong self importance

Identity Crisis "Who am I?"

group, clan emphasis
present oriented
time, non-awareness
age
cooperation, service
concern for groups
harmony with nature
giving
pragmatic
patience
mystical
shame
permissiveness
extended family, clan
non-materialistic
non-aggressive
modest
silence
respects other religion
religion - way of life
land, water, forest
belongs to all
beneficial, reasonable
use of resources
equality
face to face gov't
compact living-close
contact, indoors high
space utilization
low self value

DECULTURATION TREND

ACCULTURATION TREND

The use of the medicine man, as the Anglo society refers to them, have become more wide-spread. This is due to the fact that the government has lifted some of the restrictions which prohibited them from practicing their faith. Many Indian people believe in the power that these men or women possess and will seek them when sickness occurs. Some will not seek a regular doctor.

Because of their recent acceptance among non-Indians, traditional medicine men and women are beginning to work with professional medical doctors. They have been allowed in some hospitals to perform ceremonies for patients. Traditional medicinal herbs are also being used by Anglo doctors.

When working with an Indian client around religious beliefs, it is up to the worker to obtain the necessary information regarding his beliefs. Sometimes this may take a while because the client may not trust the worker. It is a good practice for the worker to talk about his experiences in order for the client to get to know the worker as a person who is there to help. This usually eases the client's hesitance.

The client may be more traditional than one thinks and certain ceremonies may need to be performed in order for the client to function normally. These ceremonies can vary from birth ceremonies to funeral ceremonies. Each ceremony has a special meaning to the client and his participation in it may mean the difference between normal and abnormal behavior. Often it is the worker who must arrange transportation for

the client to get to the proper destination to participate in the ceremony. It is essential that the worker be in contact with other agencies who might be able to help. These agencies can include: Bureau of Indian Affairs, the client's Tribal Council or Area Office, Traveler's Aid, and others in the vicinity.

Death is an accepted part of the American Indians' world view. They believe there is life after death; therefore, dying is a part of the natural life cycle. Many tribes held wakes and mourning ceremonies for the dead; but because of governmental restrictions, many of these ceremonies are now forbidden. Today, many tribes must bury the deceased at cemeteries and hold their bodies at a funeral parlor. The mourning period has not changed substantially for most tribes and the cutting of the hair is still practiced by many traditional Indian people.

When Indian people move to the urban area, it is not unusual for many to return to the reservation. The urban area is a strange and new place for an Indian person coming from a reservation to cope with the many pressures of the dominant society. Some will remain in the urban area but will return home occasionally for visits or ceremonies. When death occurs, the body of the deceased is usually shipped back to the reservation. It is the Indian person's feeling of belonging to have their body returned to a familiar place.

As the poet Ohiyesa, has sung:

Death has no terrors for the Indian:
He meets it with simplicity and perfect calm,
Seeking only an honorable end
As his last gift to
Families and descendants . . .
If one day he is dying at home
It is customary to carry
His bed out of doors
As the end approaches,
That his Spirit may pass under the
Open Sky.

Because of past historical promises from the federal government, it is not unusual for Indian people to be mistrustful of whites and even other Indians. Getting information from the client may not be easy, and it is up to the worker to be tactful and sensitive. Counseling techniques will give the worker insight into how helpful he/she can be to the client.

It is noted that Indian people will come to an Indian agency before approaching a non-Indian agency. The Indian agencies sometimes will refer the client out to non-Indian agencies, but will go with the client to act as an advocate. The Indian agency will also work along with the non-Indian agency to make sure the client receives adequate aid.

Cited below is an example of a client's need to take part in a ceremony.

In one of the Urban Indian Agencies, a client walked in experiencing auditory hallucinations after a family death. A local psychiatric emergency ward interpreted the hallucinations as a psychotic symptom rather than a symptom of unresolved grief in the man's

cultural viewpoint. The Urban Indian Agency intervened and the man was returned to the reservation to participate in a series of rituals and tribal ceremonies appropriate for the burial of the dead.

Shortly after the ceremony was performed, he was free from hallucinations. If the Indian agency didn't step in, this man could have been diagnosed as a psychotic patient and committed to a state mental hospital. The dominant society does not see beyond the indicators of psychopathology and will not look to the cultural factors that might be involved when dealing with minority clients.

This case is just one example of many of an Indian person who needed to participate in a religious ceremony.

Since there is a diversity among the tribes regarding religious ceremonies, it is impossible to list every religious aspect. For persons interested in specific tribal religions, please refer to the bibliography or library reference to obtain the desired information.

FAMILY SYSTEM:

The family structure of the American Indian centers around the clan system or extended family as opposed to the dominant society's nuclear family. The extended family reaches into the immediate family--mother, father, grandparents, and includes aunts, uncles, cousins, and even the Indian community. This family structure is practiced today, except in some urban areas where the support of the extended family is sometimes not available.

When a client comes to the agency for counseling, it is essential for the worker to identify the support systems available to the client. If no family is available in the area, it is the responsibility of the worker to introduce the client to available resources---other Indian people, other agencies, social activities, etc.

Indian families that move to the urban areas usually do not have access to their extended families. Many of their family members remain on the reservation or are living in different cities or states. The opportunity to get acquainted with other Indian people usually takes place at social gatherings at Urban Indian Centers or at Pow-Wows.

The pressures of everyday, especially with cultural differences, drive many Indian people to drinking. Drinking has become common in the urban areas. This can also be attributed to the lack of family support available. Social Workers counsel many clients in this area. There are agencies set up especially for this specific problem. Many attribute their drinking problem to loneliness, looking for companionship from other Indian people, lack of financial resources (not able to secure a job, some too proud to ask for Welfare, communication with conventional agencies unsuccessful).

Because of the absence of the extended families, many clients will seek the help of a social worker in resolving their problems.

In the dominant society, the family structure is centered around the nuclear family--parents and children. They strive

for independence while the Indian family relies on interdependence. Each person in the Indian family has a responsibility to each other. All are treated equal with respect for each other. The elders are especially respected. In the dominant society, the elders are treated like children and not able to make decisions without approval.

When the biological parents are unable to take care of the children or if they die, it is a natural role that the extended family assumes the responsibility and raises the children. It can be done by the grandparents, sister or brother, aunts, uncles, or anyone closely connected with the family. In the dominant society, legal procedures usually come into play; and the children are shifted from one family to another. In the urban area, Indian children are sometimes placed outside the relatives home until the legal aspects are determined. It is this same reason why the Indian family has taken steps legally to insure the raising of their own children. In the Indian Children Welfare Act of 1978 (P.L.-608), these issues are raised about placement of Indian children.

INSERT ICWA

"In 1978, Congress recognized this problem and enacted the Indian Child Welfare Act, Public Law 95-608. In this Act, Congress declared that Indian children are the most important resource of Indian tribes, and that the federal government is determined to promote and protect the security and stability of Indian tribes and families by establishing minimum federal standards to govern the removal of Indian children from their Indian families.

The Act takes several approaches to achieve this goal. The Act requires that where removal of an Indian child from the natural parents is necessary, preference shall generally be given to placing the child with relatives, tribal members or other Indian families. The Act also grants to the tribe exclusive jurisdiction of child custody proceedings involving Indian children who reside or are domiciled (permanent home) on the tribe's reservation, except where such jurisdiction has been granted to the state under some other provision of law. Tribal jurisdiction over a ward of a tribal court is exclusive, no matter where the child resides or is domiciled."¹

"The Act is an attempt by Congress to protect Indian families and their children from the problems which come about when there is a breakup of the family. For many years, state courts have often unfairly taken Indian children from their families and placed them in non-Indian homes. They have done so without any regard for the harm which results when an Indian child is forced to grow up in a foreign atmosphere. This Act recognized that Indians are a unique and distinct people with special lifestyles and interests."²

1 & 2 American Indian Lawyer Training Program, Inc., 319 Mac Arthur Blvd. Oakland, Ca 94610, Indian Child Welfare Act: Issues & Answers. P. 1 & 12.

CHILD REARING:

As mentioned, tribes vary in their traditional practices. Child rearing is no exception, but there are commonalities amongst the tribes.

Children are viewed with respect because they represent the future and the coming generations. They will be the carriers of their tribes' culture and tradition. Both parent and child are equal in status compared to the dominant society where the parents have the sole control.

Children are not able to make decisions for themselves, as in the Indian family. The children are expected to make decisions early. Because they are expected to make decisions, punishment was not used. Inappropriate behavior was discouraged by shaming the child and using a spirit figure to correct the behavior in many tribes.

"In Hopi practice the Kachina is represented as a real being. Every exposure the child has to the Kachina is to be a spiritual being which is real. The Kachina is all goodness and all kindness. The Kachina is frequently described as being grotesque, but the Hopi child does not perceive the Kachina as grotesque. By his conduct toward the child, the Kachina demands good behavior. Then there are times the Kachina is the symbol of admonition. When the child misbehaves he or she is threatened either with the idea that the Kachina will withhold their kindness

from the, or even that the Kachinas will come and deprive them of their person. There are various ways to dramatize this."³

Child rearing goes back to the extended family. It is not only the responsibility of the natural parents to raise the children but the other members of the family also help. Grandparents in particular played an important part in the raising of the children. Grandparents had the knowledge and wisdom to pass on to the young. It was also expected of the children to respect everyone, especially the elders.

In the urban setting where the extended family is not accessible, problems arise for couples as well as for the single parent. The support and help in raising the children is not available because many times in the urban area the extended family is not readily accessible. This is where the Urban Indian Centers can help out. In the urban areas, there are many agencies available to the Indian parents. These services can range from counseling services, child abuse/neglect agencies, to the elderly and alcohol/drug related services. The Indian people working in the agencies are skilled in their area of service, and many have been relocated into the urban areas.

3 p. 37 Seeing With a Native Eye, Walter Capps.

It has not been documented, but assumptions can be made that more cases of child abuse and neglect have become noticeable in the Indian community. This can be due to the lack of family support systems available, and the cultural conflict that exist between Indian people and the dominant society. Most of these cases have been referred to Urban Indian agencies that are specialized in these areas. Sometimes the rearing of children is disrupted, and the children have to be placed outside the home. Counseling sessions are set up between the worker and parents around the children. Every possible measure to keep the family intact is tried. If the extended family is available, the child is usually placed with them. This is the traditional way of raising the child--if the parents cannot raise them, other members of the extended family will take them in.

How the child is raised can also be attributed to the lifestyle of the parents. Because parents live in the urban area it does not necessarily mean they do not practice the traditional way of child rearing associated with their culture. Many things can be attributed to the way some Indian families raise their children. One way could pertain to the schooling of the parents and children. Indian Boarding schools influenced many of the ways Indian people raise their children.

From past historical experiences, boarding schools were one way of disrupting the family system of the American Indian. It was the dominant society's view that by taking

the children away from their cultural background, it would make it easier for the Indian children to assimilate into the dominant society.

"The only kind of education that would convert the Indians into American citizens, he insisted, was in schools away from the reservations, such as his industrial school at Carlisle."⁴

At first children were taken away only during the school hours, then later school authorities found out this did not work because at night the children were back into their cultural setting and back to speaking and doing things the Indian way. Indian Boarding Schools were then set up not too far from the reservations and children were still allowed to return home on weekends, which again complicated the assimilation process. It was then decided children would be taken away to boarding schools out of state so the influence of their culture would be upset. Young children were not able to speak their language, participate in tribal games, and gain knowledge of their culture.

"If the youth are raised and continued in the surroundings of their tribes and savagery, we should find not fault with them for remaining tribes and savages."⁵

4 & 5 Americanizing the American Indians, pp. 277 & 273. Prucha.

"The main "Achievement" of the schools is to provide Indian children with an educational experience designed to root out all traces of their Indian heritage. Some of the methods go back 70 years, as if time stood still for Indian education."⁶

Without the influence of their culture, young children cannot readily learn the ways of their tribe. Childhood experiences and learning situations remain with a child throughout his/her life.

"The culture of childhood, like all cultures, is learned, shared and transmitted. It is to some degree learned by children from one another. Mainly, however, it is learned from adults. It is learned, but not necessarily taught. There is reason to believe that two phenomena lie at the heart of this learning process--attention and patterns."⁷

"The evidence permits us to conclude that the child speaks the language of his society as naturally and as inevitable as he walks. Language is an essential part, and perhaps the essential part, of a culture of childhood. In spite of wide variation between languages, as between other aspects of culture, children learn with apparent ease whatever may be the linguistic patterns of their culture."⁸

⁶ Our Brother's Keeper, p.37

⁷⁸ The Cultures of Childhood, p.7, 22, 25, Goodman

"An Elderly Winnebago Indian woman recalls riding on her mother's back as mother and child and elder sister crossed a fast-flowing little creek. The details are vivid in her mind's eye: the swirling water, the older sister walking ahead, holding up her skirt. The baby, on whom all this made an indelible impression, was not yet two. Years later she asked her mother if the incident was real. It was; her mother thought she must have remembered because she had been frightened."⁹

Early childhood learning does make an impact on young children. That is why many Indian people are trying to relearn their cultural values from the elders. So much has been taken from the American Indian, but they are a strong people and will endure. That is why the unborn and young children are so important to the American Indian.

9 The Cultures of Childhood, p.25., Goodman

THE ELDERLY:

The elderly Indian, down through the years, has been the preserver of the Indian race, Indian culture, Indian history. Indian people have never been ashamed of growing old. They, merely accept it as a fact of life because they understand the forces of life and the forces of nature, that all and everything that lives also decays.

The Indian elders have always been a part of the extended family. Being the heart and the center of the Indian family, they bring into the family unit an experience, maturity. They also bring us knowledge and wisdom.

One of the greatest values of the Indian elderly is that they represent to us a repository. All that we like to claim and talk about as Indian didn't come to us from the university or the high school; it came to us from the Indian elderly. All that we hold dear and so precious in our Indianness comes from those who have gone before us. When we look at the Indian elderly, there is something in them, with them, that is so precious.

Today, we salute the Indian elder for preserving what is left of the Indianness. Let us continue to hold hands and join forces and in the name of Indians, while this country is lost in red, white, and blue, let us become lost in our Indianness and maintain our identity in our Indian community.

Wendell Chino, President
National Tribal Chairmen's Association

In the American Indian family, the Elders are treated with respect and kindness by everyone. As in the dominant society, their elders are considered feeble and not able to help themselves and contribute to society. They are considered to be dependent on others, which to many people becomes a burden.

The Elders in the dominant society are usually placed in convalescent homes where the learning process is slowed down or ceased. The American Indian elder, on the other hand, is secure in their own home, or they move in with one of their children or relatives. Their usefulness does not cease, but their knowledge is utilized to teach the younger generation, and to help in raising the children.

The American Indian Elders possess a lot of knowledge and wisdom, which can only be obtained through their teachings. Many things have happened to the American Indian, and our Elders have been through them all and survived (relocation, boarding schools, termination, treaties, wars, etc.). Just as the young children are the carriers of the future, the elders are the carriers of knowledge from the past to the present.

Elders living in the urban area sometimes have difficulties because their extended family does not live close by. Living alone can be a hardship for them because of the fast pace our society creates. Many Indian Elders come to the Urban Indian Centers to help meet their basic everyday needs. Social Workers have to be sensitive to their needs; many are lonely and need the company of the worker just to talk. Reminiscing about past experiences help the elder relive important events in their lives. Just having the worker around makes a lot of difference to the Elderly; it makes them feel good about themselves.

Other services a social worker can help the elderly with are: make once a week visits, help make doctor appointments and other relevant services needed, get financial support for them, help fill out papers and act as liaisons between different agencies, and just visiting in the community.

All Elderly people, including non-Indians, lack the necessary services available to the aged. Elderly people are one of the most oppressed groups. (See the article on the American Indian Elderly in The Urban Indian by Winona Dubray Hanson).

COMMUNICATION--ORAL TRADITION:

"Perhaps the greatest tragedy to come upon native American groups has been the progressive weakening and occasional total loss of their respective languages. Since it is language which supports and communicates the total range of a people's values and worldview, it was realized early by the dominant society that native languages must be supplanted by the language of the dominant society if cultural assimilation was to occur. The history of the frequent brutal means by which this process of deculturation was furthered need not be reiterated here. We must stress the fact, however, that due to the inherent persistence of language many native languages have survived. Furthermore, many native American groups are taking deliberate measures to insure that these languages are both recovered and used."¹⁰

The American Indian did not write or record important events in their lives. Their creation myths and other legends on how Mother Earth came into our guardianship was passed down orally. Many white anthropologists, writers, historians, etc, have tried to record this oral tradition and the content and meaning has changed substantially. Many of the Elders who did the storytelling could not speak English; and when interpreted into the English language, the meaning changed. In many Indian tribes, their words have no English translation so the original content changes to fit into the English vocabulary.

10 Seeing With a Native Eye, p.33, Capps

Because the dominant society places a high value on literacy, the American Indian suffered due to the fact they communicated orally without written history. To the American Indian the suffering relates to how the dominant society viewed, translated their tradition, and wrote it according to their standards. Without sufficient reading and writing skills, the dominant society's interpretation could not be challenged. Today's generation of American Indian people are trying to replenish their language and culture. More control over their children's education and placement in foster homes are being sought.

There are different creation myths for each tribe, but all possess a central theme. Many animal figures and natural occurrences appear in each myth. Indian people believe all living things are created equal and are relatives. All tribes belonging to clans or kinships were associated with some sort of animal figure or natural surroundings such as land, water, tree, etc.

The diversity of the tribes' language also posed difficulty in communication among the tribes. Sign language was developed as a universal communication network. It also helped the white settlers to communicate with the American Indian.

WORLD VIEW:

American Indians live in harmony with Mother Earth. All things that live or grow on Mother Earth are as alive with spirit and soul as human beings. These consist of the four legged, the winged, the trees, rocks, water, etc. Indian people have great respect for the land, which the Great Spirit gave to them to watch over. The dominant society, on the other hand, mistreats Mother Earth by exploiting and raping her natural resources. The natural resources she supplies are greatly in demand by the dominant society. American Indians, however, see it differently and oppose the digging and exploiting of Mother Earth. Many of the natural resources are on Indian land (reservations as they are called today).

Long ago the Federal Government gave these desolate, isolated lands to the Indian believing nothing could grow or exist there. Little did they know that these barren lands would hold over 50% of the world's natural resources. Many reservations hold great deposits of coal, oil, and uranium.

"Most of the U.S. uranium reserves are concentrated in the Southwest, mainly in New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Washington and Texas. The DOE estimates that in 1977, 146 companies spent \$258.1 million exploring for uranium. Ironically, it appears that a large percent of the U.S. reserves lie on Native American lands. The National Indian Youth Council estimates that 55% of the nations supply is on Indian land."¹¹

¹¹ The Natural Guardian, p.1, "Stop Uranium Mining! Defend Native American Land Rights," Mt. Taylor Liaison Committee, P. O. Box 7082, Albuquerque, N.M. 87194.

The natural resources that are located on the reservations many times are sitting on sacred grounds. It hurts the American Indian to see their sacred grounds desecrated by big businesses. Legal battles have been waged but to no avail. The destruction continues despite the opposition of the American Indian people.

The exploitation does not stop there. When big business starts digging, the land, and valuable resources are taken, the American Indian does not receive adequate compensation.

"The federal government has further offered enticing royalties to the corporations to locate on the reservations. In 1975, Indian tribes were paid an average of 15¢ per ton of Indian coal that was valued at \$20 per ton on the market.

Uranium royalties to tribes in 1975 was an average of 60¢ per pound but was sold for \$30 per pound. Today the price of uranium has increased to \$60 per pound but Indian tribes still receive an average of 60¢ per pound--or 2 percent of the market value!--or "for as long as the ore is producing in quantities." All other federal leases now command a 12 percent royalty but Indian royalties remain pitifully low."¹²

¹² Tribal People's Survival, p.2, American Indian Environmental Council, P. O. Box 7082, Albuquerque, N.M. 87104.

The mining and drilling of the land has brought many deaths to the Indian people without any compensations to the survivors. Many are unable to work because of the dangerous chemicals connected with the milling. These poison chemicals not only affect Indian people but will spread into the mainstream of society causing death, sterility, birth defects, and the destruction of Mother Earth.

Because the American Indian has respect for the land, it hurts them to see it being destroyed for materialistic gain. Indian people do not capitalize on individual gain but share their belongings. They are hospitable people, greeting friends, visitors, and family warmly. Sharing their food and homes are a natural response to Indian people.

The majority of Indian people believe in life after death. It depends on each tribe or individual in the tribe to interpret this belief accordingly. Many tribes still hold ceremonies associated with death. The dominant society views death as the final stage of life as something to fear. Growing old means dependency and eventually death. To the American Indian, death is an extension of life. The spirit may return as something useful such as a tree, flower, animal, etc. To many Indian people death is not something to be afraid of but a part of the natural life cycle.

Time is another factor which creates conflicts between the dominant society and the American Indian. The dominant society places a lot of importance on time. Being at a certain place at a specific time means being fifteen to half an hour early. To

the American Indian, the time factor is not so important.

When they say a pow-pow will start at 7:30 p.m., they usually mean 8:30 p.m. ~~or~~ so.

CASE STUDIES

The following cases are actually cases that came through an Urban Indian Agency. The identity and information are altered to protect the identity of the client.

CASE 1:

A 20 year old woman incarcerated was referred to a local Indian agency by a woman's group, which works as a support network for women in prison. The woman was from a Plains tribe and was pregnant at the time of referral. Because of the bureaucratic red tape, it took the agency some time before contact was made with the client. By then, it was only two weeks before her delivery date. The agency had to work fast in order to accommodate her request.

The young woman feared she would not be united with her child after release from prison. She was serving from 3 to 5 years. Many officials from the prison tried to tell her to put the child up for adoption, that it would be the best for the child. The woman was upset and depressed. The woman's group gave her support along with the Indian agency. There was no extended family in the area to lend her support.

She was asking the Indian agency to obtain an Indian midwife to assist in the delivery and to place the child in a temporary foster placement with an Indian family. Arrangements were made, an American Indian foster family was found. It was arranged to have the foster parents and social worker to be at the delivery outside the prison. During the time of delivery, an Indian midwife was not available but a non-Indian midwife assisted in the delivery. Since the foster family did

not have all the essentials a new baby needs, a baby shower was arranged by the agency.

When the mother left the hospital, she was depressed and the prison guards called her social worker. The social worker from the Indian agency spent all day counseling and talking over her feelings of separation. During her stay in the hospital, she signed a voluntary placement agreement, which assured her the return of her child. The baby had to be placed as a ward of the court in order for the foster parents to receive assistance. Legal papers were drawn up regarding the child and visitation for mother and child were arranged.

The prison has a children's center, in which a worker picks up children to visit with parents in prison. The Indian agency still sees the mother and foster parents. Supportive counseling is provided for the mother and basic needs of the child are provided by the Indian agency's social worker.

If the Indian agency did not intervene and help this woman, her child may have been taken from her and placed in a non-Indian home. The effects on the mother could have been devastating. Her natural support system, extended family, was not available to assist her in a time of crisis. If legal implications came into play, the Indian Child Welfare Act would have been used to keep the mother and child together. A non-Indian agency would probably have pursued the placement differently. Adoption would have been strongly suggested and even pressure to the young woman would have been applied.

Without the help and support from the Indian agency, the young mother would have eventually given the baby up for adoption.

CASE 2:

This case started five years ago after the parents relocated to the Bay Area. They have three children, two in foster placement with relatives at first contact. The third child is with the parents, age 5 years old.

Their tribal background is from the Southwest where the parents were raised on the reservation. Their education is minimal.

During their first year in San Francisco, there were a lot of adjustment problems, no extended family, coping with the big city and a different culture. Both started drinking heavily in order to deal with the stress of the big city.

The family was referred to an Indian agency that serves children. Neglect of the children was cited, and they were taken into protective custody by the county welfare department. Inadequate hygiene and poor housekeeping resulted due to the heavy drinking of the parents.

The Indian child welfare agency intervened and placed the two children in a temporary Indian home. Counseling sessions with the parents took place. After a while, the parents started taking responsibility to change their lifestyle. They attended weekly AA meetings and kept regular scheduled appointments with their counselor. After four months of temporary foster placement, the two girls were returned to their parents.

Supportive counseling continued, and both parents and girls did well. Parents became involved in different social groups and local community affairs. Homemaker service was also provided by the agency.

Through the Indian grapevine, it was reported the parents started drinking again. The oldest of the two girls ran away from home, and was finally placed in a relatives home on the reservation. The father had a tendency for violent outbursts that disturbed the child. The mother was also drinking but tried to care for the child. The child was placed in a temporary foster home and parents again continued in counseling and started to do well again.

Early last year, the child was picked up by Protective Services for neglect. The Indian agency was contacted and found a licensed Indian foster home for the girl. The young girl developed a strong bond with the foster mother but was disrupted when she was sexually abused by the foster father. Legal action against the foster father was taken, but the girl had to be placed elsewhere. The girl was placed several times after that incident.

The parents have moved outside the area, but they have been referred to agencies in their area. The young girl is now 10 years old and in therapy at the Indian agency. She is still in foster placement, but arrangements for her to be sent back to the reservation to stay with relatives is in the process. The County Protective Services wants to place her in a non-Indian foster home.

This case has been on-going for the last five years. The family received counseling and help in placing their children. Their alcoholic problems caused disruption. In the meantime the Indian agency provides them with assistance and makes sure the children are properly cared for.

CASE 3:

This case was short term and dealt with a tragic death of a three year old child. The family moved to the Bay Area from another state after marital problems began. The family thought the change in the living environment might be for the better.

The wife is American Indian from a Plains tribe, the father is non-Indian, and they have two children. The family was in the Bay Area for approximately three weeks before the tragedy occurred. They had been staying at one of the community houses for new arrivals and did not have any relatives in the area. The mother of the small boy was out of the house at the time the fire broke out. She had taken her other child to the doctor's office. The father was upstairs in the bathroom when the flames erupted. By the time he got to the bedroom where the small boy was, flames were all over the room, and all the father could hear was the small boy's cries. The little boy had hid in a closet for protection. The house burnt down and the end result was the death of a three year old boy.

The nearby Indian Center opened its doors to the thirty or forty people who were staying at the community house. Many of the social workers came down to the Center to lend their

support to the other survivors of the fire.

A social worker talked with the parents of the small boy. The father was also burnt and was taken to the hospital by the worker. The family did not have any funds nor any way to have the body shipped home for burial. The worker contacted the mother's Bureau of Indian Affairs office on her reservation but they could not help out with funeral and travel expenses. The agency was not receptive to the calls nor sympathetic with the tragedy. Relatives of the family were scattered all over the United States and needed to be contacted. Appeals for donations were sent out by the Indian Center and donations were obtained to ship the body home for burial.

A ceremony was conducted at the funeral parlor for the small boy. The funeral parlor did allow the ceremony to take place. The family was able to return home and have the body buried on familiar grounds. A local church paid for most of the burial expense.

After a month the family relocated back in the Bay Area but because of memories, they decided to move from the area. She went home to her foster parents where the grieving process could take place. Being around family in a time of sadness can ease the loss of a loved one.

This case illustrated the variety of services provided by Indian Agencies. Would a non-Indian agency open their doors to thirty or forty people who needed help? Would their social workers be willing to come down on the weekend to assist with

counseling, etc.? The expense and contacting of relatives was done by the social worker to assist the parents in their period of grieving. Without the help of the worker and agency where would the people and parents of the small child have gone for help?

CASE 4:

This case illustrates the differences among tribal cultures. Not only are there differences among the dominant society, but among tribes.

The parents are both American Indian from the Southwest but from different tribes. They have one child and were raised very traditionally. They moved to the Bay Area on the relocation program. Many problems developed regarding the dominant society values, along with their own cultural differences.

The family first became involved in the Indian agency through the groups that met regularly. Mostly the wife would attend; the husband would go to work and didn't want to participate in the activities. She was very quiet but tried to seek help in a roundabout way. She asked many of the woman about their life in the city, raising a child; and if cultural differences came into the marriage. She finally started talking to one of the social workers on a friendly basis. Things were getting more difficult and she was not able to cope with them. She asked the social worker to come to her house and meet with her husband and herself around marital problems (mostly cultural

differences). Both husband and wife come from very traditional backgrounds with strong upbringings. All the worker could do is listen to their problems and try to lend them support. Their cultural differences could not be changed.

The wife had a nervous breakdown and the worker was there to help out. Taking her to the hospital and making sure she took her medication was one way the worker helped. The breakdown came as a result of the differences they had in their culture. One way of doing something to one was wrong for the other. After the wife was stabilized on medication, they decided to move to the reservation, his home. Things did not work out, so she moved back to her reservation. They have since separated. Both wanted the marriage to work out, but the differences in the cultural upbringing made it impossible for both. The wife still keeps in contact with the social worker from the Indian agency.

IV. IMPLICATIONS FOR
SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

By
Wynne Hanson

IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

Many courses in human behavior focus on developmental theories which are limited in their data base to western European populations. American Indians, Blacks, Chicano and Asian American philosophies and world view are usually ignored.

Human behavior must of necessity be interpreted according to the values and beliefs of the client in question. It is apparent then that the imposition of West European theories on other populations can be and is catastrophic.

It follows then that any course on human behavior must include alternatives to Freudian psychology in order to be relevant to American Indian and other populations.

An appropriate theoretical base for American Indian clients is the holistic health approach which consists of harmony of mind, body and spirit. In addition the Indian believes that it is of utmost importance to live in harmony with nature.

Perhaps the Dual Perspective is the most relevant approach for serving American Indians in the absence of a more comprehensive theory or framework.

The dual perspective, when applied to the history of American Indians can provide a framework for assessing the impact of colonialism upon the American Indian family and their current status in American Society.

There are many areas of conflict between the values of American Indians and the dominant society. For more detailed study, turn to the six articles in The Urban Indian which address cultural conflict in great detail.

The dual perspective framework which follows, assists the social work student in identifying possible sources of alienation, tension and pressure points in the lives of American Indian clients, thus leading to more effective intervention.

The Dual Perspective

Definition

The dual perspective is the conscious and systematic process of perceiving, understanding, and comparing simultaneously the values, attitudes, and behavior of the larger societal system with those of the client's immediate family and community system. It is the conscious awareness on the cognitive and attitudinal levels of the similarities and differences in the two systems. It requires substantive knowledge and empathic appreciation of both the majority societal system and the minority client system, as well as a conscious awareness of the social worker's own attitudes and values. Thus the dual perspective allows one to experience each system from the point of view of the other.

The dual perspective then is an attitudinal and a cognitive approach. It is a nonjudgmental perception of the clients' cultural forms, interactional styles, and behavioral responses within those of the larger society. This perception leads the social worker to view the clients' responses in the context of their sociocultural circumstances. The intent is to broaden the social worker's understanding and sensitivity to the totality of the life situation of the client group and to build services on the needs of the particular situation.

The concept of the dual perspective grew out of the idea that every individual is part of two systems: the larger system of the dominant society, and the smaller system of the client's immediate physical and social environment. It is a conceptual tool that describes a very complex process, a complexity that stems from the variety of subsystems within each of the two systems. It juxtaposes the various elements involved and focuses on the degree of incongruence between the two systems.

The dual perspective is an essential entity that exists whether or not a social worker recognizes and uses it. The degree of incongruence between the societal system and the client's system is a critical consideration. In a society that rejects the immediate environmental system of racial minorities, the achievement of congruence for the minority client is severely limited, if not impossible. It is this fact that makes the dual perspective uniquely suited for working with ethnic minority groups.

One of the distinguishing features of professionals is the kind of decisions they make and the knowledge they use in making these decisions. The dual perspective provides a frame of reference for making more effective professional decisions. It increases the awareness of possible and actual points of conflict between the minority client's perspective and that of the dominant society. It enhances awareness of the structural-institutional sources that contribute to the inequality of opportunity for minority groups. When it is utilized, the processes of assessment and understanding should produce results vitally different than at present.

Social workers are taught "empathy," "to begin where the client is," and to view the client's situation "nonjudgmentally" and with self-awareness. These principles have been operationalized in the past on the assumption that there was congruence between the client system and the dominant system. The dual perspective builds upon these familiar social work principles and provides the social worker with a framework for making them operational, especially with minority clients. Use of the process forces the worker to take into consideration substantive content on the minority client system that prevents stereotyping, misinterpretations, incorrect expectations, and inappropriate interventions.

Rationale and Theory Underlying the Dual Perspective

Social work education and practice must speak to the human service needs of all people in a pluralistic society. We have stated that the concept of the dual perspective grew out of the idea that the individual is a part of two systems. This idea of duality is supported theoretically. Chestang wrote of the duality of the Black experience. He called the larger and more dominant system of individual experience the "sustaining system." It houses the instrumental needs of man, the goods and services, the political power, and the economic resources, all of which factors confer status and power. Embedded in the larger system is the more immediate system, the physical and social environment of family and close community. A person's basic sense of identity grows out of this. Chestang referred to this as the "nurturing environment." The nurturing environment can be compared to Erikson's "significant others," those closest and most involved in the determination of an individual's sense of identity. The individual's experiences and sense of identity growing out of his or her relationship with "significant others" play an important part in the interaction with those in the larger society. Thus two social systems can be inferred.

Mead's concept of the "generalized other" also can be used to understand the dual perspective. He defined the generalized other as taking on the attitude of the wider society in regard to oneself. In this way one learns to become an object to oneself, to have an identity, to know oneself through role taking and from the reflection of others. In acting out the roles of others, children discover that the roles belong to their own nature and begin to know themselves. From the many roles assumed, there gradually arises a generalized other. This attitude of the generalized other or organized community gives unity of self to individuals as they incorporate society's responses and react accordingly.

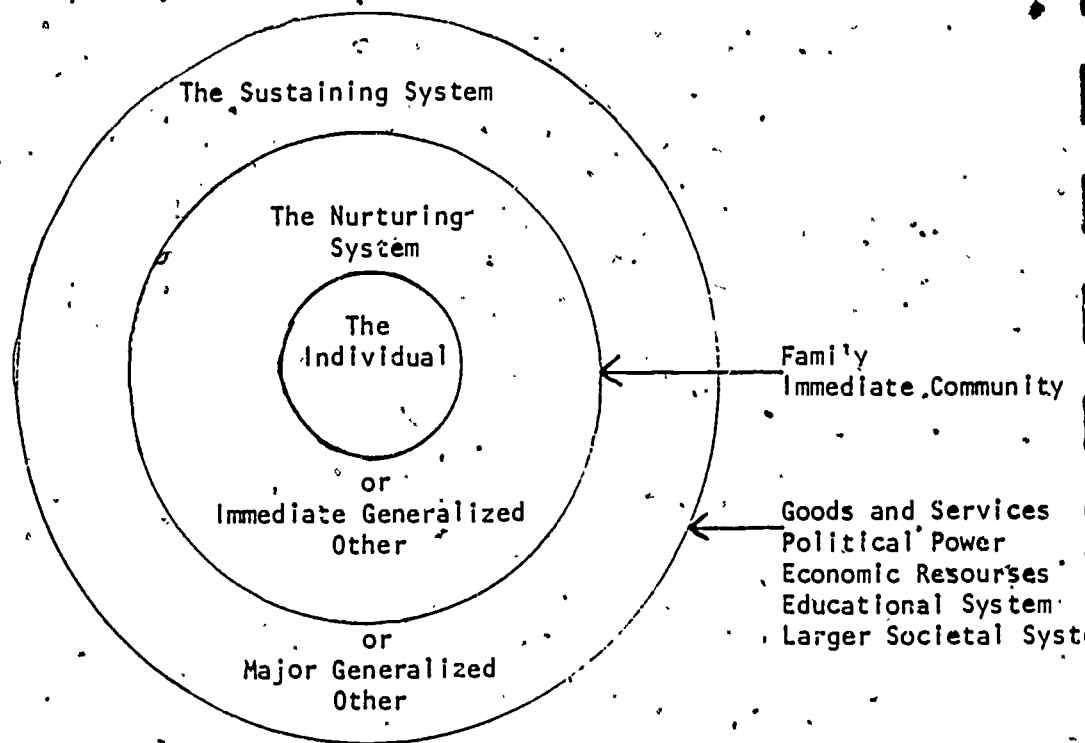
Mead spoke only of one generalized other. However, minority persons who assume the attitude of the generalized other of the wider society have a strong possibility of seeing themselves devalued. The more they incorporate a negative image into their identity, the more they will be devalued in their own image. Yet we know minority persons do attain a good sense of self. It is our assumption that there is an alternative generalized other (a dual generalized other, if you wish) that balances or compensates for the potential destruction of self-worth coming from the wider society.

The alternative generalized other is the attitude of the family and immediate community environment, the nurturing environment of Chestang, the significant others of Erikson. If minority children receive love and care from their families, this can instill a positive sense of self. Since many minority members are reasonably isolated from the white community physically and socially, the attitude of the more immediate generalized other can develop, restore, or help them maintain self-esteem. They can use it as a buffer against the effects of the attitude of the generalized other from the larger society as they experience the wider community. This cannot be accomplished totally though, for they are very aware of the attitude of the dominant generalized other. If the mechanisms of socialization in the nurturing environment or the more immediate generalized other are positive, it helps people balance the destructive image coming from the larger community.

The overall generalized other of an individual may be thought of as a continuum or series of definitions, attitudes, or expectations with which one perceives oneself, the world around one, and one's interaction with that world. The generalized other of family and community and the generalized other of the larger society can be conceptualized as parts of the total generalized other. Depending on the experience or situation, one suspects that certain aspects of the generalized other will have primacy or fade into the background.

FIGURE 1.

The Dual System of all Individuals



If both the immediate generalized other and the major generalized other reflect the same image to an individual, he or she will incorporate them as a total generalized other without conflict and interact accordingly. For some individuals there can be positive reflections and attitudes from both the immediate and major generalized other leading to a good sense of self-worth and harmony in functioning. When the degree of congruence is high, the dual perspective still exists, but it is not crucial to evaluation because the perspectives are alike.

For many minority groups the conflict grows out of the degree of incongruence between the two systems, since the frames of reference of the minority group, though embedded in and affected by the major society, can be quite different. In order to assess the situation in its totality and to base intervention on that interaction between them, it is necessary to understand and be aware of both

systems; thus use of the dual perspective becomes crucial. The dual perspective then is not a concept to be applied solely to minority people and groups. It enhances our understanding of all people, but is particularly vital to the assessment and understanding of those whose immediate generalized other might differ or be in conflict with the major generalized other. And these are more likely to be minority people.

Development of the dual perspective first requires a mind set that is similar to what Piaget refers to as "reversible thought." This is the ability and conscious motivation to think about the situation being observed and to look for points of difference, conflict, or congruence with the larger society. This assumes knowledge of several systems and an awareness of one's own attitudes. The second requirement is the specific knowledge to guide to activities of the consciously reversing mind set.

Social workers must have specific knowledge about the group with which they are involved. One cannot assess correctly without specific cultural knowledge of the nurturing environment (the immediate generalized other). For example, although one may be aware of normal adolescent needs and behavior, one cannot evaluate appropriately the behavior of a specific minority adolescent until knowing the prescriptions for adolescent behavior within that group. One then evaluates the adolescent's behavior against the theoretical knowledge on adolescents, and against the specific ethnic or cultural knowledge of the adolescent's cultural group and the opportunities available to the group. Some synthesis is made and evaluated against the values of the social worker to determine possible individual bias and the ability to entertain difference. The whole process must be carried out using the consciously reversible mind set and having specific knowledge of the immediate generalized other. The worker must have valid knowledge in order to avoid stereotyping. Acceptance of certain behavioral characteristics because of stereotyped knowledge about a certain group does not constitute an application of the dual perspective.

Importance of the Dual Perspective in Practice

As stated earlier, the dual perspective informs practice by helping the social worker evaluate disparate systems and determine where the major stress lies. Social work practice from the dual perspective forces the social worker to answer the question of whether one should move to work with the immediate environment, with the dominant environment, with both systems, or whether to intervene at all.

The dual perspective is needed to understand the institutionalized disadvantages of minorities. There are structural barriers in the dominant system erected against individuals that belong to a certain group. Often these are not readily apparent unless the situation is viewed using the dual perspective. What are the differences in the relationship and interaction between the nurturing environment and that of the wider society? What are the not-so-easily-seen restrictions of "normal" institutional functioning that erect barriers to opportunity? What happens to values fostered in the nurturing world when they come into contact with the wider society? The social worker must be aware of any societal barriers, since they often heavily influence the quality of the lives of minority group members. This awareness is difficult to gain unless the social worker is familiar with the specifics of the group life, the values and attitudes of the group informing that life, and the attitudes of the dominant society. This knowledge and awareness should create a responsibility in the social worker to strive for change of those socioeconomic and political barriers that adversely affect the quality of the lives of the group.

Cafferty stated that bilingualism among Puerto Ricans reflects not only cultural pluralism, but a unique need, necessary for them as a result of their periodic return migration to their home island. Thus they have very different assimilation needs in regard to language than other immigrant groups in American history. For example, the dual perspective would allow social workers involved

in educational policy with the Puerto Rican community to be aware of this specific history and need, and relate this information to current social work program policy and help develop educational programs more related to community needs.

Grossman observed that the "utilization of medical care is linked to differential experiences of life" and described specifically how different ethnic groups respond to illness and its treatment. She suggested that cultural pluralism needs to become an added dimension in dealing with illness and health, and the organization of health delivery systems. Patient compliance with the prescribed treatment is one of the major problems of institutional medicine. The use of the dual perspective can offer new leads and solutions to this problem. For example, Grossman stated that a developed folk tradition in medicine endures in Hispanic communities. Modern medical ideas that are in conflict with these folkways are often not accepted. The dual perspective provides knowledge of these conflicts and should lead to the development of health delivery systems based on community values and practices. Compliance with prescribed treatment will be more likely to occur in such situations.

The dual perspective also can aid students and social workers in clarifying their personal and professional value system from a minority perspective. Students will be forced into an awareness--and hopefully evaluation--of how their own values differ from those of their clients. Minority students also must operate from the dual perspective. Many of them tend to reject passive, uninvolved minority clients and groups. By using the dual perspective, they will be able to take into consideration the client's immediate environment or nurturing system, age, history, values, and immediate generalized other, which will explain why the client may never reach the level of involvement in minority issues that the student would desire.

June Brown aptly stated that accurate assessment must mean awareness of the variability of life circumstances, life styles, and aspirations within minority groups. Accurate assessment also means the recognition of the interrelationship of depriving conditions, social stress, and behavioral and emotional disturbances. The social work education experience should be designed to enable the student to become self-aware and to view the situation within the framework of the dual perspective.

Using the Dual Perspective in Human Behavior Courses

The Council on Social Work Education's curriculum policy statement defines the human behavior and social environment sequence as that "body of content relating to human behavior designed to contribute to the students' understanding of the individual, group, organizational, institutional, and cultural contexts within which human behavior is expressed and by which it is significantly influenced." The human behavior and social environment sequence should provide a framework for understanding man and his interaction with his social and physical environment and this knowledge should lead to what one does in terms of practice and policy. If we believe that better understanding of a situation determines more effective interventive action, then HBSE courses bear an enormous responsibility to develop and impart valid and comprehensive information that can lead to this kind of understanding. HBSE courses should support and contribute to the methodological sequences, with knowledge flowing between the HBSE courses, the methods courses, and the field. The process should be repeated, with knowledge being modified and augmented as the spiral continues.

Incorporation of the dual perspective into HBSE courses becomes imperative if the above goals are to be met in regard to minority groups. We have already stated that all individuals function within two systems: the nurturing system

or that of the immediate generalized other, and the sustaining system or that of the major generalized other. These two systems exist for everyone. If the two systems are congruent in values and attitudes and therefore supportive of the individual, use of the dual perspective, while enhancing one's understanding of the situation, is not so crucial to its correct assessment. When considering minority experiences there are more likely to be differences between the two systems. The frames of reference of the minority group, though embedded in the larger society, often can be quite different from those of the dominant society. Failure to use the dual perspective in working with minority groups or to evaluate the meaning of these differences can be costly in terms of understanding and intervention.

We need to stress the major components of the dual perspective again: a reversible mind set and valid knowledge. In the reversible mind set one consciously makes observations of the nurturing system and just as consciously evaluates this against knowledge and observations in the dominant system. It is a technique that allows the dual perspective to operate. Social workers also must be aware of their own needs and feelings in order to make decisions based on the needs of their clients. Reactions to others with different values and life styles are not so simple to evaluate. Use of the dual perspective requires conscious reflection on the part of the social worker about the meaning of an act to the client, that is, using the client's framework to understand the meaning of an act. In order to accomplish this, specific, valid knowledge of minority groups must be available. It is this specific knowledge for which HBSE courses bear much responsibility.

The Dual Perspective and HBSE Content

Chestang gave us some idea of what specific information should be included in HBSE courses. He spoke of the "terrain" of HBSE, which must include the

study of human development and man's interaction with his environment. He listed several specific topics. The terrain or content of HBSE is augmented by providing the more specific content of the nurturing environment. Thus HBSE courses need to supply the content on the terrain and the content on the nurturing environment providing the cultural perspective. The following table illustrates this:

TABLE 1

Terrain of HBSE Content	Perspective of Nurturing Environment
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Development of the human life cycle, i.e. people's basic needs and drives related to life stages. 2. Role of the environment on <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. the life cycle. b. reaction to stress. c. ways in which people cope. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. History of the group. 2. Social and psychological values. 3. Acculturation processes experienced. 4. Racial and ethnic experiences. 5. Socioeconomic experiences.

The categories in either column are not meant to be exhaustive. They are intended to be illustrative of the general areas of knowledge usually included. Specific organization of the HBSE content and selection of approaches and theories to be used will depend on the individual instructor and the particular course focus. The point being stressed here is that in order for the HBSE courses to incorporate the dual perspective, knowledge on the nurturing environment must be included, which can take many forms of organization depending on the minority or ethnic group being considered.

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