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Perspectives on Wellness:  
Journeys on the Red Road

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Wellness is a topic currently receiving considerable attention in Native American communities and among service providers who work with indigenous people. Through many professional programs and grassroots efforts strides have been made in shifting from a deficit focus to one of resilience and strength. However, substantially less has been written from a strengths or wellness perspective. Much of the positive work that has been conducted for years has never been reported in the literature and goes unnoticed by all but those directly involved. The literature on Native Americans includes primarily discussions of social and health problems including poverty, violence and alcoholism. This volume reports the efforts of professionals and Native American communities to restore balance and wellness in indigenous nations, thus, giving readers an opportunity to learn about Native issues from a perspective not often reflected in the literature, that of resilience. Even issues commonly thought of as only approachable from a deficit perspective such as suicide and gambling can have wellness dimensions, as explored by the authors of the articles contained here. We invite the reader to consider the topics in this volume from a fresh angle.

In the dominant society, wellness is often associated with prevention of illness or disease. This Westernized perspective based on a medical model of health is a more narrow conceptualization of wellness than that embraced by First Nations communities. The idea of wellness as discussed in this volume is a holistic concept that encompasses all aspects of individuals and communities including physical, mental, and spiritual dimensions. Balance
among these different dimensions promotes both prevention and healing.

The path to wellness in indigenous communities is often referred to as the Red Road; a journey and way to well-being that First Nations people must travel in order to be truly well and healthy human beings. The Lakota traditionally embrace the Red Road, a holistic philosophy that integrates health-related phenomena in an inclusive, circular path of living and dying (Kavanaugh, Absalom, Beil, & Schliessmann, 1999). Likewise, the philosophy of the Red Road is embraced by many indigenous people from all nations as the proper way to live according to the traditional instructions received by Native people. For many, it is seen as the only way that Native people will continue to exist as nations, communities, and human beings, distinct from other surrounding cultures. The concept of the Red Road is so prominent in contemporary indigenous thought that it has been the subject of books, articles, conferences, workshops, and compact disks. Likewise, the resurgence of commitment to wellness across Indian country can be seen in the inception of magazines such as Wellbriety and Well Nations.

**Defining Wellness and Balance**

Balance, wholeness, integrity: these are just some of the terms associated with wellness in First Nations/Native American communities. Because the concept of wellness is multifaceted and complex it is difficult to define. On the other hand, wellness is something that is simple, natural, and when understood, needs no words to define it.

Although there is tremendous diversity among the indigenous peoples of North America, most have a concept of balance as integral to well-being. Wellness consists of a balance and symmetry among different parts of a whole. The Medicine Wheel, a concept central to the cultures of many Native Nations, illustrates the importance of balance for wellness. While the Medicine Wheel has many different levels of meaning, its basic elements are a circle divided into quadrants. The quadrants are usually depicted in red, black, yellow, and white. There are many different layers of symbology associated with the different parts of the
wheel. For example, the quadrants are associated with different spirit beings, the four directions (North, East, South, and West), different stages of life, different races of people, different aspects within individuals, and different roles that people play within their communities.

Wellness is a holistic concept, as illustrated by the different elements of the medicine wheel. All areas must be in balance and harmony for true wellness to exist. A problem in one area upsets the balance and affects other areas. Wholeness or integrity of individuals, families, communities, and nations are all facets of wellness. Wellness and spirituality are inseparable. In the traditional belief system of the Muscogee people (also known as the Creek)

Wellness is harmony of the body, mind, and spirit; illness is disharmony in one or more areas . . . To the Muscogee (Creek), humans are threefold- body, mind, and spirit. The mind is the link between the body, or physical world, and the spirit. While the mind and body are ephemeral, the spirit is eternal. It existed before coming into the body and continues to exist after the body dies. To maintain wellness, one must have harmony in all three areas (Wing, Crow, & Thompson, 1995, p. 57).

The Muscogee conceptualization of wellness is closely related to the traditional teachings I received as a Lakota woman that tell me I must have balance in my mind, body, spirit, and heart in order to be a well and complete human being. Among other First Nations groups the elements of wellness may be defined somewhat differently; however, the basic concept is constant. Similar ideas about balance between complementary elements such as hot and cold, and male and female, are also found in many Asian cultures.

Wellness reinforces and is reinforced by a sense of cultural identity. Far too often, indigenous people have been and continue to be defined by others. When you are defined by external entities, it is disempowering, demoralizing, and often devastating to your sense of self. It is crucial to the well-being of Native communities that we retain the ability to define and name ourselves.

For centuries, many of the names used for First Nations people were names applied to them by others. These names often have
negative connotations. Frequently during westward expansion, European explorers used indigenous scouts to guide their travels. When they came to an unfamiliar community the explorers often asked their guides to identify the people there. The scouts, sometimes from communities hostile towards the groups in question, often identified them by derogatory terms, and these names have remained in use. For example, the term Apache means enemy. Other names, given by European explorers, were not specifically derogatory like the French terms Nez Perce and Coeur d’ Alene, but still were not the true names of these First Nations people. Many First Nations communities are seizing the opportunity to return to the names they historically used for themselves rather than the names given them by others. Lakota, Dakota, and Nakota people emerge from the imposed label Sioux, the Dine’ reclaim their name rather than calling themselves Navajo, the Ho Chunk reject the term Winnebago. The list goes on and on. While not all indigenous people choose to return to traditional names, this is a trend followed by many.

The right to choose the label that you use to refer to yourself is empowering. In the spirit of this important principle, readers will find no attempt to standardize the names used throughout this volume to refer to indigenous people. First Nations, indigenous, aboriginal, American Indian, Indian, Native American, and Native are all terms that have been used to refer to the original inhabitants of North America and their descendants. Many people have strong opinions about which term or terms are preferable but none are “right”, per se. It is the opinion of this author and co-editor that to place restrictions on other authors or worse, to edit their choice of terms after the fact to conform to some artificial ideal, would be a violation of the integrity of their work and would be anathema to the spirit of wellness.

Wellness in Historical and Contemporary Times

Many authors and researchers in the helping professions have spoken eloquently on the social problems in First Nations communities. Often the disruption caused by colonization and the resulting massive historical trauma are viewed as the root cause of contemporary dysfunction. Some even go so far as to suggest
that prior to European contact, indigenous societies had a Utopian existence where balance, harmony, and wellness were the norm.

People in all First Nations communities received original instructions from the Creator that guide them in living their lives in balance. While each community probably had periods in which these instructions were followed more fully, thus leading to balance and wellness, traditional teachings of many First Nations also tell of periods of dysfunction and massive troubles. It is often in these dismal times that new teachers and visionaries come to guide the people to renewed states of wellness.

During the last century there are many clear examples of alternating periods of bleakness and renewal in First Nations communities. The beginning of the 20th century is often cited as the nadir of First Nations communities: the population was at its lowest ever, vast amounts of land were being lost under the federal policy of allotment, cultural knowledge and traditions experienced growing threats from boarding schools. By the 1930s the situation began to improve as allotment was stopped and indigenous populations expanded. Threats increased again in the 1950s as the federal government advanced policies of terminating indigenous nations and relocating Native Americans to urban areas.

As activism rose in the late 1960s and into the 1970s the federal government began to promote policies of indigenous self-determination, the boarding schools began to close, and the Indian Child Welfare Act was passed to protect the future of Native children and nations. This time, however, was still marred by substantial conflict such as the violence on Pine Ridge reservation that led to deaths of both Whites and indigenous people and the incarceration of activist Leonard Peltier. Additionally, this era saw the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, a particularly devastating piece of legislation that dissolved the indigenous nations of Alaska and created corporations thereby turning approximately 44 million acres of indigenous land and the natural resources on it into U.S. assets.

By the 1990s previous gains became threatened as the Supreme Court ruled against religious freedom for members of the Native American Church and New Age exploitation of sacred traditions grew. The current President of the United States,
George W. Bush has publicly stated that he does not recognize any sovereignty for indigenous nations.

Clearly, contemporary times once again raise the need for Native people to seek a restored balance and respond to continued threats to their existence. Leaders are arising from various groups of indigenous people. Chiefs, Clan Mothers, members of Tribal Councils, and other political leaders seek culturally viable forms of economic development that can restore wellness in Native communities. Social workers, nurses, and other helping professionals are working to develop interventions and programs that will help individuals and families to restore balance torn asunder by substance abuse, violence, and loss of traditions. Spiritual leaders are remembering and reinstating traditional ceremonies and teaching the youth so our traditional ways will not be lost. First Nations schools work to incorporate indigenous values and languages as integral parts of education. Indeed, there are many people throughout Indian Country that work to promote wellness. While all would agree that this renaissance does not mean that we have achieved or reinstated a Utopian balance, nevertheless, the direction toward wellness is a positive one.

In many First Nations communities, traditional ways of healing have gone underground, rather than vanishing. The Sun Dance, a sacred tradition of nations of the Great Plains, is necessary for the renewal and well-being of these First Nations communities. Although outlawed for almost a century beginning in the 1880s, it continued to be practiced in secret for the well-being of indigenous people. Indigenous ways of doing things are often still vital and practical. Traditional health practices focus on reintegration of basic aspects of personhood as well as restoring balance, harmony, and coherence (Buchwald, Beals, & Manson, 2000). Many Native people pursue wellness through traditional healing and spiritual practices. It is not uncommon for Native people to seek help from traditional and professional sources simultaneously in their quest for wellness (Buchwald, et al., 2000; Novins, Duclos, Martin, Jewett, and Manson, 1999).

Much must be done to assist Native people to restore balance in their lives and communities. While Native youth are clearly the hope for the future, many are filled with self-doubt and know little of their cultures to sustain them. As one Native youth noted,
the materialism they see all around them leads many Native teens to lose their balance (Hairy Chin, Jr., 2001). Another Native youth, an Ojibwe, currently a junior in high school, eloquently speaks of the pain of growing up in a community filled with addiction.

I know the pain of seeing family die because of overdoses or their bodies shutting down on them because they have been drunk too long. It impacts me, no, it scares me to see that these people want help but are too weak to go out and get it— that these people are slaves to something that isn’t theirs to begin with. Alcohol isn’t the “Red Way.” It is the way to killing yourself slowly, painfully. I have seen this happen. I have also seen the children following in their parents’ footsteps, saying one thing, then believing another. Lying to themselves, cheating themselves out of a future because all they know is what their parents showed them (Isham, 2001, 7).

The pain that permeates this statement reminds us that we have a long way to go in our quest for wellness. Striving for wellness and balance is the only way to survive the struggles found in many contemporary First Nations communities.

With the events of September, 11, 2001, the whole world seems to be spinning horribly out of control. In the wake of the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, talk of war and violence and threats against Arabs and Muslims in the U.S. escalate. This is a time we all need to strive for wellness and balance. In the Lakota philosophy, the phrase mitakuye oyasin emphasizes that we are all related. The well-being of one group of people necessarily influences the well-being of others. The medicine wheel teaches us that all kinds of people, red, yellow, black, and brown, are needed to have a world that is in balance.

Some groups of people have been given special responsibility for the well-being of the world. Hopi teachings say that they must continue their ceremonies or the world will end. Conversely, their special role in praying for the well-being of all of us gives the world hope. First Nations people, while still members of their own communities and citizens of their own nations, are also members of the world community. First Nations iron workers, particularly from Mohawk communities, use their specialized skills to remove twisted steel from the rubble of the World Trade Center that they were instrumental in building. This is a time
when we all need to strive for wellness. For many Native people, striving for wellness means returning to traditional teachings and traveling down the Red Road.

A Journey to Wellness Down the Red Road

Wellness is a holistic concept that includes connections among various aspects of a whole. Connections exist across generations including ancestors and people yet to be born. The sacred and secular are two parts on a unified whole.

Perhaps the best indication of the significance of wellness and the future of Native people can be heard in the voices of First Nations youth. They are the ones that hold the future in their hands and they are the ones that face the current struggles and day-to-day choices of whether or not to live their lives according to centuries of traditional teachings, to make choices that place them entirely in the world of the dominant society, or to try to find balance as a traditional person in a contemporary world. These issues of balance and wellness are articulated clearly by Duane Meat, an Anishinaabe and Southern Arapaho youth. At the time he wrote his reflections he was a senior in an Eastern private preparatory school planning to attend Harvard University in the fall of 2001.

I strive to walk the Red Road everyday, trying not to be too bad or too good. It is harmful for someone to burden the spirit with malevolence or conceit. Everyday, before I go to breakfast, I walk outside into the cool morning air, and pray to the Creator. My elders say that we must respect life because everything in this world contains a life force. They say to put out tobacco every morning in appreciation for each new day, for those things that gave their spirits to the next world for our survival, and for the gifts that the Great Spirit has given each of us.

When I grasp the shreds of tobacco in my hand, the scent involves images of my ancestors sitting upon the ground in a circle, laughing and talking.

When I am so far away from home, I like to remember the elders conversing in Ojibwe, discussing our values, telling stories or giving encouragement. Usually, they must translate into English for me, but just the sound of my language fills me with pride. My elders say words are sacred. Every word we speak reaches the ears of the
Great Mystery and our ancestors. They watch over us, helping us through the tough times if we are willing to listen (Meat, 2001, 3).

Writing about Wellness: An Overview

For many, writing about wellness is a description of a personal journey. Native people have many stories of resilience, difficult compromises, and survival against great odds. For me and many of my contemporaries, we recognize that we have survived as Native people because of the strength and sacrifices of our ancestors and elders. While many people look at Native communities and see poverty, overcrowded living conditions, or houses without electricity and running water, we know that this is not the sum of these communities. A closer look, in many cases, will reveal a core of cultural values and knowledge that continues to be passed through the generations. Even in the midst of many problems, the seeds of wellness remain fertile and are ready to be nurtured.

The authors in this journal present the readers with their perspectives on a variety of topics. Examining Native American issues from a wellness perspective gives readers an opportunity to look at these topics in a new light. At the heart of indigenous issues are the traditional values and cultures of First Nations people. Woods, Blaine, and Francisco examine traditional culture as a foundation for wellness. They also discuss the importance of incorporating indigenous values in tribal social services. Their exploration of cultural issues with the Tohono O'odham gives us a view of an indigenous population not often discussed in the social science literature.

Two articles explore wellness from the vantage of Native youth. The educational system, historically used by the federal government as a venue for assimilation and cultural destruction, is presented by Waller, Okamoto, Hibbeler, Hibbeler, McIntyre, McAllen-Walker, and Hankerson as a medium with the potential to foster cultural resilience and strength. This article depicts part of a growing trend; educational experiences that are grounded in indigenous cultural values. The article by Skye also examines how wellness and resilience can be fostered in indigenous youth. His article is an example of the sort of grassroots effort that is present in many First Nations communities but less commonly draws the
attention of professionals. This gives the reader a glimpse into a type of wellness activity that might otherwise go unnoticed.

Graham examines a mainstream tool designed to assess suicidal youth and analyzes its applicability to Native populations. This type of critical analysis deserves much more attention. All too often Western measures and models are applied to non-Western populations without questioning whether they are valid, reliable, or useful. This article examines the specific issue of Native suicide from a resilience perspective of identifying reasons for living.

Krech takes an important step in examining issues of Native American men from a wellness perspective. This is a good beginning to truly understanding the diversity within indigenous populations. Although the social science literature on indigenous people consistently notes the diversity among First Nations cultures, it is rare that authors do more than make note of this. In fact, not only do indigenous people differ by tribe or nation, they also differ in other key ways such as class, sexual orientation, and gender.

Napoli approaches a particularly controversial topic from a wellness perspective. Gambling on reservations is a heated issue for both Native Americans and non-Natives. When the topic arises, many people associate it with vice, addiction, and violence. This article presents the other side of the story. Some First Nations communities have made substantial profits from gambling that have been channeled in positive directions to support the wellness of indigenous communities and their members. Readers are challenged to understand an alternative view of this highly controversial topic.

The authors approach wellness from a variety of perspectives. They come to their topics as practitioners and academics; Natives and non-Natives. What they have in common is a focus on wellness and experience working with First Nations people. This volume represents perspectives on the current state of wellness in Indian Country. Clearly, we have a long way to go to reach the balance and wholeness described in the traditional teachings of the various First Nations, yet we still have teachings and teachers that can help us find our way on the Red Road. In contemporary times, a variety of helping professionals are also posted at intersections and can help us to make U-turns when we find we are
going in the wrong direction. The authors in this volume present snapshots of travels along or in search of the Red Road. The reader is now invited to join us on this journey to wellness.

References


Native Wellness for the New Millennium: the Impact of Gaming

M aria N apoli
Arizona State University

The challenges confronting Native people have been studied over the years. Their plight in dealing with alcoholism, colonization, poverty and health and mental health problems still exists outnumbering all other minority groups in the United States. For decades, Native people have relied upon the federal government to provide services, which were often not sensitive to Native values. During the last decade, gaming has given Native people an avenue to enter higher education, develop tribal enterprises, tribal courts and health and mental health programs that meet the needs of their communities. Most importantly, Native people have reclaimed their independence. Since gaming is new to tribal life there are drawbacks and limitations. Nevertheless, the benefits seem to outweigh the limitations. This article will focus on how Native gaming has contributed to restoring balance and wellness in Native communities.

Over the centuries, Native people have maintained wellness in their communities though a lifestyle of balance. This balance branched over many areas of living such as food, housing, clothing, recreation, celebration, medicine and family support. Food gathering through hunting, farming and fishing, making clothing and household necessities through weaving and sewing, and trading with other Native communities for goods, aided in providing the staples of life. Health was maintained though herbal and spiritual healing. Family support was maintained through ceremony, extended family and honoring the place each person held in the community to maintain balance.

Colonization upset this critical balance through its mission of genocide, boarding schools and the removal of people from their homelands. Federal policies for the 1800’s that deemed tribes as
"wards of the state" stripped tribes of their land and resources. When tribal sovereignty was achieved, tribes received no resources to increase the quality of wellness in their communities.

"The tragic irony for American Indians was that when they had resources, they were to be controlled, and when they no longer had those resources they were left on their own. Either way represented a loss for the Indian people. This pattern is now being challenged with the advent of gaming and casinos on American Indian reservations" (Gerdes, Napoli, Pattea and Segal, 1998, p. 21).

This paper will explore how Native gaming is beginning to change the life of those tribes by offering the opportunity to restore culture and language through education, health, employment and the rise of political power. There are differing opinions regarding the benefits of gaming among tribal nations. Many feel that gaming is moving Native people away from traditions and is a detriment to Native lifestyle. Some of the drawbacks of gaming such as gambling addiction, crime, and emphasis on money and materialistic living have been expressed. For these and other reasons, tribes such as the Navajo nation have decided against gaming, feeling that the disadvantages outweigh the advantages. Although gaming has its drawbacks, this paper will focus on how gaming has enhanced the quality of life and wellness for Native people as we move into the new millennium.

Native Gaming

"In 1987, the Supreme Courts confirmed that Indian tribes had the authority to operate gaming establishments on their trust lands without having to comply with state laws and regulations. To resolve outstanding issues between tribes and states and to provide oversight, Congress passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988." (http://www.access.gpo.gov, p. 4).

Native gaming is active in twenty-eight states across America sustaining a $9.6 billion industry that is growing three times faster than non-Indian gaming (Useem, 2000). Of the 556 federally recognized tribes, 361 have no gambling operations and of the 195 that do, 23 percent account for 56 percent of revenues,
Native Gaming

(Useem, 2000) and 10 percent of gaming tribes are losing money (Paige, 1997). The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (INGRA) of 1988 designated that revenues from tribal gaming were to be used to (1) fund tribal government operations or programs (2) provide for the general welfare of the Indian tribe and its members, (3) promote tribal economic development (4) donate to charitable organizations or (5) help fund operations of local government agencies (http://www.access.gpo.gov p. 19).

In spite of Native sovereignty, the states negotiate compacts with each gaming tribe for a "cut of the action." Some feel that tribes are "paying their dues" by kicking back profits to the state. The growth of casinos has been curtailed since government officials carefully monitor them. There is continuing tension between tribes and governors who want more authority and larger cuts of casino profits, yet tribes are protective of their sovereignty. Conflict continues in the upper echelon of government for gaming tribes to pay federal taxes. Tribes pay no federal taxes on income made on tribal land, no state income taxes on income earned on the reservation, no sales taxes on transactions on the reservation and no local property taxes on Indian trust on reservation lands (Paige, 1997).

Problems Related to Gaming

Many opinions have evolved about the advantages and disadvantages of Native gaming. For example, many feel that Native people are getting rich at the expense of mainstream communities and are spending their portion of gaming revenues on alcohol and drugs. On the other hand, many feel that gaming is the route to economic security which can open the door to independence and Native sovereignty.

Addiction. Although the major impact of gaming has been beneficial for Native people it has also brought its problems. Gambling addiction seems to be the biggest problem associated with tribal gaming. Many of the larger gaming tribes have set up counseling services and hotlines to deal with the problem. In addition, tribes have sought to counter problems such as crime and family stresses associated with gambling by downplaying large payoffs,
prohibiting the sale and use of alcohol, prohibiting the use of check or credit cards, prohibiting the development of tabs (credit) for regular customers, and educating persons against gambling addiction (Jorgensen, 1998). Although efforts are being made to curtail gambling addiction, the fact remains that addictions, particularly alcohol, have controlled Native people for decades. This issue needs to be dealt with seriously to prevent exacerbating the problem.

Crime. Corruption on gaming reservations does exist as in any other enterprise where money is plentiful. Native people are not free from this temptation, particularly since being poor has been a way of life. For example, the tribal chairman of the Kee-weenaw Bay tribe was imprisoned for taking kickbacks from a slot-making company. Old conflicts about land, sovereignty, money and power are rising not only between Native people and the dominant culture but also among tribes themselves (Paige, 1997). Gaming has posed problems not only for the tribes but also for the general public. For example, Las Vegas and Atlantic City have booming economies because the majority of their customers are out of state and don’t deplete the state’s economy. Native gaming attracts mostly customers in the nearby area and infringes upon the economy. “A 1990 Maryland report showed that the states’ 50,000 compulsive gamblers were responsible for $1.5 billion in declining work productivity, embezzlements, and other losses. Another researcher estimated that problem gamblers are responsible for $1.3 billion worth of insurance-related fraud annually” (Klein, 1997 p. 3).

Crime continues to be a problem where money is plentiful, yet some tribes have reduced crime. For example, since the first full year of casino operation, the Ho-Chunk tribe of Wisconsin has had an increase in crime in all three of their casinos while the Mashantucket and Pequot tribes in Connecticut, the Oneida tribe in Wisconsin, the Sault Ste. Marie and Chippewa tribes in Minnesota have found a decrease in crime. (See table 1)

Prior to the opening of their casino, crime on the Winnebago reservation had reached epidemic proportions. With a population of 1200 people there were 1476 arrests prior to the casino opening in 1991 and 492 arrests in 1992 the year the casino opened.
Table 1

Visitor-Adjusted (1) Crime Rates in Counties Containing Tribal Casinos, Pre- and Post-Gaming

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<td>4110</td>
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<td>3705</td>
<td>3715</td>
<td>3846</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sault Ste Marie</td>
<td>Chippewa, MI</td>
<td>1992 (4)</td>
<td>3419</td>
<td>3025</td>
<td>3437</td>
<td>2949</td>
<td>2811</td>
<td>2176</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mackinac, MI</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>7467</td>
<td>5591</td>
<td>4655</td>
<td>4828</td>
<td>5650</td>
<td>5640</td>
<td>4242</td>
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<tr>
<td>Standing Rock Sioux</td>
<td>Sioux, ND and Corson, SD</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>2291</td>
<td>675</td>
<td>2415</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
(1) Visitor adjustment is performed by adding the estimated number of daily casino visitors to the resident population of the county when calculating crimes per 100,000. For the Sault Ste. Marie Chippewa Tribe, Ho-Chunk Nation, and Standing Rock Sioux Tribe daily casino visitors are estimated using actual 1997 casino visitation data. For the other tribes, daily visitors are estimated based on the population within a 50 to 100 mile ring around the casino and the known propensity for individuals within that distance from the casino to patronize the casino.
(2) Index crimes are the sum of known offenses and arrests for murder, manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft.
(3) Incomplete statistics reported in 1995.
(4) The Sault Ste. Marie Tribe has operated a casino in Chippewa County since 1985. Prior to 1991/92, when the casino went through a major expansion, the casino was very small.

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation, Information provided by Tribes.
“Interviews with law enforcement officials generally indicate that they feel that the increased employment generated by gaming enterprises reduced the incidence of crime. Moreover, The highly regulated atmosphere in Indian casinos appears actually to be a crime deterrent” (Cornell, et al, 1998, p. 73).

Although arrests were down 67 percent and the tribe built their own college in 1973, however, job opportunities did not keep pace with the academic attainment of the community.

Gaming has not been a part of Native lifestyle for long and it will take more years of experience to deal with the problems that have arisen. Many tribes have viewed gaming as a way out of poverty. Some tribes have made extraordinary profits, other tribes have lost money. Although Native gaming has its problems, this paper, nevertheless, hopes to highlight the benefits of gaming and how it has contributed to the enhancement of Native wellness.

Reclaiming Wellness in Native Gaming Communities

Most of America’s 1.7 million Indians, and especially those living on reservations are poor. Native people have a poverty rate 2 ½ times the national average. Since Native people have been and still are the poorest minority group in the country they have had to settle for inadequate housing, education and health services and little or no representation in developing government policies that affect Native people. Maintaining balance in their physical, mental and spiritual life has been a challenge when poverty controls one’s life.

Gaming has often been called the “new buffalo.” Historically, the buffalo provided food, clothing and shelter for the plains tribes meeting their needs for survival. Gaming in many ways has replaced the “buffalo” providing tribes an avenue to bring themselves out of poverty and provide for themselves with the hope that they will finally be free of federal paternalism. For many years, Native people have been dependent upon the federal government for services to meet health, mental health and housing needs. Non-Native professionals who have not taken tribal values and traditions into consideration have developed many of these services. Financial autonomy is one key to open the door for Native people to become self-sufficient. Tribes who have
self-governing pacts can assume responsibility for administering their own programs freeing them from dependency upon the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Yet, beyond money, Indian tribal leaders profess that gaming is developing a new attitude among Indian people, “rising pride and can-doism” (McAuliffe, 1996).

Gaming tribes devote a large proportion of their revenues to the advancement of their community. For example, “In 1998, the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation contributed more than $6,417,000 to enrich their community and their region (http://www.umatilla.nsn.us). Gaming tribes not only support their own communities, but also donate a significant amount of their revenues to outside charities many of which serve Native families. In 1998, millions of dollars were donated to fifty-four organizations from tribal gaming enterprises nationwide (Cornell, Kalt, Krepps & Taylor, 1998). McAuliffe (1996) believes that gaming has offered tribes a winning hand in creating economic development, a task that federal policy has failed to deliver for over a century. Gaming has brought hope of economic security, thereby increasing the quality of life for Native people.

Education and Gaming

To maintain wellness in tribal communities, it is critical for Native people to restore the balance of having a healthy body, mind and spiritual life. Since most tribes have been living in poverty, it has been difficult to sustain wellness in reservation communities. Isolation and the need for basic survival and resistance to the “white man’s ways,” have kept Native people out of higher education for decades. Education is an important ingredient to bring the balance of healthy living back to Native communities. Historically, minority groups have moved out of poverty by obtaining an education. Gaming has given tribes the opportunity to enter higher education making them less dependent upon non-Native people.

Gaming revenues offer tribes the opportunity to hire Native professionals and educate tribal members to develop curriculum and to apply for state certification of tribal schools, placing them in competition with mainstream schools. In addition, gaming tribes have the means to travel to other states to explore existing tribal programs that they can model. Tribal schools can develop
educational programs that reflect their history, language, geography, philosophy, arts and traditions while preparing children for future leadership and development. Many tribal schools are developing across the country with the main goal of educating the young and restoring wellness through tribal traditions.

Several higher educational institutions have taken the plunge to develop programs that are sensitive to the enhancement of professional development and tribal traditions. For example, the mission of the Blackfeet Community College is to achieve a balance between educational advancement and cultural preservation. The Ojibwa Community College says in part that "the curriculum will reflect Ojibawa culture and tribal self-determination" (Ambler, 1997, p. 2–3). Gaming revenues have given the Spokane Natives a preschool for their children (Useem, 2000).

The Winnebago tribe of Iowa have used their gaming revenues to enhance the quality of education for their people. Prior to gaming this tribe had sought higher education, but the financial burden prevented the implementation of that vision. During the first years of the Winnebago casino’s operation the tribal council provided $120,000 to their primary and secondary schools. In 1995, 5 percent of all future casino profits were targeted for education programs for Winnebago children (Winnebago News, 1995 in Colton, 1999). In 1995, in honor of its last great war chief, Little Priest, the tribe established its own tribal college with an initial grant of $1 million dollars and a $500,000 annual operation fund (Tribal College Journal, 1998). Additionally, in 1997, the tribe began requiring education plans for each tribal employee without a college degree, with salary increases and promotions tied to the completion of educational goals. Since gaming funds became available, the American College Testing Program (ACT) scores at the Winnebago Public school increased.

The Mohegan Tribe of Connecticut provides complete funding for full time students in college, funding up to $10,000 for continuing education students, vocational training, private education for all high school students and for younger students located in areas with substandard school systems, and a ‘cohort’ program in cooperation with the local community college to reintroduce continuing education students to school. The Ho-Chunk Nation of Wisconsin established an undergraduate and post-graduate
scholarship program. The Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians recently established a $4 million fund for higher education that provide assistance to tribal members in paying for college costs. The Oneida Indian Tribe of Wisconsin has put gaming revenues into comprehensive educational facilities and services consistent with the goal of cultural preservation. Aside from the culturally symbolic elementary school, Oneida children are exposed to their traditional culture by requiring the teaching of the Oneida language through the eighth grade (Cornell, Kalt, Krepps & Taylor, 1998). The Choctaw tribe offers free college education, computers, and has also built their own tribal school. They have reclaimed their economic status as one of the most prosperous tribes since their removal to Oklahoma in the 1830's. "We're just beginning to build things we needed a long time ago," says Chief Martin, 74 years old. (Useem, 2000).

The southern Yavapai of Arizona were removed from their homeland in Ft. Hills and moved north to the San Carlos Apache reservation for decades. During that time they lost thousands of people, having no provisions for food and warm clothing. Decades later they returned home and resumed their lifestyle of farming. It was a struggle to survive until the opening of their bingo hall and casino in 1993. Annual revenues have been put toward education for a day care center, pre-school and entry level grade school, tutoring programs and a computer for every home. All tribal educational programs teach the Yavapai language, history, songs, dances and traditions. Incentives to complete high school and college are in place within the tribal constitution with the promise of paid tuition and promotions for existing tribal positions. Opportunity to work in the tribal court, education, health and mental health, youth council, elders center, finance, farming, engineering and council leadership is the goal and benefit of higher education for the Yavapai.

In addition to the formal education complex, the tribe views maintaining balance in all things a significant part of healthy living. A state-of-the-art Recreation complex has brought the children, adults and elders the opportunity for competitive sports; traditional programs such as "Camp Wikkiup," a summer program for children; a Native educational seminar program; and an annual Orme Dam celebration (honoring the tribe's initiative to
prevent the government from flooding their land) which sponsors traditional Native dancing competition nationally. Student academic achievement has increased, partnerships with the local university have been established, and the vision to expand the existing school is currently in the planning stage.

The Grand Ronde Confederation, a tribe that lost its land and was assimilated into mainstream culture, has reclaimed its tribal status at the opening of the Spirit Mountain Casino. They have used their money to repurchase lost land, reclaim cultural artifacts, start classes in its near-extinct language and build housing for the community. (Useem, 2000). Gaming communities are beginning to see the results of empowering their community members. "They see the new glimmer in the students' eyes fueled by hope. As the students learn history, science and gain a cultural foundation, they see the ember grow into the flame of pride" (Ambler, 2000 p. 6).

Health and Gaming

The changing lifestyle of Native people has led to an increase in chronic disease, heart disease and type II diabetes. Native people have the highest mortality rate in the country. It is important to Native people to return to a traditional diet and increase exercise to maintain a more balanced lifestyle. Although there are many mainstream programs that address these diseases, few are Native specific. Gaming tribes are now able to develop their own resources to confront these fatal diseases. The Gila River Indian community has developed a diabetes prevention assistant certificate. In addition, Quest, a diabetes prevention program for children in grades K-3 has been developed, $8 million has been allocated for a nursing facility, three childcare centers and the renovation of three schools have been built. These programs include tribal customs and culture (Two Feathers, 1999).

The Spokane Native community has also provided basic health care services through gaming revenues (Useem, 2000). The Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians in Suttons Bay, Michigan have used their gaming profits to build their own comprehensive health department, meeting many of the health needs of their members, from infectious diseases, to
optical services to counseling and psychological services for families in distress. The White Mountain Apache Tribe of eastern Arizona has collateralized casino revenues for the construction of a 25-bed alcohol/substance abuse treatment facility, a cultural leaning center, a museum, a youth center and an elderly day care center.

The Salt River Pima community has developed a diabetes treatment and prevention program for its community and the Ft. McDowell Yavapai community has built its own health facility which not only has a diabetes prevention and treatment program, but also serves the community for general health problems and wellness services for children, adults and elders. They have staffed their clinic with tribal members and Native physicians embracing the culture and traditions of their ancestors. In addition, they have developed a family and community service center that offers counseling and prevention services. Counseling services have included family and alcohol counseling, adolescent boys cultural identity group, and educational seminars on domestic violence, and substance abuse. Prevention programs have included a healthy community meal program, a children's empowerment program, a parent and healthy child development social program, stretch and relaxation, and massage therapy. Opportunities to integrate traditional medicine in all health services in tribal programs can meet the needs of these gaming communities. Without gaming revenues, these tribes would still be dependent upon the BIA for services and at their mercy for administration and program development.

Gaming revenues have supported services to the elderly, offering the potential of increasing their life span. Their wisdom passed down through the generations is a major resource in preserving culture. It is critical that the elders remain in the community to stay connected to family and community decisions. The Tohono O'Odham tribe has built a state-of-the-art nursing facility for their elders with gaming revenues. The staff has been educated at the local university to fill the positions in nursing, administration, recreation and nutrition. All staff speak the tribal language, and meals and activities are geared toward maintaining
tribal traditions. Most important, the home is located at the center of the community.

The Sprit Mountain Casino serving the Grand Ronde tribal communities generated $53 million last year and employs 1500. Elders can now retire with the hope of spending time with friends and family in their senior years. A 91 year old elder, Ila Dowd who worked in a cannery until she was 70, can now enjoy a monthly pension check of $600 and spend time with other elders in the tribal community center that provides meals. She says, "Wik-lili masayka mukmuk," that's Chinook for "almost time to eat" (Useem, 2000, p. 226). Today there’s no worry about putting food on the table.

Employment and Gaming

Without employment, families are subject to stress in all areas of life. The focus on survival becomes paramount and the quality of life decreases. Moving Native people out of poverty is essential to restore wellness in Native families and communities. "In its analysis of 100 gambling and non-gambling communities close to newly opened casinos, NORC found that 'unemployment rates, welfare outlays and unemployment insurance declined by about one-seventh'" (Cornell et al, 1998, p. 7).

Elimination of Public Assistance

The Pine Ridge Reservation is one of the poorest counties in America. For the roughly 100 families directly affected by casino employment, it seems safe to assume that, without the casino, some of these 100 families would be on public assistance and suffering the social and health hardships attendant to unemployment and poverty (Cornell, Kalt, Krepps & Taylor, 1998). A Minnesota tribe’s dependence on public assistance dropped 16 per cent with gaming (Conboy, Erkkila & Harger, 1994).

Gaming revenues were able to eliminate unemployment for California’s San Bernardino tribe. In 1988 about 75 percent of the San Bernardino tribe’s work-eligible population was unemployed and the same proportion of tribal members received welfare benefits. In 1993, following an energetic advertising program that drew 100,000 gamblers per month, the casino eliminated tribal unemployment and welfare (Jorgensen, 1998). According to the
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Economics Resource Group study done in July 1998, the number of tribal members receiving welfare support through tribal social services at the Gila River Indian Community has dropped by 75 to 85 percent since their casino opened in 1993 (McGavin, 1999).

Increase in Employment, Tribal Services and Enterprises

Employment. The unemployment rate for the Winnebagos prior to the casino opening was 60–80 per cent. It was significantly reduced in 1992 with the opening of the casino. The Spokane Two Rivers resort and casino has meant employment for approximately 100 tribal members (Useem 2000). The Oneida Nation employs 1500 workers at its casino (Coopers & Lybrand, 1995), Gila River fills 1300 jobs with 90 per cent Native employees (Anders, 1996) and the Pequot Tribe in Connecticut with its $1 million-a-day casino has unlimited employment opportunities for tribal members (Munting, 1996).

Services. The Ft. McDowell Yavapai, through gaming revenues, were able to establish their own tribal court, increase their tribal police force from 5 officers to 26 and develop their own fire department which cost them less money than paying the local town for fire department services. In fact, the tribal fire department, recently saved the life of a community employee simply because it was on the reservation. Programs that meet the community’s needs are developing, crime has decreased and the number of motor vehicle arrests is declining. To aid in retaining employees and attract better qualified personnel the Yavapai offer casino and tribal service employees 100 percent paid medical benefits and contribute 10 per cent of the employees’ annual salary to a pension plan. (Gerdes, Napoli, Pattea, & Segal, 1998). Employment opportunities have increased in all tribal programs, services and enterprises.

Enterprises. Many tribes have been successful in developing competitive businesses and advanced training for professional leadership that are congruous with tribal lifestyle, such as hunting and fishing. Businesses that foster the development of tribal land and traditions are sought out. The Ft. McDowell Yavapai of Arizona, historically a farming tribe, have expanded their farming enterprise by increasing their crop of alfalfa and developing land
for new crops. Tribes such as the Choctaw in Mississippi have capitalized on their $100 million gaming revenues from the Silver Star Resort & Casino by developing other enterprises. They now have an electronics company, a printing company, a golf club, an assembler of wiring harnesses for cars, and the First American Plastic Injection Molding Company. The tribe's 8300 members are effectively both employees and shareholders. Tribal councilman Hayward Bell boasts that any tribal member who wants a job can have 2½.

Most importantly, gaming revenues have taken some Native people out of "survival mode" and brought back the significance of balance and connection to family and to the land. Families do not have to focus on fear of starvation and homelessness but can now spend time harvesting land that has been reclaimed and participate in activities and ceremonies with family members. Gaming revenues have given tribes the opportunity to maintain intrinsic values such as mentoring the young and taking care of the elders. One Ft. McDowell Yavapai tribal council member believes that "the important things in life are free, like throwing rocks in the river with my son, spending quality time together. Gaming gives us the opportunity to have more of the time freely." (Gerdes, et. al, 1998, p. 28). It is critical that gaming tribes use their economic security and autonomy to move them out of poverty and pave the path to restore wellness by maintaining tribal values and traditions.

Political Power and Gaming

The benefits of gaming can have a domino effect leading to enhanced political clout. As revenues from gaming create jobs, opportunities for higher education increase. Native professionals can advocate for their people in education reform to reflect Native history with accuracy, hold public office to represent Native people in developing local, state, federal and national policies and continue to expand financial assets, particularly those that are related to tribal traditions, to decrease dependence on gaming revenues.

"Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell, the only American Indian in Congress and the first ever to chair the Senate Indian Affairs Committee states . . ." as tribes build political clout—and they are now learning how to use the system everybody else has used for years. . . . It becomes much more
difficult to find a solution when nobody wants to give... some tribes formerly content to maintain their sovereignty and slice of the federal pie are becoming more assertive, even ‘expansionist’ (Paige, 1997, p. 6).

The story of the Choctaw tribe from Mississippi illustrates a tribe’s perseverance for self-determination. Tribal chief Martin insisted that the casino serve as a vehicle to self-sufficiency and political self-determination. The tribe wants to have enough revenues whose interest alone could sustain the tribe should federal or gaming funds dry up. In preparation for expansion of its casino, the tribe recently bought out the contracts of its outside management companies for $72 million. The irony of their success is shown in a comment made by the mayor of Philadelphia, “Our best industry is the Choctaw Nation. If the tribe went bankrupt, we’d go into a depression.” (Paige, 1997, p. 10).

To maintain control over tribal casinos, gaming tribes permit outside firms to invest in casinos, even manage casinos, but they cannot gain more than 30 percent of profits, and they can do so for only the first five years of operations (Cozetto, 1995). The Pequot of southern Connecticut, whose capital to build Foxwood casino came from a federal judgment, have not needed infusions of federal capital to maintain the casino and its work forces. In fact, the casino has flourished, causing alarm to casino operators in Atlantic City who claim that the proximity of the Pequot operation has throttled their own operations (Jorgensen, 1998).

Negotiating gaming compacts, increasing businesses, and the increasing number of Native professionals working in reservation and non-reservation programs and businesses are bringing Native people into the political arena with “Native clout.” They can now advocate for their people when their independence is threatened. An official like Senator Slade Gorton who speaks out against tribal sovereignty says, “My fundamental view then and my fundamental view now is that all Americans ought to be treated equally under the law.” Bill Archer of the Texas House Ways and Means Committee and Gerald Solomon of the House Rules Committee profess that tribal casinos should pay federal taxes on income (Paige, 1997). The tribal chair of Minnesota’s Fond du Lac Chippewa discusses his strong position that the United States has an obligation to Indian people, and he states, “I’m going to hold them to it... Even if the tribe has money
enough to pay for it themselves. Does Bob Hope need Social Security? the chairman asks rhetorically. He’s eligible for it” (Paige, 1997 p. 9).

Challenges Facing Gaming Tribes

The fact remains that the majority of Native people are poor and still dependent upon the federal government for support. Reservation housing remains in shambles despite $4.3 billion in federal housing assistance during the last decade. More than 100,000 Native people are believed to be homeless. Approximately 73 percent of the 1.2 million Natives on or near the nation’s 275 reservations earn less than $9000, with unemployment hovering at near 50 per cent (Paige, 1997). Gaming tribes need to be aware of the acceleration of addictions gambling can cause. Since alcohol addiction is the biggest threat to Native mortality, adding or transferring that addiction to gambling can add to their own genocide. Gaming tribes cannot ignore this possibility and need to use gaming as an opportunity to move out of the “disease of addiction” and back to their tradition of wellness and balance.

Gaming has not solved these problems, yet the knowledge that gaming tribes are gaining through their business, education, politics and law put them in a place of being available as mentors and supporters to those tribes who do not have the means to pull themselves out of “survival mode.”

It is imperative that Native people use the advantage of gaming to make them a strong and independent nation. They have long struggled to survive and now have the opportunity to thrive. Native people can implement their traditional values in their business ethics. Sharing the wealth for the betterment of community wellness versus individual gain is inherent in Native values. This is another way of preserving the culture. The western philosophy of business “every man for himself,” contradicts these Native values, which stress “community versus individuality.” To keep sovereignty among all Native people, to embrace the Native philosophy of sharing, gaming tribes are beginning to spread the wealth not only for their own communities but also for other tribes still facing poverty. For example, the Ft. McDowell Yavapai of Arizona have ‘adopted’ the PaiPais a cousin tribe in
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Mexico, who has been living below poverty level for decades. They have shared their gaming profits to provide electricity, a school, clothing, food and other necessities to enhance the quality of life for tribal members.

"Everything we do is based upon the principles, natural laws and values taught to us by American Indian elders" (www.whitebison.org, 1/16/01). It is time for Native communities to pull together and create strong Nations having the experience gained from "both worlds. "Like Sitting Bull said, if you see something good in the white man’s path, pick it up. And if it’s no good, throw it away (Iron Moccasin 2000, p. 13).

Recommendations to Maintaining Wellness

a. **Prevention**—services that deal with health, employment and education need to be expanded upon to prevent Native people from being the highest risk in mortality and poverty. Maintaining ceremonies, tribal crafts, music and dance, physical exercise through sports, and family communication programs are but a few ways to keep Native people out of crisis and moving toward wellness.

b. **Educating and supporting non-gaming tribes**—it is important that gaming tribes share their wealth of information to move the non-gaming tribes out of poverty, enabling them to reclaim balance and independence.

c. **Maintaining tribal sovereignty**—it is crucial for gaming tribes to stay afloat in the political arena. Years of isolation have kept Native people at the mercy of the government who makes laws that have not benefited them. Educating tribal members to be lawyers and political leaders will give Native people the power to make laws that serve them in education, business and health.

d. **Maintaining higher education for tribal members**—to keep tribal enterprises and services in the hands of the community, it is critical to educate teachers, lawyers, doctors, engineers, and financial planners. These Native professionals can administer quality services in a way that embraces the community’s values and traditions.

In summary, although gaming poses problems, for the most part it has given tribes the opportunity to move out of poverty and become less dependent on the government. They have been able
to reclaim their traditions by developing their own schools, health services, courts, businesses, recreation and services to elders and families. They have also been able to reclaim lost land and reestablish fishing, hunting and farming enterprises. The Oneida Nation, for example, has grown from a 32-acre reservation to nearly 4,000 acres. "Indeed, for much of Indian Country, the alternative to gaming is the status quo ante: poverty, powerlessness, and despair. Self-determination—and the ways that Indian nations have used it—constitutes a public policy of success of major dimensions. Indian gaming is a striking example of that success" (Cornell, Kalt, Krepps & Taylor, p. 78).

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O’odham Himdag as a Source of Strength and Wellness Among the Tohono O’odham of Southern Arizona and Northern Sonora, Mexico

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The Tohono O’odham are fostering strength and wellness in their community by translating increased economic self-sufficiency and resources derived from gaming into social, health, and educational services which maintain their tribal traditions, thereby providing an effective path toward the maintenance of cultural identity, or O’odham Himdag. Cultural identity serves as a source of client strength and as a protective factor contributing to client wellness. O’odham Himdag describes a way of life, encompassing Tohono O’odham culture. This article is a theoretical exploration of O’odham Himdag as a path toward cultural identity among the Tohono O’odham of Southern Arizona and Northern Sonora, Mexico. It addresses the importance of tribes developing their own services within tribal values and describes O’odham Himdag as a path to health and wellness, with practice examples drawn from the literature and interviews with mental health, health, and lay practitioners belonging to and serving the Tohono O’odham.

Introduction

The Tohono O’odham (pronounced toe-HONE-o Ah-tomb), formerly known as the Papago, reside in Southern Arizona and Northern Sonora, Mexico. Despite being the second largest group of Indigenous Peoples in the southwestern United States in both population and reservation size (Zepeda, 1995), with a main reservation the size of Connecticut (The Papago Tribe, 1972), there is a dearth of literature available to guide social work students and
practitioners seeking to learn how to provide culturally competent social work practice and models of service delivery to this group. Other than a set of articles discussing O’odham indigenous community mental health services (Kahn & Delk, 1973; Kahn, Henry, & Lejero, 1981; Kahn, Lejero, Antone, Francisco, & Manuel, 1988; Kahn, Williams, Galvez, Lejero, Conrad, & Goldstein, 1974), the available literature is written from an anthropological, educational, linguistic, or health perspective, or relative to issues of land and water rights.

The O’odham are fostering strength and wellness in their community by translating increased economic self-sufficiency and resources derived from gaming into social, health, and educational services which maintain their tribal traditions, thereby providing an effective path toward the maintenance of cultural identity, or O’odham Himdag. This article presents a brief history of the Tohono O’odham, then discusses the importance of tribes developing their own services within tribal values, introduces the concept of O’odham Himdag, and describes the relationship of O’odham Himdag to strength and wellness. It concludes with examples drawn from a variety of indigenous programs, including services to incarcerated youth, elders requiring skilled nursing facility care, and people living with diabetes which successfully incorporate O’odham Himdag. This article begins to address the need for more literature to prepare social work practitioners and students to work with O’odham Peoples. The Tohono O’odham can serve as a model for other Indigenous Peoples seeking to balance increasing economic self-sufficiency with the maintenance of their cultural identity and traditions.

The Tohono O’odham

In 1936, Ruth M. Underhill, an anthropologist, published a noteworthy memoir, The Autobiography of a Papago Woman, which laid the foundation for our present knowledge of the history and culture of the Tohono O’odham. Along with the Pima, the O’odham are descendants of the Hohokam, or “the people who are gone” (Nies, 1996, p. 49). Father Kino, made the first documented contact with the O’odham in 1698, establishing a mission at San Xavier (Greene, 1998; Kelly, 1963; Underhill, 1936). The Spaniards called the people they encountered Papago, meaning
"bean eater" (Volante, 1994, p. 1B). The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed at the conclusion of the war between Mexico and the United States (1846–1848), left the O'odham territory intact; but, the Gadsden purchase in 1854 divided the territory roughly in half between the United States and Mexico (Heard Museum, n.d.; Underhill, 1936).

The federal government established a reservation west of Tucson in 1916, after repeated efforts to advocate for land title, only to reduce the land holdings in 1917. The area was at last restored to the O'odham in 1926 (Heard Museum, n.d.). The people voted to accept self-governance in 1935 under the Wheeler-Howard Bill (The Papago Tribe, 1972), received the right to vote in 1949, and obtained mineral rights to their own lands in 1959 (DeWald, 1979). In 1986, the tribe changed its name from Papago to Tohono O'odham, meaning “Desert People”. Ofelia Zepeda (1995), an O'odham linguist, educator, and poet who has made significant contributions to the relatively new body of literature written in the O'odham language, commented that the name change was “a very strong identity marker for us as a large group” (Volante, 1994, p. 1B).

Today, there are 24,000 enrolled members (Duarte, 2000), including approximately 1,300 who live in the northernmost portion of Sonora, Mexico, with a “barbed-wire-and-wood fence at San Miguel, broken only by the cattle guard” separating the traditional homelands (Innes, 2000, p. A1). The O'odham refer to this as “the gate” (K. Blaine, personal communication, March 14, 2001). Members seeking services on the United States side of the border or wishing to cross into Mexico must present a tribal identification and may be transported by tribal workers (M. M. Francisco, personal communication, May 24, 2001). An O'odham delegation traveled to Washington in June 2001 seeking to make tribal membership the legal equivalent of the state-issued birth certificate or the federally-issued Certificate of Citizenship. If approved, this change would permit the nearly 7,000 members who lack birth certificates and those members living in Mexico to cross the border with greater ease so that they are no longer “obstructed from visiting each other, conducting sacred ceremonies and maintaining their culture” (M. Shebala, personal communication, May 24, 2001).
Economic Development, the Indigenous Principle, and Sovereign Services as Paths to the Maintenance of Tribal Values

Since the beginning of the Indian movement in the late 1960s, there has been "a widespread consensus in Indian country that power over policy decisions involving Indian resources and development directions must be wrested away from the non-Indian bureaucracies and relocated among the Indian peoples and communities" (Mohawk, 1991, pp. 495-496). Agencies such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Bureau of Land Management regulated the land, water, and lives of Natives peoples to the extent that Natives peoples "had practically no real power of ownership over their assets and no authority or ability to mobilize capital and labor—the primary ingredients which make development possible" (p. 495). The Administration for Native Americans (ANA), part of the Department of Health and Human Services, developed a new approach called "Social and Economic Development Strategies" (SEDS) in 1981, in consultation with Native leaders (Administration for Native Americans, 1985). While this new approach promoted self-sufficiency through financial grants and moved the ANA away from funding administrative services and "filling social service gaps" to funding activities "designed and implemented by the tribe", SEDS was ultimately a continuation of Federal control. In the Tribal Self-Governance Act of 1994, Congress recognized "the inherent sovereignty of Indian tribes and nations", literally meaning that "they operate as independent political authorities, governing themselves" (Innes, 1999, November 10, p. 1B). In social work practice with Native American clients, the knowledge base should include an understanding of sovereignty as well as issues such as history and historical trauma, citizenship, and cultural identity (Weaver, 1998).

The notion that "services should be provided, directed, and controlled by the people of the indigenous community that was being served" is referred to as the "indigenous principal [sic]" (Kahn, Lejero, Antone, Francisco, & Manuel, 1988, p. 369). The Tohono O'odham Psychology Service, an indigenous community mental health service, was cited as one of the few examples of services that fully implemented the indigenous principle, as it was staffed and administered by the O'odham people. As a
result, the agency staff were knowledgeable about and sensitive to the culture of their clientele. Indigenous services were found to strengthen cultural identity and pride, as well as foster economic self-sufficiency.

The importance of cultural identity and its relationship to program staffing was echoed by Lauri Francisco, Family Service Specialist for the Family Preservation program within the Division of Child Welfare/Department of Human Services of the Tohono O'odham Nation. "[A]ll [of] our counselors are from the reservation, so they've grown up or at least been a part . . . of here, of the nation, of the reservation. That really helps in assisting our clients to do the work that they need to do for themselves" (personal communication, March 7, 2001).

A 1983 study by Haviland, Horswill, O'Connell, and Dynes s on found that Native American college students demonstrated a strong preference for Native American counselors irrespective of presenting problem, noting that the likelihood of using services "increased as counselor preference increased" (p. 267). These findings further support the idea that services to indigenous peoples should be provided by indigenous peoples.

In November 1999, three hundred people representing 50 tribes in the United States and Canada met in Tucson, Arizona for a conference cosponsored by the Tohono O'odham Nation and the Morris K. Udall Foundation entitled "Building American Indian Nations for the 21st Century" (Innes, 1999, November 10, p. 1B). The message to "think like a sovereign" provided a backdrop to this opportunity for tribes to share success stories and "confront colonization" (Innes, 1999, November 13, p. 1B), and was a continuation of a thirty year trend of Native peoples creating sustainable economies and breaking away from federal dependency. Success stories included the use of gaming profits by the Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians in Michigan (Innes, 1999, November 10).

The O'odham invested in gaming operations in October 1993 with the construction of two casinos, with a third on the way, and have reaped an annual revenue of $70 million in profits (Arizona Daily Star, 2000; Duarte, 2001). While still controversial (Arizona Daily Star, 2000), gaming has facilitated the Nation's ability to regain self sufficiency by creating jobs and economic opportunities.
Gaming revenues have supported the development of college scholarships, a new nursing home, justice center, and fire stations (Sandal, 1999), and have provided grants to support small business owners and entrepreneurs (Banchero, 2000). In January 2000, the Tohono O'odham Community College opened with 105 students. In 1998, the tribe's Legislative Council earmarked $1.4 million from gaming profits for the college, later committing an additional $71 million over a five year period to support its continued development (Gassen, 2000).

Despite the success of gaming operations, Tohono O'odham Chairman, Edward Manuel, stated that "[The casino is not the panacea to our economic development. We need to establish policies that are fair to development. We have enough sovereignty as tribal governments. It's just a matter of how we use that" (Innes, 1999, November 10, p. 1B). Manuel predicted that the O'odham's use of casino profits for indigenous projects such as a reservation nursing home and community college would "entice more members to live, work and invest in their own tribe" (Innes, 1999, November 13, p. 1B).

The social implications of sovereign services operating under an indigenous principle are enormous.

If Indian nations have the power to make decisions about their future, they can choose educational paths which cause their languages, history, arts, and culture to survive and can therefore perpetuate the very elements which define them as distinct peoples. (Mohawk, 1991, p. 503)

Economic development, the indigenous principle, and sovereign services speak to the importance of tribes developing their own services within tribal values and pave a path toward the maintenance of tribal traditions.

Schools of social work can cultivate the seeds of the indigenous principle and sovereign services to prepare Tohono O'odham social workers at the baccalaureate and master's level by modeling themselves after programs that successfully recruit, enroll, and retain Native students. Social work programs can hire O'odham faculty and staff; recruit prospective students through indigenous gatherings; flag the applications of O'odham applicants; designate a liaison for O'odham students; offer social, financial, and academic assistance including tutoring, emergency
loans, and a Native student association; include curriculum and courses addressing O'odham and Native issues; and provide practicum placements in agencies serving O'odham clients (Metscher, Wedel, Dobrec, Wares, & Rosenthal, 1994).

Maintaining Cultural Identity: Preserving O'odham Traditions Through O'odham Himdag

Himdag means “our path” (R. N. Ruiz, personal communication, March 13, 2001) or “way of life” (Severson, 1996, p. 1C). Himdag or “Himthag” [sic] refers to “a way of life; a culture; a custom or practice; traditions”; but, as a verb can mean to “be able to walk” (Saxton, Saxton, & Enos, 1998, p. 22). O'odham Himdag refers to “a way of life inclusive of terms such as culture, heritage, history, values, traditions, customs, beliefs, and language (Seivertson, 1999, p. 242). To Angelo Joaquin Jr., director of the Tucson-based Native Seeds/SEARCH and former tribal chairman, Himdag is the “crucial balance between the mental, physical and spiritual health of an individual” (Severson, 1996, p. 1C). The O'odham say it was:

Given to us as a gift of our Creator, our Tohonno [sic] O'odham Himdag has endured through generations. No other Indian Tribe or Nation can claim it. It is what makes us Tohonno [sic] O'odham. Within our Himdag, respect is strong. This is evident by the respectful terms used in clans relating us to the earth and animals. Our dialects separate and yet unite us again through the circle of life. In order for our Himdag to be carried on, we must care about our heritage and preserve the gift that was given to us since time immemorial. Therefore, our Tohonno [sic] O'odham Himdag demands respect and maintenance by all who claim it. (Language Policy of the Tohonno O'odham as cited in Seivertson, 1999, p. 242)

When the Tohono O'odham Nation voted to incorporate a separation of powers into their constitution, which was viewed by some as the “white man’s way”, one O'odham consulted a traditional Medicine Man and reserved the Council Chambers so that he could tell the creation story. Although the vote had already taken place, this was done to remind the people of the O'odham Himdag, the O'odham way (R. N. Ruiz, personal communication, March 13, 2001).

Language is a critical part of the Tohono O'odham Himdag. When the first missionaries established schools on the reservation
and later when O'odham children were sent away to boarding schools, the O'odham were not allowed to speak their own language. Margie Butler, who teaches the Tohono O'odham language at the San Xavier Mission School said, “The [h]limdag is their culture, their language, everything combined”, indicating that the loss of language leads to the loss of the way of life, including the customs, songs, and stories of the O'odham. Jackie Koenig, principal of San Xavier Mission School, commented that the ability of the children to speak their own language in school “has done wonders for their self-esteem”. Ofelia Zepeda, an O'odham linguist, said, “If you don't have a language, a lot of basic knowledge is no longer available to you”. According to Mary Ann Willie, a Navajo linguist, “When you lose the language, you lose the capacity to participate in activities where the language is used” (Severson, 2000, p. E1).

The Family Preservation Program operates within the Division of Child Welfare in the Tohono O'odham Department of Human Services. It provides individual, family, and group counseling to members and residents of the Tohono O'odham Nation. Group therapy is provided to court-mandated youth residing in a juvenile detention center. Psychoeducational groups conducted through this program incorporate O'odham language as “certain clients... feel better when it is explained to them in O'odham”. The youth often have difficulty putting their feelings into words, so the use of the O'odham language provides culturally relevant words for feeling states that do not necessarily have an equivalent in English. The group process begins with a prayer, then moves into a talking circle in which each youth take a turn to speak, passing a meaningful object from person to person to facilitate speaking. Staff may incorporate smudging, burning, and blessing with sage into the process or may take clients to a traditional medicine man if requested by the client. The use of indigenous workers is seen as a strength of the program. The fact that all of the counselors were either a part of or grew up on the nation assists clients “to do the work that they need to do for themselves” (L. Francisco, personal communication, March 7, 2001).

Yet another aspect of O'odham Himdag relates to the larger community. Tohono O'odham Community Action (TOCA) is a grassroots organization that creates culturally based responses
to community problems, including "1) sustainable economic development, 2) a community food system that keeps us healthy, 3) programs which rejuvenate our cultural traditions, and 4) ways of encouraging our young people to become strong members of the Tohono O'odham community" (Tohono O'odham Community Action, 2001, p. 1). Programs include a group for basket weavers, a community food system, an arts and culture program, and a youth/elder outreach program. TOCA's guiding principles include O'odham Himdag, community assets, the material foundation of culture, and community self-sufficiency, recognizing the importance of the maintenance and context of culture as well as economic self-sufficiency. O'odham Himdag is described in program literature as "Wisdom from our past creating solutions for our future" (TOCA, 2001, p. 3).

Tohono O'odham Youth Services (TOYS) rejuvenates cultural traditions through a variety of activities designed for youth ages four through twenty four, including a summer bahithaj (meaning saguaro fruit) camp, in which elders teach youth how to harvest and prepare saguaro fruit. The fruits of this labor are fermented, then donated to the Big Fields village for an annual Wine Feast (J. Norris, personal communication, June 14, 2001).

O'odham Himdag encompasses cultural identity and all that is important to the O'odham. It cannot be broken down into component parts any more than one can separate a person from the land, one's heritage, or one's spirituality. In this way, O'odham Himdag is very consistent with systems theory and the biopsychosocialspiritual perspective of the social work profession.

Wellness
Cewagi
Summer clouds sit silently.
They sit, quietly gathering strength.
Gathering strength from the good winds.
This strength that becomes the thunder.
The thunder so loud it vibrates the earth.
The thunder that surrounds us.
(Zepeda, 1995, p. 26)\(^1\)

\(^1\) Reprinted by permission of Ofelia Zepeda.
According to the World Health Organization, health is defined as "a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (Edlin, Golanty, & Brown, 1999, p. 4). The term wellness was first used by Halbert L. Dunn, a physician, in a 1961 booklet entitled *High Level Wellness*. Dunn described wellness as a lifestyle approach to elevated states of physical and psychological well-being, incorporating a disciplined commitment to personal mastery (Ardell, 2001). Wellness, as defined by Hurley and Schlaadt, "emphasizes individual responsibility for well-being through the practice of health-promoting lifestyle behaviors" (Edlin, Golanty, & Brown, 1999, p. 4). Areas of commitment related to wellness include "self-responsibility, exercise and fitness, nutrition, stress management, critical thinking, meaning and purpose or spirituality, emotional intelligence, humor and play and effective relationships" (Ardell, 2001). So while health implies a state of being, wellness defines a set of actions or behaviors that lead to a state of health.

Myers, Witmer, and Sweeney (1995) defined wellness as "a way of life which is oriented toward optimal health and well-being in which body, mind, and spirit are integrated in a purposeful manner by the individual with a goal of living life more fully within all spheres of functioning: social, personal, environmental" (as cited in Garrett, 1999, p. 59). Oetting and Beauvais (1991) proposed an orthogonal model of cultural identity which posited that identification with any culture has positive implications for health and social well-being. Additional research was recommended, the notion was supported in some cases. Weaver concluded that social workers can address the social and health issues within Native American communities by recognizing "the importance of cultural identification and using interventions that do not contradict cultural norms" (1996, p. 103).

A study of Native American youth conducted by Weaver (1996) supported the notion that "people can and do identify with more than one culture" (p. 103). While findings did not demonstrate consistent support for the notion that cultural identification has positive implications for health and social well-being and additional research was recommended, the notion was supported in some cases. Weaver concluded that social workers can address the social and health issues within Native American communities by recognizing "the importance of cultural identification and using interventions that do not contradict cultural norms" (1996, p. 103).

The literature on wellness, health, and resilience "assert[s] that individuals and communities have native capacities for restoration, rebound, and the maintenance of a high level of func-
tioning" and that health, resilience, (Saleebey, 1997, p. 243) and health sustenance (Benard as sited in Saleebey, 1997) are communal undertakings. Social support, an important community resource which includes the resources of cultural groups, serves as a protective factor against and facilitates recovery from the effects of stress and crisis (Hill and McCubbin, Futrell, Thompson, & Thompson as cited in McKenry & Price, 2000).

Social workers approach clients from a strengths perspective, a humanist perspective grounded in the assumptions that humans have the capacity for growth and change and have "many capabilities, abilities, and strengths" (Early & GlenMaye, 2000, p. 118). According to Saleebey (1996), the strengths perspective:

    demands a different way of looking at individuals, families, and communities. All must be seen in the light of their capacities, talents, competencies, possibilities, visions, values, and hopes, however dashed and distorted these may have become through circumstance, oppression, and trauma. (p. 297)

The Code of Ethics (National Association of Social Workers, 1999) states that "[s]ocial workers should understand culture and its function in human behavior and society, recognizing the strengths that exist in all cultures" (p. 9). Oetting and Beauvais (1991) indicated that "cultural identification should serve as a source of strength and potency" and "be correlated with general well-being and positive personal adjustment" (pp. 671–672). A key research implication was that "identification with any culture may serve as a source of personal and social strength" (p. 678). The strengths perspective can also facilitate client empowerment as "[t]he role of the social worker is to nourish, encourage, assist, enable, support, stimulate, and unleash the strengths within people" (Cowger, 1997, p. 62).

Weaver noted that "[c]ultural traditions among . . . [indigenous] people are important strengths that are often overlooked" (1996, p. 103). Among the Tohono O'odham an elder "sways gently to the rhythm of his blessing chant, shaking homemade tin can rattles", which "summons 'strength and power'" (O'Connell, 2000, p. 1B). The word 'strength' in an O'odham sense would translate into the ability to push, lift, or pull, since the word comes from the English language. "With death and loss and grief you
need strength; but, it shows itself as a form of resiliency... you would be just moving on as a product of the strength” (K. Blaine, personal communication, March 14, 2001). Strength can help one move from a bad place or a bad emotion. Traditional practices such as praying can be a source of strength, a way of moving on. Smudging, involving a Medicine Man who prays and uses the breeze from a moving feather to blow smoke toward a person or persons, is traditionally practiced in large ceremonies or for an individual, and is considered a healing practice. Sage, cedar, or other indigenous plants may be used for the ceremony. The healing is a path to strength.

O’odham Himdag as a Source of Wellness

Words and concepts relating to health and wellness are a part of the O’odham language. Kuadk, a noun, is a “chant used for diagnosing illness” (p. 35). Ap’ethag is an O’odham word meaning “well-being” (Saxton, Saxton, & Enos, 1998, p. 110). “That’s what’s going to make us well”, such as the Medicine Man, running, or the medicine. “If we do these things, it’s part of our wellness” (R. N. Ruiz, personal communication, March 13, 2001). Ha api dag translates as “wellness” (P. Ruiz, personal communication, March 14, 2001). These words may be spelled or pronounced differently depending upon the dialect spoken. Since O’odham Himdag reflects a delicate balance between the mental, physical, and spiritual health of an individual, losing touch with the path of Himdag can lead to imbalance in biopsychosocialspiritual health.

The O’odham hold beliefs about health and illness which differ from the causal theories of Western medicine. A “belief in the power of words, thoughts, and actions ‘pervades’ the O’odham concept of illness” (Dufort, 1991, p. 105). The O’odham believe that “thinking, talking, and acting in negative ways can result in sickness which is experienced immediately or latently. Transgressions resulting in illness and/or misfortune need not be intentionally done” (p. 108). Parents and family members feel an “ever-present” sense of “responsibility for causing (and preventing) serious illness in their children” and believe in the possibility of “attribute transfer”, in which talking, thinking, or doing something related to an undesirable characteristic could
actually bring it on (p. 108). The depth of this belief will be determined by the level of the family’s acculturation. The notion of family as cause or prevention would suggest that the use of family level interventions would be effective in work with the O’odham. The medicine man, also referred to as mahkai, can determine the cause of the illness or condition in a diagnostic dream. The mahkai then provides a ritual by which the individual may be rid of the problem; but, just like Western medicine, the individual must follow the instructions correctly and completely for the healing to take place. The mahkai may use his power for good or evil purposes.

The O’odham believe in pathways between the spiritual and material world. “Traditional beliefs are such that it is not unusual for dead relatives to try to contact the living” (Kahn, Lejero, Antone, Francisco, & Manuel, 1988, p. 372). A young O’odham woman told her social worker that, “My grandmother came to see me”. Aside from being aware that any female relative might be considered her ‘grandmother’, the worker was open to the possibility that the visit was from a deceased grandmother, which turned out to be the case. The O’odham don’t “try to explain the unexplained”. They “accept it” (L. Francisco, personal communication, June 4, 2001).

Native Americans are ten times more likely to develop diabetes than any other group in the United States. Over 50% of all Tohono O’odham adults have adult-onset diabetes, “the highest rate in the world” (Tohono O’odham Community Action, n.d., p. 1; Heard Museum, n.d.). In the decade of the 1990s, the O’odham had a higher diabetes death rate than any tribe in the Western United States (Mendoza, 1998). Diabetes has “ravaged [the] tribe, taking lives and limbs” (Mendoza, 1998). Type II diabetes (non-insulin-dependent) strikes half the O’odham over 35 years of age (Severson, 1996). “The numbers of diabetics are going up and the ages are going down” according to Mary Antone, a community health representative on the Tohono O’odham reservation (p. 1A). The number of children with Type II diabetes rose from one to 18 in thirteen years and the percentage of diabetic mothers, statistically more likely to have diabetic children, doubled in a seven year period. 1993 statistics from the Indian Health Service demonstrated that the O’odham had the “most diabetic pregnancies
per capita”. In 1997, 20 percent of 350 pregnant women were diagnosed with diabetes before or during pregnancy (Mendoza, 1998, p. 1A).

The Healthy O’odham Promotion Program (HOPP) is designed to provide primary prevention, education, nutrition, and fitness services to “promote healthy lifestyles” (Tohono O’odham Department of Human Services, 2001, para 1). Rosita Nora Ruiz is an O’odham elder living with diabetes and the aftermath of a kidney transplant. She has served as a presenter at an annual community wellness conference focusing upon the rates, consequences, and treatment of diabetes. Ruiz tries to educate “in language the O’odham will understand”, indicating that the O’odham are a “very visual” people. Ruiz also serves as chair of a dialysis patient advocate committee, serving tribal members in southern Arizona and Mexico. “We don’t see the boundary as others see it...it’s artificial. It’s not of our making”. The tribe plans to build a dialysis unit on tribal lands which have already been blessed in preparation for construction (R. N. Ruiz, personal communication, March 13, 2001).

Angelo Joaquin Jr., director of the Tucson-based Native Seeds/SEARCH, said, “Our elders are telling us that getting diabetes is a side effect of losing touch with the O’odham way of life” (Severson, 1996, p. 1C). To recapture the path to wellness requires a return to the O’odham Himdag, which includes the use of traditional foods, running and walking, and a renewed relationship with the land and each other. Traditional foods protect against diabetes. After I’itoi created the people, he “gave them all the edible plants of the desert and taught them how to prepare each one” (Greene, 1998, p. 15). Tepary beans have a coating containing pectin, prickly pear pads have mucilage, and mesquite pods have gummy fibers, all of which are natural substances which slow the digestion of sugar. Once dietary staples, these foods have been replaced by highly processed, low fiber, and fatty foods of a Westernized diet (O’Connell, 2000, p. 1B). The Tohono O’odham Food System program recognizes that the consumption of traditional foods including tepary and mesquite beans, cholla (cactus) buds, and chia seeds decreases the severity and rate of diabetes (TOCA, 2001, p. 1).

Traditional people get up in the morning, run, and greet the sun. To a traditional person, running is a “part of fulfilling
their spiritual needs" (Severson, 1996, p 1C). The focus is not on exercise, "It's on spirituality—the health benefits just come along . . . In our himdag, there is no distinction between humans and animals and plants. You have a relationship there that was present since the world was created" (p. 1C).

Madeline Francisco chairs a committee responsible for the planning, development, and building of a new skilled nursing facility on the Tohono O’odham reservation. This 60 bed unit is expandible to 120 beds and incorporates elements of O’odham Himdag of importance to the elders who will soon make it their home. O’odham have planned and will staff and administer the facility, following the indigenous principal. Non-O’odham professional staff will be hired as needed. Housing and daycare will be provided as an inducement for employees to work at the distant location. The building design respects O’odham Himdag and was derived from input from the elders. The elders wanted to be able to “smell the rain” and see the sunlight, so the facility was designed as a half circle with spokes going out from it and plenty of windows so that each resident would be able to watch the sunrise and the sunset, and smell the rain. Family members had difficulty visiting elders housed in Tucson area nursing homes, as it sometimes took two-and-a-half hours travel each way. The new facility will provide space for family members to spend the night. There is a chapel; but, also a place for a traditional medicine man, or mamakai. The floor of the facility entrance has a large inlaid squash blossom design on the floor, a common design element in O’odham basketry (DeWald, 1979). The entrance is designed to face Baboquivari Peak (M. M. Francisco, personal communication, May 24, 2001), the site of the creation story of the O’odham. I’itoi, Elder Brother, created the Tohono O’odham by bringing them “from the earth through a sacred cave nestled in the foothills of the Baboquivari Mountains” (Greene, 1998, p. 15). Basic conversational O’odham will be taught to staff who do not already speak O’odham, to encourage use of the language with the elders.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Cultural identity is an important aspect of individuals and communities which must be considered by a culturally competent
social worker. The Tohono O'odham concept of O'odham Himdag includes and enlarges upon cultural identity, encompassing a "way of life" for the O'odham, a gift of the Creator. This way of life includes a crucial balance between the mental, physical, and spiritual health of an individual, family, and community. Wellness is inextricably bound to O'odham Himdag, is communal, and tied to traditions and ceremonies. The elders warn that being out of touch with one’s Himdag leads to illness, as it creates an imbalance in the biopsychosocial-spiritual health of an individual. Those very traditions promote physical wellness through diet, exercise, and connection to the land, even though intended toward spiritual healing. The people gather strength, singing down the rain, singing songs to pull down the clouds. For it is the people that bring the clouds, the clouds that bring the rain, the rain that heals the soul and regenerates the earth. The clouds, like the O'odham people, "sit quietly and gather strength" (Zepeda, 1995, p. 26).

The O'odham are a poetic people whose language is populated with simile and metaphor. The man in the maze, one of the cherished symbols of the O'odham people, represents a man looking for a deeper meaning of life. To find this meaning, "he must pass through the maze and all of its pathways" (Adams, 1978, p. 263). For the O'odham, the path to meaning can be found in O'odham Himdag.

O'odham Himdag is a rich ground which, if cultivated by social workers, indigenous and otherwise, is a source of strength and wellness. Social workers can incorporate and respect the traditional beliefs and practices of Indigenous Peoples, utilizing them alongside the contributions of Western medicine and thought. In this way, social workers may serve as a bridge between the nurturing and sustaining cultures and facilitate the maintenance of tribal traditions. Schools of social work can incorporate strategies to recruit, enroll, and retain Tohono O'odham students to facilitate the provision, direction, and control of professional social work services for O'odham, by O'odham, utilizing the indigenous principle.

As a people, the Tohono O'odham have cultivated increased economic self-sufficiency, transforming the profits from gaming into economic development activities and services which follow
the indigenous principal. The result is a harvest of critical social, health, educational, cultural, and economic services meeting the needs of the community while maintaining tribal traditions and preserving O'odham Himdag. Economic development that follows the path of tribal traditions fosters wellness and balance for the entire community. While additional research is needed, including the evaluation of outcomes of programs utilizing traditional O'odham practices, this article provides a beginning step on the path toward describing the ways in which O'odham Himdag can strengthen social work programs and services conducted by and for the Tohono O'odham.

References


Indian gaming has been an economic boon to tribes that run casinos, but some critics say this success comes at the expense of the larger community. (2000, November 18). *The Arizona Daily Star*, p. B7.


O’odham Himdag as a Source of Strength and Wellness


Using Reasons for Living to Connect to American Indian Healing Traditions

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Responding to high rates of suicide for American Indian youth, helping professionals often struggle to connect healing traditions from American Indian cultures to tools from European psychology. The differences between American Indian healing and European therapy can be vast. Finding connections or building bridges between these two perspectives may be more difficult than it appears (Duran & Duran, 1995). One method to bring together these worldviews is to use the Reasons for Living Questionnaire (RFL, Linehan, Goldstein, Nielsen, & Chiles, 1983); the Reasons for Living Inventory for Adolescents (RFL-A, Osman, Downs, Kopper, Barios, Besett, Linehan, Baker, & Osman, 1998), or other psychological assessments developed using the RFL as a foundation.

Reasons for Living (RFL) assessments have emerged as powerful strength based tools for assessing suicide risk (Range & Knott, 1997). RFL and RFL-A factors link to a relational worldview common to most American Indian people. A relational worldview considers a balance between forces often identified as spirit, context, mind, and body (Cross, 1998).

Using RFL or RFL-A in suicide assessments allows practitioners to assess where youth may be out of balance in one or more of the four traditional areas: spirit, context, mind, and body. This may assist specific referrals to culturally appropriate healing. RFL and RFL-A assessments could be augmented to improve their correspondence to the relational worldview.

Western approaches to care have not been widely embraced by American Indian populations, and almost any type of mental health treatment tends to have disappointing results with American Indians (Husted, Johnson, & Redwing, 1995). Meanwhile, American Indian communities and mental health practitioners
acknowledge that the need for mental health treatment is high. Perhaps the most dramatic illustration of this need is the high rate of suicide among American Indian youth. This rate is well established and has continued for decades to be more than double the national rate for non-Indian youth (Grossman, Milligan, & Deyo, 1991).

To understand American Indian perspectives on causes for the high rate of youth suicide and the need for traditional healing, it will be important to review American Indian history. To describe some of the most common American Indian perspectives of wellness and balance, the relational worldview (Cross, 1998) will be presented. Next, tools for suicide assessment especially the Reasons for Living Questionnaire (RFL, Linehan, Goldstein, Nielsen, & Chiles, 1983) and the related Reasons for Living Inventory for Adolescents (RFL-A, Osman, Downs, Kopper, Barrios, Besett, Linehan, Baker, & Osman, 1998) will be presented. The RFL and RFL-A will be linked to the relational worldview and indigenous healing approaches. Finally, areas where the reasons for living assessments could be further developed for use with American Indian adolescents will be discussed along with cultural guidelines for assessment and intervention with potentially suicidal American Indian youth.

History

The history of American Indian people is survival in the face of mass destruction. Estimates about the number of American Indians in North America before European contact range from two million to as many as 18 million (Shoemaker, 1999). There were at least 600 different indigenous groups on the scene and there were probably between five and ten million American Indians in what are now the United States and Canada (Nichols, 1998). Indigenous people in North America lived in cities and villages, long houses and kivas, and had social organizations including families, clans, and nations. Millions of people and their homes, families and nations had to be eliminated to make room for European colonization.

Colonization destroyed and demeaned traditional ways of indigenous people (Duran & Duran, 1995). This also meant destruction of methods of economic survival, destruction of family
systems, and overt and covert genocide (Tafoya & Del Vecchio, 1996). Between 1500 and 1900, the death rate for indigenous peoples in North America was considerably higher than the birth rate. American Indians died by the millions from disease, wars of extermination, and reservations and boarding school conditions comparable to concentration camps.

By the 1880s, United States policies started to switch from tactics of annihilation to strategies of assimilation. American Indian children were the primary targets of this policy shift. Indian agents forcibly removed American Indian children from their families and placed them in boarding schools. They did so because they saw the “Indian problem” where indigenous people fought to keep their own ways as a problem of cultural differences. They wanted to replace “every aspect of traditional native culture” with “the institutions of a ‘higher’ society” (Trennert, 1983, p. 268).

Parents and grandparents of the American Indian adolescents of today experienced the Termination Era between 1946 and 1968. This was a time of federal laws attempting to terminate federal responsibility toward Indian tribes and to assimilate Indian people (Beane, 1989). In 1953 House Concurrent Resolution 108 called on the BIA to begin terminating tribes. Public Law 83-280 (1953) was enacted as a means of implementing the termination policy and giving states more jurisdictional power (Nichols, 1998; Beane, 1989). During the termination era, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) relocated approximately twenty thousand Indians from reservations to cities to find jobs, but most of the new work was in seasonal and low-skilled positions (Nichols, 1998). Many American Indian people were forcibly relocated to large metropolitan areas including Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Families were promised housing, jobs, and other support, but the reality was that they were left to fend for themselves in cities with no support. They were given no training (Beane, 1989; Duran & Duran, 1995). Families who survived this continue to experience the effects of this forced relocation with symptoms identical to refugee and concentration camp syndrome (Duran & Duran, 1995).

Between 1960 and 1980 Indian groups in the United States began to take militant stands against government policies (Nichols, 1998). Since 1968, Federal Indian laws have largely supported
policies of self-determination. American Indian leaders have campaigned for policies to reaffirm the rights of Indians to remain Indian while exercising their rights as Americans (Beane, 1989).

Historical Trauma, Loss and Suicide

While American Indian people survived policies of annihilation and assimilation, lasting scars have been left. Historical trauma for American Indian people is similar to trauma for other historically oppressed groups with important common features—“difficulty in mourning a mass grave, the dynamics of collective grief, and the importance of community memorialization” (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998, p. 61). This history is painful to recall and more painful when it seems to be forgotten, trivialized or denied.

The effects of historical trauma add a layer of distress for Indian youth, above and beyond the other factors leading to adolescent suicide. A growing body of evidence suggests factors that are related to suicide for American Indian teens. While reviewing some of these research findings, it is important to keep in mind a caution from Mays and Dizmang (1974) against over generalizing conclusions about suicide across tribal groups, “... each tribe has its own uniquely evolved way of life and, consequently, a wide variation in suicide rates” (p. 23).


For American Indian youth from multiple tribes in a boarding school setting, Manson, Beals, Dick, and Duclos (1989) found a strong association between relatives or friends committing suicide and current risk of suicide. Depressive symptoms were strongly related to past suicide attempts and current risk for suicide. Alcohol consumption, stressful life events, and little support
from family were other associated factors (Manson, Beals, Dick, & Duclos, 1989).

Davenport and Davenport (1987) propose that two forms of suicide defined by Durkheim, altruistic and anomic, are most applicable to American Indians. The third type egoistic suicide, stemming from excessive individualism is rarely applicable. Altruistic suicide is a tendency for an individual to sacrifice self for the group, and anomic suicide is a response to social change whether good or bad. Whenever there is social change, anomie, a state of normlessness, increases (Davenport & Davenport, 1987). Manson, et al., (1989) report American Indians who committed suicide typically belonged to tribes with loose social integration that were undergoing rapid socioeconomic change. High rates of suicide among Apaches in New Mexico from 1980 to 1987 may relate to low levels of social integration and low band solidarity (Van Winkle & May, 1993). Lester (1995) found high rates of poverty were highly correlated with suicide rates for Apaches, Navajos and Pueblo Indians in New Mexico, suggesting the high rate of poverty in Indian country is a reason for high rates of suicide attempts.

Suicide can also be explained as a result of internalized oppression (Duran & Duran, 1995). Internalized oppression occurs when American Indian youth accept negative stereotypes of themselves common in the media and blame themselves for problems associated with racism and oppression. Cultural supports can help youth become familiar with positive images of American Indians and positive images of themselves. On the other hand, a factor leading to the higher suicide rates for American Indian youth is their loss of culture or the destruction of culture that would have sustained them (Duran & Duran, 1995). Dinges and Duong-Tran (1993) in a survey of 124 boarding school youth found loss of cultural supports was associated with depression, suicide ideation, and suicide attempts.

Solving problems of cultural loss and anomie for potentially suicidal youth involves finding a balance between their traditional ways and the pressures and demands of the surrounding society. Allen C. Quetone, Kiowa, described this challenge for raising American Indian children, "While we believe these traditional ways could serve as guidelines for our future and bring us
happiness, we face great frustrations. Our ways seem always to contradict the ways of the dominant society. We find hardship in trying to be Indian and true to our beliefs and at the same time trying to survive in the mainstream of modern life" (Morey & Gilliam, 1974, p. 147).

A comparable task faces helping professionals who want to assist potentially suicidal youth. To develop healing strategies, practitioners will need to be able to connect their knowledge and skills with American Indian worldviews about healing. Tafoya & Del Vecchio (1996) suggest practitioners will need to be able to help American Indian youth to identify elements of personal mental health and well-being and to design their own model based on health traditional values and practices. They will also need to assist American Indian youth to find appropriate methods to discharge anger, shame and fear associated with oppression and historical trauma (Tafoya & Del Vecchio, 1996). To do this, helping professionals will need to have a basic understanding of healing traditions presented here as a relational worldview. With a basic understanding of this worldview, they may be able to use a reasons for living assessment to help connect youth to traditional healing.

Relational Worldview

Terry Cross (1998) speaks and writes about a relational worldview common to most American Indian people. The relational worldview perceives health and wellness as a balance of four major factors, which can sometimes be understood as the spirit, the context, the mind, and the body. In different tribes and different cultures, these four factors or four directions may have different designations and corresponding but not exactly the same meanings. Voss, Douville, Little Soldier, and Twiss (1999) present an important journey into traditional Lakota philosophies and tradition with far more depth than the overview of intersecting tribal beliefs presented here. Poonwassie and Charter (2001) go through indigenous symbolic cyclical interpretations of life and universal connectedness including The Medicine Wheel, The Wheel of Life, The Circle of Life, and The Pimaatisiwin Circle. Among the four parts of these circles are physical, mental, emotional and spiritual
elements, four directions North, East, South and West and other aspects of interdependence and harmony (Poonwasse & Charter, 2001). Duran and Duran (1995) describe a paradigm with thinking, feeling, and intuition/sensation balanced by a "hole or 'emptiness' that is possible to walk into the transcendent with awareness and knowledge which is given by the spirits of all creation" (p. 78).

Understanding that important variations apply to this framework, the relational worldview (Cross, 1998) provides a starting point. In the relational worldview, Spirit includes spiritual practices and teachings, dreams, symbols, stories, gifts, intuition, grace, protecting forces, and negative forces (Cross, 1998). Context includes family, culture, work, community history, and environmental factors including climate and weather. Mind includes intellect, emotion, memory, judgment, and experience. Body includes chemistry, genetics, nutrition, substance use and abuse, sleep and rest, age and condition (Cross, 1998). For American Indian peoples, the spiritual presence at each of these directions gives a specific type of wisdom, teaching, and relationship to the world (Duran & Duran, 1995).

Of course, these descriptions of these factors and their contents are only examples and do not represent the whole relational worldview (Cross, 1998). This is only a glimpse of spirituality for American Indian people; it is not a whole knowledge base to use in spiritual healing or treatment interventions. The goal of this description of relational worldview is to provide a sense of what types of forces need to be in balance for an American Indian person to experience a sense of well-being. Further use of the four elements of the relational worldview will be made following a description of reasons for living assessments.

**Reasons for Living**

The first reasons for living instrument was designed to provide an assessment process to understand life affirming and adaptive characteristics endorsed by people who were not suicidal and potentially lacking for people who were suicidal (Linehan, Goodstein, Nielsen, & Chiles, 1983). This approach builds on European humanist psychology, especially the work of Frankl
The Reasons for Living Inventory (RFL) by Linehan and associates started a series of investigations into use of reasons for living as an assessment approach. Following the RFL, a number of assessment tools were created to ascertain reasons for living in different populations. There is a Brief Reasons for Living Inventory (Ivanoff, Jang; Smyth, & Linehan, 1994), a College Student Reasons for Living Inventory (Westefeld, Cardin, & Deaton, 1992) and the Reasons for Living Inventory for Adolescents (RFL-A, Osman, et al., 1998). These questionnaires can provide important information to mental health providers in their assessment of potentially suicidal youth or adults.

The RFL (Linehan, et. al., 1983) and RFL-A (Osman, et. al., 1998) are the main assessment tools described in this article. While the RFL was developed for use with adults, it has been tested with adolescents and found to be useful to clinicians in a variety of settings (Cole, 1989; Ellis & Russell, 1992; Pinto, Whisman, & Conwell, 1998; Range, Hall, & Meyers, 1993). The RFL-A was specifically designed for use with adolescents. Clinicians will want to know the reliability and validity of these instruments. For adolescents, a slightly modified version of the RFL was found to have convergent validity because RFL subscales were correlated with scales of depression, hopelessness, and other suicide inventories (Cole, 1989). Evidence of discriminant validity emerged in low correlations with social desirability. Evidence of construct validity emerged when the RFL subscales were related to suicidal thoughts and behaviors over and above scales measuring depression and hopelessness (Cole, 1989). When slightly modified, the subscales of the RFL are reliable for adolescents with coefficient alphas from .72 to .98, and a coefficient alpha for the total RFL of .97 (Pinto, Whisman, & Conwell, 1998).

The RFL-A scales have high reliability with coefficient alphas from .92 to .95 (Osman, et. al., 1998). Construct validity for the RFL-A is shown by moderate and significant correlations with hopelessness scales and depression scales (Osman, et. al., 1998).

In a review of 20 suicide assessment instruments, Range and Knott (1997) suggested use of Linehan’s Reasons for Living Inventory (RFL) (Linehan, et al., 1983). One of the reasons for this recommendation is that people completing the RFL tend to feel more hopeful rather than more depressed after completing it. This
benefit has been shown to occur cross culturally. A sample of Turkish respondents asked for a copy of the RFL because just reading it made them feel better (Sahin, Batigun, & Sahin, 1998).

An evaluation of the clinical usefulness, validity and reliability of the RFL and RFL-A with American Indian adolescents has not been made. The author has limited positive experience using the RFL to assess and assist youth in crisis and to assist adults struggling with chronic depression and suicidal thoughts. Presenting the RFL has been useful to engage American Indian child welfare workers and Canadian Aboriginal mental health and child service specialists in discussion of suicide and approaches to provide healing opportunities for potentially suicidal youth. Life affirming aspects of the RFL and RFL-A have helped to balance experiences these professionals have had with suicide, loss, and despair. Indian Child welfare workers and mental health specialists have requested additional materials or informally reported their plans to take the instruments back to their communities with plans to adapt the RFL and RFL-A to the needs and cultures of their people.

To understand what the RFL and RFL-A have to offer, subscales of these instruments will be explored as they relate to the four directions of the relational worldview. This process will also indicate areas where a reasons for living assessment could be better adapted for American Indian youth. Reasons for Living (RFL) assessment approaches may help to introduce issues of spirituality, as well as other relational worldview factors including connections to family, hope for the future, and community support (See Figure 1).

Spirit

American Indian Child welfare workers and American Indian community leaders emphasize the importance of spiritual connections as a primary focus for suicide assessment, prevention, and intervention. Research also emphasizes the importance of spirituality to decrease suicide attempts and decrease self-destructive feelings (Ellis & Smith, 1991).

Through an assessment of an American Indian youth’s spiritual beliefs, it may be possible to recognize when interventions
and supports are necessary to prevent suicide. Often, the challenge for mental health or social service workers is how to bring up the topic in a productive fashion. Using the RFL instrument is one method to begin to draw out spiritual beliefs. The Moral Objections (MO) subscale of the RFL (Linehan, Goldstein, Nielsen & Chiles, 1983) includes spiritual considerations including “I believe only God has the right to end a life” and “I have a love of life.”

Range and Knott (1997) and Sahin and colleagues (1998) find that the RFL does indicate religious beliefs against suicide for American and Turkish samples respectively. However, Range and Knott caution that “... therapists who use religion as a ‘Band-
Aid' when working with suicidal persons should be careful that the suicidal individual does indeed have religious beliefs” (1997, p. 60–61).

Range and Knott (1997) come close to the indigenous concept of balance when they write that, “spiritual beliefs alone may not be able to counter suicidal ideation over the long run, no one variable is responsible for suicide and no one variable is sufficient as an intervention when dealing with suicidal individuals” (p. 62). There is room for more exploration of American Indian traditional and spiritual resources beyond the items identified on the RFL (Linehan, et al, 1993). In traditional views one possible cause of illness is loss of the soul from the body (Duran & Duran, 1995). Another belief about illness is theft or abduction of the soul by ghosts or sorcerers. Treatment comes from restoration of the soul by the healer. Both of these beliefs may be difficult to grasp for a Western helping professional and are not likely to be investigated by Western psychological instruments (Duran & Duran, 1995) or by reasons for living assessments.

McCormick (1997) conducted critical incident interviews with 50 participants from the First Nations of British Columbia and identified “establishing a spiritual connection and participation in ceremony” and “anchoring oneself in tradition” as two of the ten categories of healing (p. 177). Reasons for living questions about spiritual connections could include asking prayer, participation in ceremonies, and participation in sweat lodges. Questions about connection to tradition could include questions about participation in traditional American Indian events from Pow Wows to bead work (McCormick, 1997). Suicide prevention can stem from participation in cultural activities with spiritual associations. The Association of American Indian Affairs in New York, the Black Hawk Dancers from the Chitimacha tribe of Louisiana, and intertribal dance workshops in Los Angeles provide important cultural activities with spiritual links that can help prevent suicidal behavior by American Indian adolescents (Johnson & Tomren, 1999).

Context

The American Indian self, “... has more fluid and permeable boundaries and contents that not only include the individual,
but more typically contain the family, extended family, tribe, or community as well. In traditional individuals, this self may be further enlarged to contain animals, plants and places as well as natural, supernatural, or spiritual forces" (Dana, 2000, pp. 70-71).

Family is a central part of context in the relational worldview (Cross, 1998). Families, relatives, relations, or kin provide interdependent and reliable support systems that harmonize resources and are a source of strength for adolescents. Families transmit rich histories and heritage, and provide strategies about how to cope with the dynamics of difference and oppression (Cross, 1998).

To draw on the full resources of families for healing, it is important to understand the extensive nature of traditional American Indian families. Family in this context often comprises households with several generations and includes lateral connections with aunts, uncles, and cousins who are related through blood, marriage, adoption, or custom (Red Horse, et al, 2000). An American Indian’s sense of belonging depends on an understanding of his or her place or responsibility within an intricate web of kinship relationships (Red Horse, et al, 2000).

Victor Sarracino, speaking of the Laguna Pueblo way, said “The overall responsibility for teaching the various members of the family to respect one another stems from the grandmother and the grandfather. Our whole training in behavior starts from our grandparents” (Morey & Gilliam, 1974, p. 105).

The RFL (Linehan, et. al., 1983) includes questions to assess an adolescent’s connection to family and family supports including “I have a responsibility and commitment to my family,” and “I love and enjoy my family too much and would not leave them.” The RFL-A (Osman, et. al., 1998) includes “Whenever I have a problem, I can turn to my family for support or advice” and “Most of the time my family encourages and supports my plans or goals.”

In Indian country, the therapeutic relevance can be accomplished only by using a model that encompasses the whole community (Duran & Duran, 1995). The relational worldview recognizes that family exists within a larger community context and includes supportive relationships with peers and community members (Cross, 1998). The RFL-A (Osman, et. al., 1998) includes peer acceptance and support including “I feel loved and accepted by my close friends.” The RFL (Linehan, et. al., 1983) includes fear
of social disapproval including, "Other people would think I am weak and selfish."

The profound sense of connection and interdependence in American Indian communities helps members recognize that an adolescent cannot have a problem without a loss of balance for the adolescent and for the community. The peer acceptance and support subscale of the RFL-A (Osman, et al 1998) and the social disapproval scale of the RFL (Linehan, et al, 1983) highlight the importance of this social context for healing. Relatives and friends are traditionally an important part of the healing process in American Indian communities (McCormick, 1997). It is important to identify supports from relative and friends to be able to involve them in a positive role in a recovery process. Interconnections with family and community members imply that helping others as well as being helped is a part of healing (McCormick, 1997).

The need for healing for an adolescent, his or her family, and his or her community is explained by an understanding that the adolescent and community have lost the ability to be in harmony with the life process (Duran & Duran, 1995). An adolescent, his or her family, and his or her community are all part the life process. If one or all parts are out of balance, all parts (adolescent, family, and community) need to participate in the healing process (Duran & Duran, 1995).

The area of context not included in these RFL instruments is connection with nature. Establishing a connection with nature is an important part of healing. This includes being in or being with the natural world including going on a journey into the forest or desert. This may also include using natural substances such as water or smoke in ceremonies (McCormick, 1997).

Henry Old Coyote, a member of the Crow nation, explained, "The Crows are taught that everything you see has a purpose in this world and contributes something to life. There is a purpose behind everything; there is a force out there and that same force is responsible for all that surrounds you" (Morey & Gilliam, 1974, p. 138).

Mind

The mind or intellect is the area or focus for Western psychology. Western or European thought tends to have people living
in their minds (Duran & Duran, 1995). American Indian people experience their being in the world as a totality of personality and not as separate systems within the person. They do not perceive their mind being separate from their bodies (Duran & Duran, 1995).

In the context of whole systems, mind and body together, it is important to understand and work with the thoughts and beliefs of American Indian adolescents. Scales from the RFL (Linehan, et. al., 1983) and RFL-A (Osman, et. al., 1998) related to mind or individual psychological beliefs can help practitioners and adolescents to understand how they think of themselves in the context of the world. These scales include future optimism (RFL-A), suicide related concerns (RFL-A), self-acceptance (RFL-A), and survival and coping beliefs (RFL). The survival and coping beliefs subscale of the RFL, which includes positive expectations about the future and a sense of self-efficacy or ability to cope with whatever life has to offer, appeared most strongly to differentiate between suicidal and non-suicidal adolescents in testing of 253 adolescents in a psychiatric hospital (Pinto, Whisman, & Conwell, 1998).

Answering these RFL questions may help adolescents make an important cognitive switch from thinking about reasons for dying to thinking about reasons for living. First Nations People of British Columbia identified involvement in challenging mental activities and setting goals from public speaking to algebra as potential activities to lead towards healing (McCormick, 1997). They also identified gaining an understanding of the problem as an important ability to recover from a life crisis (McCormick, 1997).

To strengthen the mind component of healing, a reasons for living approach may be used in a Talking Circle with American Indian adolescents. As described by LaFromboise and Low (1998), Talking Circles resemble conventional therapy groups. Participants form a circle and remain in the circle until the ceremony is complete. Sweet grass is burned to produce purifying smoke and provide direction for group conversation. Each participant is free to speak, and no one is allowed to interrupt. Often a sacred object is circulated, and the ceremony ends with a joining of hands in prayer (LaFromboise & Low, 1998). French (1997) describes the development of a Navaho Talking Circle for use in prevention.
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curriculum. In this circle, adolescents can be asked to identify their own reasons for living. If they struggle with trying to come up with ideas, examples from a list started from the RFL or RFL-A may be provided. Questions that elicit reasons for living include asking adolescents if they have reasons for getting up in the morning, if there are things they are looking forward to today, tomorrow or during the week, or even reasons they have hope to go on living.

Body

Nutrition is an important element related to the relational worldview of the body (Cross, 1998). Traditional foods are an important part of traditional Eastern Cherokee approaches to treating mental health and substance abuse (French & Hornbuckle, 1997). Healing activities include participating in gathering and preparing sweet grass, huckleberries, and wild nuts. Health can be restored from participation in cultural, nutritional and ceremonial aspects of preparation of traditional breads and the special Eastern Cherokee yellow jacket soup (French & Hornbuckle, 1997).

The importance of exercise and self-care was another area of healing accentuated by First Nations People of British Columbia (McCormick, 1997). Care of self and body includes activities like taking a hot bath. Physical exercise is also included. Self-care is seen as a way to ensure that the physical dimension of self is in balance (McCormick, 1997).

The relational worldview perspective does suggest that reasons for living could be expanded to address issues of the body and physical health. Health concerns can be important deciding points in thoughts about living or dying. The RFL (Linehan, et. al., 1983) only includes fear of hurting the body or suffering pain, "I am afraid of the actual 'act' of killing myself (the pain, blood, violence)."

Questions about health and exercise, as part of living would be helpful to American Indian youth. A total health perspective is demonstrated by the Cheyenne River Sioux fitness center and the Zuni Wellness center (Voss, Douville, Little Stone, & Twiss, 1999). These state-of-the art fitness gyms are directly connected to other
tribal social services (Voss, Douville, Little Stone, & Twiss, 1999). Thus, American Indian youth can be connected in one place with physical, mental and health resources.

Balance

The clinical utility and import of Reasons for Living are powerful. Survival and Coping Beliefs, Responsibility to Family, and Moral Objections subscales of the RFL were able to differentiate suicidal from non-suicidal adolescents and adolescents who attempted suicide from adolescents who thought about suicide (Pinto, Whisman, & Conwell, 1998). Osman and colleagues (1998) report the RFL-A can be used with the Suicide Probability Scale (Cull & Gill, 1982) to differentiate between adolescents in psychiatric treatment for suicidal concerns and nonsuicidal adolescents. Adolescents who endorse reasons for living are more likely to have resiliency resources to help them avoid suicide, while adolescents who do not endorse reasons for living are more likely to attempt suicide.

While any reasons for living are better than no reasons, some reasons do seem to hold up over the long run. Avoiding suicide based on fear that the method will fail or that it will be painful tends to be a less successful strategy than believing one has a caring family (Linehan, et. al., 1983). Cole (1989) advises, “... clinicians might do well to be particularly concerned about suicidal adolescents who rely heavily upon fear of social disapproval as a reason for staying alive” (p. 25).

The RFL, RFL-A and other reasons for living assessments are important because they tap positive dimensions of a people’s thinking instead of being focused on negative elements, problems or pathology (Range & Knott, 1997. Using the RFL or RFL-A leads to useful interventions because the assessment process indicates where adolescents have support and reasons to live, and where they need support when they are not finding reasons. The RFL and RFL-A begin an intervention because they cause an adolescents to spend time considering lists of reasons to live, and if they have been contemplating suicide, this may be a switch from time spent contemplating reasons to die.

Results from the RFL and RFL-A suggest that adolescents who have reasons for living that cross multiple domains and spheres
of influence seem less likely to commit suicide. In other words, it is healthier for people to live in balance and to have connections with friends, family, nature, and community members who care for them (Duran & Duran, 1995; LaFromboise, & Low, 1998; McCormick, 1997).

Conclusion

For American Indian people, a relational worldview perspective is usually central to their view of wellness and healing. One method of connecting European mental health approaches with American Indian healing perspectives may be to use a Reasons for Living assessment. Using these assessment tools, a practitioner could help American Indian adolescents assess where they may be out of balance and help them connect with traditional healing approaches to further support their growth.

Of course, a RFL or RFL-A assessment may lead a helping professional to an understanding of the need for traditional supports for an American Indian adolescent, but the helping professional will need to have connections with traditional healers who can provide that support. Therapists should refer to or consult with traditionalists at all levels of intervention (Duran & Duran, 1995).

During interactions with American Indian people, a helping professional can seek reasons for living in all four areas of the relational worldview. American Indian adolescents can be given homework to think of more reasons for living and to consult with, family members and elders about other important reasons for living including spiritual guidance. American Indians youth may be willing to take this approach since it gives them a positive way to connect with family members. Learning from a role model or connecting with a respected elder is an important part of American Indian healing (McCormick, 1997; Red Horse, et al, 2000). Asking about reasons for living helps them to focus on hope for success and less on their failings or problems.

RFL assessments could be augmented to improve their correspondence to relational worldview. Further work should be done to provide a better culturally specific starting point for these workers, including developing a reasons for living assessment specifically for American Indian youth. The enlightening aspects of spirituality should be included in Reasons for Living Instruments.
Questions about connection with nature could improve a sense of balance in the context area of the relational worldview (McCormick, 1997; Cross, 1998). Concerns about body could include positive aspects of self-care as well as avoiding harm (McCormick, 1997). Even missing these positive factors, Reasons for Living Assessments may be most helpful to discuss the presence or absence of important family and community interconnections for American Indian people. These interconnections are a central element in balance and healing (Black Elk, 1988; Cross, 1998; McCormick, 1997). Using reasons for living assessments is a useful exercise to help American Indian people heal through contact with positive aspects of their families, friends, communities, cultures, and spiritual bases.

Availability

The RFL is available from Marsha M Linehan, Department of Psychology, Box 351525, University of Washington, Seattle WA 98195.

The RFL-A is available from Augustine Osman, University of Northern Iowa, 334 Baker Hall, Cedar Falls, Iowa 50615-0505.

References


Using Reasons for Living


Envisioning a Healthy Future: 
A Re-becoming of Native American Men 

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Native American men have historically been important to their communities, each having a specific function in the perpetuation of cultural norms and practices. Oral tradition and communal experiential activity were pathways of maintaining a connection with others and in regenerating culture. In contrast, the modern dominant culture values and emphasizes individuation as an indicator of psychosocial growth. This influence seems to have hindered Indigenous people/men in maintaining a sense of connection with the community. Survival for Indigenous men during the establishment of encroaching nations has often occurred through relinquishment of a part of ‘self’ psychically. Aboriginal men report experiencing hopelessness living in a self-imposed isolation, without a sense of tradition or direction. Healing may focus on use of normative and narrative efforts that rebuild the ‘self’ as a part of others and the community, which fosters a sense of interconnectedness. Ceremony is an adjunct to developing linkages between heritage, roles, and a community connection.

It can be said that whatever befalls the least empowered people of a nation, will eventually come to pass for the entire nation. Native American men have historically been stewards of a culture and tradition sustaining a larger community connection (Johnston, 1976; Densmore, 1979; Gill, 1985; Bear Heart & Larkin, 1996). During five centuries of mainstream oppression, the Native male faced disenfranchisement from society, and self; being cut off from the traditional community focus of life. While today’s mainstream society enjoys modernity with all of its gadgetry, not all members have been so blessed as to be participants. The pressure imposed by majority institutions on the Native man to individuate has largely resulted in a lonely retreat into depressive hopelessness.

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For Native people, this change has been twofold. Primarily, the cost has been unfavorable to the Indigenous psyche, in that being a minority in a larger European-valued population, there a sense of either being ignored or romanticized. Second, there is a growing feeling of disillusionment with life in modern society; neither being fully allowed to participate in it, nor fully wanting to do so. Many Native men lack a positive self-esteem, which was historically derived from a role abundant with personal life-meaning, and functioning as part of a nurturing community.

Many indigenous people have learned to survive for decades by denying their 'Indian-ness' and even rejecting that part of self in an attempt to gain a limited foothold in the modern world (Moore & Gillette, 1992; Voss, Douville, Little Soldier & Twiss, 1999). This denial of the self greatly diminishes the reward and opportunity once offered to sustain a time-honored way of life and personal meaning-making. Without this rudimentary sense of usefulness and purpose, many Native men have turned to harmful chemical and behavioral addictions of as a means of either escaping hopelessness or maintaining the illusion of control. The progression of an addiction eventually robs the individual of a sense of self, perpetuates psychic despair, and promotes further addictive behavior (Schaler, 2000). As one student stated, “at least [with alcohol] we have something to look forward to in life” (D. L. Johnson, personal communication, August 21, 1999).

Recently, men began to realize they were neglecting the everyday nurturing responsibilities traditionally considered as theirs. For Indigenous men to achieve their own center and balance, it is important that they embrace a healthy respect for the women, children, and elders of their nations (Small, 2001). A respect for the self is grounded in a healthy respect for others, emphasizing the importance of being connected with a community.

It is the goal of this paper to heighten awareness of the diminishing importance of men’s contextual role and function in modern Native America, how this has contributed to dysfunctional behaviors and addictions, and how some helpers and organizations are successfully reversing this trend. Discussion will focus on how community-based healing solutions can decrease the feeling of isolation for the individual. These solutions may be as simple as talking, singing, or physical movement. A rekindled
sense of mutual trust, love, and respect can re-connect Native men with their communities developing a renewed sense of purpose (Real, 1996; Cochran & Rabinowitz, 2000). Change is happening through the diverse efforts of community members, educators and mentors. However, for the process to flourish, there is a need to motivate others to help with this type of work.

Traditional Transformation: Role Upheaval

Native Americans make up less than one percent of the total U.S. population but represent half the languages and cultures in the nation. There are hundreds of different bands of Native American people in North America with numerous languages, customs, and beliefs. There are many culturally distinguishing features between different tribes and individuals, degrees of acculturation, and levels of mainstream integration. There are also many striking similarities among the various tribal peoples. It must be noted that both matrilineal, and patriarchal societies existed, and still exist today, within different indigenous bands and tribes. Each of these groups of Native people had different expectations, responsibilities, and gender-based roles according to a traditional way of being. Broad, sweeping statements cannot adequately illustrate the norms, values, and practices of the Indigenous population as a whole (Champagne, 1994). For this reason, the multitude of different tribes in this paper will be referred to utilizing intertribal or pan-Indian terms, for the both the sake of brevity and clarity.

Aboriginal communities have been greatly influenced and transformed by the forces of the modern mainstream of society. The attitudes, values, and social norms of the dominant culture have been integrated into modern Native cultures both on and off reservation. Indigenous city dwellers, by proximity, have been influenced not only by Anglo customs, but by those of the African-American, Latino, and others. It is not uncommon in the Southwest United States to see young Native people thrive on rap, reggae, and hip-hop music. Often, these young people reject their tribal heritage, adopting the trendier dress and the underworld mannerisms of other marginalized urban denizens (Lonewolf, 1996).
During the second half of the twentieth century, American men overall have seen a dramatic change in their sense of importance, worth, and role in the family and the community. Men continued to exert a great deal of influence in these settings. This was due not only to their larger median physical stature, but also to the investment in the value of male dominance, a value still operative today. Over time however, a vast portion of male influence eroded due to numerous forces (Faludi, 1999; Farrell, 1986). Some of these societal values shifted due to a dramatic economic transformation, a change in women’s roles in the workplace, and alterations in societal attitudes (Friedan, 2000; Young, 1999).

Within the dominant culture, men’s worth tends to be based in terms of individual achievement and accumulation of wealth. This role has remained despite other value shifts. The value of setting one’s self apart from the crowd has never sat well in Aboriginal communities, and has often led to a growing alienation from one’s people. The foremost of Indigenous values are related to group, family, and community welfare. These are held in esteem far above any self-need or desire (Bearheart & Larkin, 1995; Coyhis, 2001). Today, the Native man who tends to be an achievement-oriented individual, is often identified as the oppressor and suffers rejection by others in the community, his own family, or by both (P. Stewart, personal interview, June 9, 2001).

The Native man has become both the object of prejudice and the one who is prejudiced. Institutional principles of the dominant culture have taught the Aboriginal man to devalue his heritage, language, and traditional roles because they are incompatible with modern life. He has developed a split-self, where he both sees and despises himself, and other Native men, through the eyes of the oppressor (Freire, 1998). This dynamic is one that serves to breed poisonous contempt, shame, anger, self-hatred, and violence. What appears to be a shield of apathy and inertia is really a state of demoralization. The constant drive toward self-sufficiency and separation from community, and each other, has had tragic results. This severance has resulted in despair, hopelessness, and a collective sense of grief and loss; subjects only now being therapeutically broached (Simonelli, 2000). Very recent experiences of ongoing prejudice, maltreatment, trauma, and memories of attempted genocide occurring only a century
ago, remain as open wounds and fodder for resentment in the Native consciousness today (Duran & Duran, 1995).

Loss of Native male identity

In Aboriginal society, men, women, and children maintained balance by a steady cooperation between them in the performance of industrial tasks (Densmore, 1979). In many patriarchal Indigenous societies, it was the male’s responsibility to mentor the skills of farming, hunting, fishing, narrative and hands-on education. It was also the elder male’s responsibility to train young men to become warriors, or guardians of the people (p. 6). This manner of making role-specific tasks was important for community survival. Although some contemporary Westerners have been known to wax romantic on the ideal of the ‘noble red-man’, it was indeed a very difficult way of life, involving a constant search for sustenance. While it may seem romantic to daydream of a First Nations’ Utopia, the reality of their life is hardly preferential compared to the conveniences of the twenty-first century (Preece, 1999).

Boarding schools

As the American Republic developed, so did many other methods of reforming and modernizing the Aboriginal people. The boarding school experience was purported to have striven to instill teamwork values in an individualist framework from the outset (Szasz, 1999). Boarding schools were largely justified by philanthropic endeavors as measures to protect natives from extinction (Adams, 1995). They were also designed to increase economic well being of both the Indian and the developing America, as well as to aid the Native children in developing skills for survival in the mainstream. Of course, the European ideas about gender roles were reinforced by this experience. The boys were generally trained in farming and industrial arts—the girls were usually trained in domestic skills. Most notable, it was found that education of Native children was seen as necessary for the advancing Republic because it was less expensive than outright extermination (p. 20).

Residual effects of the boarding school movement continue to be felt throughout the native community. Traditional rites
of passage into adolescence and adulthood have been radically transformed or eliminated entirely. During the early days of the boarding schools, many Indigenous children were herded towards these institutions under the threat of harm or death, and in the process had elements of their identities and heritage systematically and permanently stripped away. Having been removed from familiar nurturance and mentoring by the parents, these children eventually matured physically and bore offspring. These new parents had little idea how to 'parent', and as a result, there were poor patterns of bonding between parent, child, and community. The effect of inadequate bonding brought about by this forced exodus from the family manifests itself today in a lack of connection with others, including a lack of connection with the self.

**Loss of balance**

The value of balance was a priority in earlier Native American societies. Each tribe and band of Aboriginal people had their own ritual and ceremony for maintaining or restoring a natural balance to the people, Earth, sky and plant/animal cycle. Many Native American beliefs also center around the concept of cardinal directions symbolizing the biological, mental, social, and spiritual aspects. Each direction may represent a color, a season, an element of life, a holistic facet, or a blessing. A balancing of these aspects, through deliberate care and activity, indicates homeostasis. When any of these elements are neglected, the other aspects of physical, psychological and relational become out of balance as well (Petty, 1994). Therefore, a primary goal of intervention is helping the individual find a sense of biopsychosocial and spiritual balance, thorough whatever means possible.

A person truly 'becomes' by marking life milestones with certain rites of passage (Kipnis, 1991). In contemporary Indigenous life, initiation ritual and ceremony, once marking important rites of passage, have either been eliminated entirely, or seriously diluted. According to Zoja (2000), modern people often unconsciously substitute drug and alcohol addiction for the initiatory rites passage, as a collective psychological need (p. 33). Unfortunately, there is no longer the opportunity to undergo the important transformation initiation once facilitated, e.g. marking
the "death" of childhood and their subsequent "re-birth" as an adult community member (p. 57). Adaptations of some older rituals continue to exist, but do not carry the same weight as they once did. The need for rites of passage still exists in the Indigenous psyche, but is often substituted for by the effects of chemical intoxication in a form of negative "self-initiation" (p. 59).

A high percentage of Indigenous men and women have turned to body and soul-robbing drugs, alcohol, and violence (Beauvais & LaBoueff, 1985). Alcohol and chemical abuse and dependency may serve to numb the dullness or pain of modern city or reservation life, but it has also become accepted as a cultural norm for many Native people (Williamson, 2000). It is in interviewing many of these men in aboriginal communities that we witness a sense of both fatalism and pessimism. Some men are dissatisfied with life to such a point where there is an overwhelming sense of hopelessness: "... nobody [seems to care] if I drink and sleep in the alley, so why would anyone care if I got sober?" (I. Borrego, personal communication, February 13, 2001).

Ultimately, these problems are not insurmountable nor are Native men merely victims, incapable of improving their lives. It is simple to find fault, identify problems, project blame, and then do nothing. In reality, and with help, thousands of Native men have overcome crippling personal tribulations.

Contemporary Issues and Dynamics

Native American men tend to be portrayed by Hollywood as either wild savages or wise medicine men; rarely as pilots, teachers, social workers, or responsible fathers. Most young children are familiar with stereotypes of the Native American. Many forms of popular media, including children's literature, propagate negative and absurd stereotypes. These media often have, and still do, sustain the idea that Native Americans are a vanished people, uncivilized and nomadic, childishy ignorant, superstitious, or bloodthirsty savages. Conversely, there are romantic myths that cast Native men as spiritually wise icons of shamanism (Kilpatrick, 1999). In this way, it is difficult for younger Native men to develop a healthy sense of self, when healthy role models either do not exist, or are based on inaccurate Hollywood stereotypes.
For positive male role models to become more cogent, a great awakening to reality must first take place. Furthermore, when dealing with wounded Native men, there needs to be a renewal of core values, within the context of healing.

Half as many men as women seek assistance from helping professionals, yet men commit suicide at least three, and up to eight times as often (Cochran & Rabinowitz, 2000). The American Indian man has not only experienced immense change in the sustaining roles once required in his culture; he has also had the European ideals of manhood and gender-roles thrust upon him. Many of these standards are partially or even wholly incompatible with ancient Native wisdom and innate knowledge. Furthermore, these values promote denial of deep feelings, discourage disclosure of personal problems, and persuade the man to bear these agonies in silence. It is this element of silence which sublimates strong emotion, except for intense anger, and allows the soul to wallow in self-pity.

In our rush for gender egalitarianism, we have cross-culturally ignored the wounded male, and become neglectful of male needs as a society. Communities touched by these men have been steeped for many generations in negative emotions such as fear and shame. These negative elements have even become community norms that drive thoughts, feelings, and actions. Many Aboriginal communities have developed detrimental patterns of interpersonal communication and interaction that seem impossible to change. Yet, positive change is happening. This change continues to overcome communities' negative internal barriers and attitudes, subsequently affecting the community positively, and encouraging sustainable healing (Polansky, Ammons, & Gaudin, 1985).

Mentorship: Men Making New Meaning

For millennia, young men have gathered their skill and life knowledge from their male peers and elders. This is generally seen as a major pathway into the development of a sense of 'self' through mentorship (Faludi, 1999, p. 76). This phenomenon continues in the majority of cultures today. There still exists a value to gender-specific work of mentoring skill, and promulgating
esoteric information. Native men today have the opportunity to embrace the best of the ancient wisdom and values, while working in the present. Guidelines for this work are based upon values such as generosity and sharing, respect for elders and women, symbiosis with nature, individual freedom, leadership, and courage (Coyhis, 1995; Sanchez, 1999).

Each of the numerous nations of American Indians had rites, rituals and folkways that were intrinsic to harmony and survival. The mission of survival in Aboriginal communities consisted of many responsibilities, which took a sense of courage and resolve to carry out. It would be easy to postulate that a man was identified by his actions, as many men today tend to identify themselves by their occupation (Farrell, 1986). However, the indigenous man generally anchored a greater portion of his identity in his belonging to a community (Carsten-Wentz & Maldonado, 2000).

In many contemporary efforts, adult men take the lead in working with youth to restructure core beliefs (Williamson, 2000). Historically, men have taught the younger generation skills by way of experiential learning, creating a bond between apprentice and teacher. Cooley (1922) realized the value of the elder mentoring the youth. In terms of role specificity, “emulation” was possibly the greatest role model of all where “the greatest growth of character takes place” (p. 314). Without this apprentice-teacher bond, an important part of life and the learning process has been weakened. For Indigenous men to continue the healing process, the bond between elder and younger male through experiencing cognitive growth, needs to be strengthened. Furthermore, the well being and functioning of Native people by use of community members, publications, and traditional culture, is indispensable (Cooley, Ostendorf and Bickerton, 1979; Polansky, et al. 1985). These elements serve to reduce a sense of isolation and powerlessness.

Prescriptions for Helpers

Most young-adult Native American males come to helping and healing by way of tragedy: Cops, Courts and Corrections. Innumerable Native Americans have experienced devastating events in their lives, and have turned to addictive behavior to
cope with the destructive feelings. However, many of these youth, when given enough opportunity and guidance, have found the way out of the mire of addiction. In the process, recovering individuals can develop a bond or "camaraderie" with their peers. This synergistic sense of inclusion globalizes recovery in the community, greater than if a single person were to make the unaccompanied journey.

Traditional teachings

Embracing traditional ceremony is an adjunct to developing an appreciation of the link between a unique heritage and a place in the contemporary world. Although each tribe has its own esoteric stories, legends, history, songs, and dances, efforts can be aimed at helping those individuals new to recovery develop a personal meaning for each of them. Many contemporary helping professionals observe that a combination of traditional teachings and core values dovetails with the twelve-step philosophy in developing a suggested program of living (Small, 2001). Recovery doesn't solely mean recovery from chemical, behavioral, and emotional stressors, it also means recovery of positive aspects of life that have been lost while practicing addictive behavior (Picucci, 2001). A community needs to be involved as a support-network, a sounding board, and even a normalizing force. There is a range of literature supporting contemporary and long-standing psychotherapies which complement Native American community-based helping; resonating with Native values and beliefs whether solely traditional, or mainstream-integrated (Coyhis, 1995; Gustafson, 1997). There have always been elements of cognitive and behavioral therapies among Indigenous Americans offered by mentoring, although it was never seen as therapy.

Community wellness activities

Although it is the individual who is wounded due to a tragic life history, it is the community that can be an instrument of healing (Small, 2001). Due to the large number of works in tribal communities aimed at attracting people to healing, only a few programs will be discussed here. There have been many successful efforts on the part of Indigenous helping professionals.
At the interface of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries we have witnessed efforts to bring Indigenous communities together in healing. Community efforts such as White Bison’s Firestarter Programs and Sacred Hoop walk, G.O.N.A., (Gathering Of Native Americans), U.N.I.T.Y. (United Intertribal Youth), and N.A.N.A.C.O.A. (National Association of Native American Children of Alcoholics) conferences have attracted thousands. These programs offer Native people the venues and opportunities to share thoughts and feelings openly, honestly, and without shame. Health promotion and education programs, such as Women and Men In Wellness conferences, also disseminate valuable materials to Indigenous communities and helpers. Each of these efforts have helped participants to focus on positive happenings, the value of a caring community, and possibilities to begin the healing process themselves. As these efforts proceed, individuals of all ages have the opportunity to be called upon to become mentors. This mentorship serves to boost self-worth of the mentor and models the practice of intergenerational helping in the larger intertribal community.

Drum-singing

Some healing processes begin with an event as simple as a song. There are as many localized practices relating to indigenous music as there are groups of Native people. Nonetheless, it appears that the drum is central to the majority of tribes found in North America (Roberts, 1999). There are literally hundreds of drum-singing groups, or collections of singers that travel from event to event, e.g. the powwow trail, singing for the people. Learning to sing at the drum is a more involved undertaking than it appears to the uninitiated observer. It takes time, a natural musical ability, dedication, and a honest desire to improve ones singing ability, to ‘become’ a drum-singer.

Singing at the drum has generally been a male endeavor originally of the Plains Indians, although there are a growing number of females sitting and singing with these traveling drums. The drum supports a time-honored way of being an Indigenous man: knowledgeable, respectful, sober, and an entire way of comportment that is becoming of a drum-singer. It may take two to three decades, or longer, to learn, memorize, and ‘carry’ these songs. It
is a great honor to be named as a ‘lead’ or ‘head’ singer, or as a song keeper, in many Indigenous cultures.

There are many drum groups being founded in sobriety, even naming themselves as “sober drums.” For many young Native American men, a center is found around the circular drum that provides an anchor in life. Even the act of singing—inhaling and exhaling heartily—is as healing as ‘breath-work’ being practiced by many New Age or contemporary helping professionals (Weil, 1996). Starting and finishing a song for dancers, who consist of community members and relatives, gives a singer a sense of a completed Gestalt, affecting the whole drum-group in a healing and positive way.

A renaissance of celebration

Powwow, Potlatch, and other celebrations are old tribal customs of the United States and Canada. They are gatherings, not necessarily ceremonial, but conducted with certain protocol, where people can form new friendships and renew old ties, sing, dance, give and receive gifts, and generally restore their energy in intangible ways. The dances have enjoyed both a renaissance and transplantation over the previous several decades, with many tribes participating that never had previously. Due to the advent of technology, the automobile, and the ability to transmit or transport elements of these celebrations worldwide, Powwows that are held throughout North America often share a uniformity in their protocol. It is common to see Powwow procedure in Connecticut like that of California—with very similar dances, sets of rules, ‘giveaway’ ceremonies, and even Powwow Emcees’ jokes (Roberts, 1999). Much of this protocol originated in both Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show of the late 1800s, as well as in the modern Rodeo, and has greatly influenced the modern Powwow (Fees, 1989). Many of the well-known Emcees announce for both Powwows and Rodeos throughout Native America. It is also common to see men of tribes in the South and West today dancing a contemporary version of the old Omaha Tribe grass dance. Native men also dance the fancy war dance, Northern and Southern plains traditional dances, and sing with plains-style dance drum groups at different celebratory events. Men represent not only the fierceness of the warrior or the skill of the hunter, but also the grace of a gentleman within these contemporary dances.
Nearly every tribe has some sort of gathering for dancers such as these. It is not unusual to find that many people who participate in these events are themselves in recovery from alcohol or drug dependence, cognizant of these ways having both positive benefits and influences. These public events continue to blend a tradition of sharing and healing with elements that are sacred in subtle ways. These celebrations greatly aid in the healing process by helping the intertribal community come together and rebuild itself, after five hundred years of being driven apart (A. Roberts, personal interview, May 21, 2001).

Storytelling and narrative

While some Indigenous healing ways can generate unity and camaraderie in a public setting, others are appropriate for more private venues. Earliest First Nation life was enriched by stories; marking development, personal growth, and even one’s coming into being. Storytelling serves to organize diverse ideas into functional portrayals and narratives, actively restructure the listener’s views and provide problem solving methodology. In this context, a successful story contains all of the essential elements of a listener’s concerns and then organizes these elements into a viable and replicable process. Storytelling can generate abstract outlines and relational networks for ideas that also serve as guides for action and understanding. This form of narrative may begin a process that leads to a conclusion and growth far beyond the original tale because the storyteller provides a vehicle for the listeners to comprehend in their own way and derive their own solutions (Freire, 1998). According to Jolly (1996) the five components of effective storytelling for growth or leadership are to:

"... (1) identify the discordant, limited, or conflicted elements of the listeners’ schema; (2) develop a story in which the conflicted elements are reorganized into one or more workable systems; (3) present the story as a propositional schema; (4) lead the listener in exploring the propositional schema by discussing elements of the story; and (5) through discussion, lead the listener back to her or his issues and guide the transfer of the client's schematic elements into the newly defined functional schema" (p. 10).

Helping solutions may focus on the judicious use of pertinent normative and narrative efforts that aid in rebuilding the 'self'
as a part of others. Oral tradition and experiential activity were and still are touchstones of identity and history, functioning as major pathways in regeneration of cultural mores. Story-telling, talking circle, journaling, and a safe grounding in private and community-based spiritual ceremony are ways this effort has been moving forward. These approaches in the therapeutic context have begun to find inroads into the process of ‘re-storying’ one’s life, thereby bringing about a reframed sense of ‘self’ as a part of the environment.

*Integrating the Twelve-Step story*

The twelve-step program is a way of storytelling that has roots in a kind of normative-narrative therapy (Davis & Jansen, 1998). While a story is a construct of the individual, it is also told among others with similar problems in a group setting. This way of twelve-step verbal sharing brings people together with similar problems, and shares viable examples of workable solutions. This shared solution-making tends to further foster an ironclad sense of connectedness in struggle. Twelve-step programs in Indian Country are reported to be successfully attracting members of all ages to enter into recovery (Iron Moccasin, 2000). An existing and successful framework for positive change today has its roots in the Oxford Group-based twelve step programs of Alcoholics Anonymous and others (Alcoholics Anonymous World Services, 1976). In the language of twelve step programs, the term “recovery” not only describes teaching based in chemical abstinence, but also describes a positive future outlook for those who “work” the program (p. 58).

This twelve-step approach, especially when integrated with elements of Native spirituality, tends to be a powerful tool for helping to create meaning and in offering the support of others who have successfully navigated a similar journey. Furthermore, twelve-step programs can be modified to fit the language and philosophy of the Indigenous group utilizing the program (Coy- his, 1995).

*Talking circle*

The healing or ‘talking circle’ has become a mainstay of urban and reservation professional and lay-based healing work. The
A Re-becoming of Native American Men

A circle is composed of usually a dozen or more individuals and a facilitator. After a period of initial protocol, an eagle's feather, or other meaningful item, is passed around the circle from person to person, and each is invited to speak in turn. Individuals often speak from the heart, sing a song, tell a story, or verbally share whatever they are moved to. This oral tradition gives an individual the chance to be heard in a group context without peer or facilitator interruption. While Johnson and Johnson (1997) stress the importance of feedback in correcting misperceptions and redirection in growth, the talking circle is forgiving and accepting (p. 57). It is this forgiveness and acceptance that Native nations so need to practice and develop to continue this healing journey.

Implications for Helpers and Professionals: Connectedness

While mainstream developmental and rehabilitative psychology is generally aimed at helping the individual, solutions for Native peoples may be more effective if developed in terms of the family, group or community-wide endeavors. Both Krech (1999) and Preece (1999) exhort academics and helpers to respect other cultures and religions, but not to patronize them. This requires an assessment of cultures that sometimes includes their contradictions. Even if there are beliefs within both aboriginal and Western religion and philosophy that urge us to live in harmony with nature and each other, there is a giant gap between teaching respect for ourselves and practicing it. Unlearning internalized negative stereotypes will be a long-term struggle. There is a great deal of personal healing and de-programming that must go on for this to take place. The call for practitioners from diverse nations is ever growing. These helpers can best serve the people by being adequately grounded in a knowledge and practice of cross-cultural competence and historical awareness.

According to Pewewardy (1993), competent helpers can assist their charges by guiding them to examine their qualms, reframing them into ideas that can shape future actions. This being done, one will not always be compelled to try to force negative experiences from the memory, but the utilize this self-knowledge for growth. Respected male elder Iron Moccasin (2001) encourages Native men to "Habilitate", or learn to live as was intended by the
Creator (p. 13). This calls for a blend of old and new methods; a combination of processes that have worked in the past connected with those that are working now.

While society continues to depend upon men to sustain life and put bread on the table, society needs to develop ways to help men embrace their need for nurturance. For Indigenous men, fostering connectedness is a template for healing. We need to develop a new way of thinking about men’s roles, and engender acceptance for men to experience feelings. For Native American communities, the tie to the mainstream is a symbiotic one. Indigenous attitudes and values have been greatly influenced by European proximity and public policies. Healing strategies that have been most beneficial to Aboriginal people have involved a reintroduction of Native American values, laws, and practices into the lives of the people.

Conclusion

The dominant culture’s concept of individualism is still at odds with Indigenous thinking, beliefs, and values, and has indeed been destructive. What is in line with Native values and beliefs is an identity grounded in tribal membership and community. This is an identity and value system in which Native men have thrived and contributed in a meaningful way historically. There are modern ways to establish one’s identity in community, such as singing, traditional dancing, storytelling, and participation in twelve-step activities. The common theme among these items is a sharing of oneself for a greater good. Promotion of these events is a pathway to healing for Native men, and thus, for all Native communities.

There is a healing that is awakening in Native American communities today. Native men are lighting the way by connecting with others, after being in the darkness of separation for far too long. Healing involves an acceptance of the true self as a nurturer, desiring connection and intimacy. This is what many have found in the twelve-step groups—mentoring, modeling, sharing, and helping others. When people begin to share thoughts and feelings with specific plans and goals in mind, the end results will bear a sweeter fruit. When a man can see another man risk sharing
from the soul and not be repulsed or afraid of this act, then true healing can begin. When others see the man, once pitiful and ill, now healthy and whole again, it will attract them toward a similar journey of healing and hope. Connectedness teaches all people about what it is to be human—the need to both love and be loved; to share the deepest self with another, and have that sharing returned. This sharing helps us to make a powerful personal meaning of the events of our lives. It is the understanding of an inclusive cultural identity that will foster a sense of reintegration of the self, as our First Nations men move into the new millennium, enjoying growth and survival, and ensuring an enduring progeny.

References


Indigenous communities in the United States have a wealth of cultural and social resources that can facilitate educational resilience among Native students. This article reviews the historical context, contemporary trends, and current challenges related to education of Indigenous students. The authors present an innovative middle school-to-high school-to-college bridge program as one example of many positive educational initiatives currently developing across the country.
The story of education of Indigenous Peoples in the United States is often told "... as though it were a tragedy ... highlighting deficiency, failure, and negative trends ... But this dismal view is only half the picture" (Wang & Gordon, 1994, p. ix). This article reviews the historical context, current challenges, and contemporary trends related to education of Indigenous Peoples, highlighting factors related to positive outcomes. The authors present examples of educational programs that foster educational resilience and describe one high school-to-college bridge program in detail. This program is one example of a school-community partnership that mobilizes and combines resources of a high school district and the surrounding community to facilitate educational resilience in Native students. Preliminary outcome data are elaborated.

Historical Context

Since first contact, the well-being of Indigenous Peoples has been continuously challenged by political, economic, social and cultural oppression. Nevertheless, Indigenous Peoples have survived, and are among the fastest growing population groups in the United States (Locke, 1992). In 1990, there were an estimated 2 million Indigenous people in the U.S. This is a 38 percent increase over the recorded 1980 population, and four times the 1960 population estimate (Lewis, 1995; Marger, 1994). There are 660 federally recognized tribes and an additional 200 tribes still struggling with legal and government agencies to gain federal recognition (Wright, Lopez, & Zumwalt, 1997). Indigenous Peoples are also one of the youngest population groups in the United States (Locke, 1992). With an average age of 16, the majority of Native people are, or soon will be, of age to enter college (Aguirre & Baker, 2000).
Educational Traditions among Indigenous Peoples

Every Indigenous nation has its own teachings and methods for educating children and adolescents. This has been true since long before contact with European colonizers. Hampton states,

"Generally, these traditionally Indian forms of education can be characterized as oral histories, teaching stories, ceremonies, apprenticeships, learning games, formal instruction, tutoring, and tag-along teaching... all of the traditional Native methods took place within cultural settings that were characterized by subsistence economies, in-context learning, personal and kinship relationships between teachers and students, and ample opportunities for students to observe adult role models who provided good examples of the knowledge, skills, and values being taught" (1993, p. 268).

Overcoming A Legacy of Miseducation

The legacy of political, economic, social and cultural oppression is inextricably intertwined with the experience of Indigenous Peoples in the United States educational system. European colonizers have attempted to use the educational system to remake Indigenous Peoples in the image of Europeans (Aguirre & Baker, 2000). Consequently, the high school drop out rate for Native people is estimated to be about 50% nationally. It is as high as 85% in some regions. Native Peoples are less likely to attend college than any other ethnic group (Brown, 1993). As late as 1932, only 52 college graduates from Indigenous communities could be identified in the U.S. Still, in 1966, only one percent of the Native population was enrolled in college.

The tide began to turn with a series of task force reports that led the Bureau of Indian Affairs Higher Education Program to begin financing Native People’s higher education. By 1979, the BIA was funding 14,600 Native undergraduates and 700 graduate students. Of these students, 1,639 received college degrees and 434 earned graduate degrees (Aguirre & Baker, 2000). Subsequently, with the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 and the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978, Indigenous Peoples began to take control of their own education. Today there are 24 tribally controlled colleges serving about 10,000 Indigenous students. The full-time equivalent enrollment of Native students is about 4,500.
Current Challenges

Campus Climate

Hurtado (1992) defines campus climate as the product of four interrelated elements: (a) an institution's historical legacy of inclusion or exclusion of a given group, sometimes referred to as "critical mass," (b) its structural diversity in terms of numerical representation of the ethnic group, (c) perceptions and attitudes between and among groups, and (d) the behavioral dimension, characterized by intergroup relations on campus. The sometimes hostile social/psychological climate of campus environments can create a sense of alienation and discomfort for Native students. Similarly, encounters with non-Native students, faculty, and staff who romanticize, stereotype, or otherwise objectify Native students can be just as aggravating and distressing (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1998).

Cultural Discontinuities

The discontinuity between Indigenous and dominant culture worldviews creates a sense of disorientation and distress for many Native college students. The challenge to well-being is compounded when long distances result in deprivation of accustomed social support from family, clan, and tribe (Wright, Lopez, & Zumwalt, 1997). Moreover, students from reservation communities may feel pressured to choose between traditional values and the values of the dominant culture (Everett, Proctor, & Cartmell, 1983). Given these cultural discontinuities, it is not surprising that many Native students report difficulty forging a positive ethnic identity (Dodd, Nelsen, & Hofland, 1994) and integrating their ethnic identities with their "college student" identities (Garnets & Kimmel, 1991).

Urban Native students face unique challenges. While they are subject to the same stereotyping and prejudices that challenge all Native students in mainstream schools, they are less likely to be protected by knowledge of and connection to their ethnic roots. Without a strong, positive ethnic identity, an adolescent is at increased risk relative to social and environmental risk factors (Wang & Gordon, 1994). Such students may feel alienated not only from their school environments, but from themselves as well (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1993).
The following examples illustrate the many cultural discontinuities impacting Native students in mainstream schools:

Historically, teachings in many Indigenous cultures indicate that a person’s primary education should be in traditional beliefs and practices, particularly with regard to the relationship between human beings and the natural world. By contrast, in mainstream American education, learners and the learning process are often dissociated from the natural world. Elders sometimes caution young people about the hazards of clouding their minds and hearts with dominant culture ideas. As one of the authors, a Lakota educator, puts it,

If I’m going into a sweat [sweat lodge ceremony] with elders, my [mainstream] education is a detriment to me. Sometimes that education will leave doubts in your head as to what we’re doing. It’s almost like a clouding of the mind. Traditional beliefs follow the natural world, a natural way of believing. European education separates the natural world from learning.

Accordingly, for some students, the spiritual, psychological, and physical distance between the learning environment and the natural environment can be a significant barrier to engaging with school.

Indigenous students who have been raised in traditional contexts may experience discontinuity between educational methods they are accustomed to and mainstream educational practices. For example, in many tribal societies, one is judged by one’s contribution to the group rather than by individual achievement (Hynd & Garcia, 1979; Little Soldier, 1989). Hence, the focus on individual achievement, competitive testing, and grading systems that may encourage White, middle-class learners may be counterproductive with Native students (Hall, 1976). For Native students, role modeling and cooperative learning activities may be more appropriate teaching strategies (Dodd, et. al, 1994).

European-Americans tend to reify being “on time” as they have allowed their lives to be dominated by the clock. Traditionally, Native Peoples have not organized their activities according to arbitrary time frames. Activities continue until they are complete. Accordingly, it may be difficult for a student to complete an assignment by an arbitrary deadline. Students may also experience a conflict of allegiances between schedules and
requirements related to traditional cultural roles and ways of life, and the rigid schedules and requirements of academia.

A great deal of verbalization is normative in the dominant culture. European-Americans tend to speak often and rapidly, whereas, many Native languages are spoken more slowly, with pauses for thinking and reflection (Hall, 1976). This way of speaking is related to belief that words are powerful and should be measured carefully. Given this cultural difference, a Native student’s pause for reflection may be misconstrued as a non response. When the classroom pace is repeatedly out of sync with the student’s pacing, and when there is an ongoing discrepancy in level of verbal participation between Native and non-Native students, a Native student may feel undervalued and/or invisible in the classroom setting (Dodd, Ostwald, & Rose, 1991).

In this era of self involvement, self disclosure is highly valued and strongly encouraged in many mainstream American classrooms. This can be problematic for a Native student who may have been raised to believe that one should avoid self disclosure to strangers (Dana, 1984; Stock, 1987) particularly European Americans who often distort the reality of Native Peoples with romanticizing, stereotyping, appropriating spirituality, or some other form of objectification.

Even the Native college student who has found ways to contend with all of these risk factors is likely to find it difficult to maintain interest and motivation in the many college courses in which the story of Indigenous Peoples is either entirely absent, distorted, or trivialized. Similarly, Native students are not likely to be inspired by the achievements of “heroic” European American colonizers (Dodd, et. al, 1994). All of these obstacles combine to contribute to the fact that high school and college drop out rates for Native students exceed those of any other group (Aguirre & Baker, 2000).

Fostering Educational Resilience

Resilience, simply stated, is positive adaptation in response to adversity (Waller, 2001). The study of resilience arose from the study of risk. In examining the lives of ‘at-risk’ children, pioneering investigators recognized that some children thrive in the midst of
adversity and become healthy adults (Anthony, 1987; Garmezy, 1974; Matsen, Best, & Garmezy, 1990; Murphy & Moriarty, 1976; Rutter, 1979; Werner & Smith, 1982). Resilience was initially conceptualized as the result of personality traits or coping styles that seemed to make some children continue to progress along a positive developmental trajectory even when confronted with considerable adversity (Anthony, 1987; Bolig & Weddle, 1998). However, over the past two decades, it has become increasingly clear that resilience is not the property of a privileged few, but a potential that every human being possesses. A recurring theme in resilience research is that most individuals who face adversity have more positive outcomes than one might predict based on their life circumstances (Bernard, 1994; Bleuler, 1984; Gabarino, Dubro, Kostolny, & Pardo, 1992; Garmezy, 1991, 1994; Hauser, Vieyra, Jacobson, & Wertlieb, 1985; Luthar & Zigler, 1991; Masten, 1994; Rutter, 1979; Vaillant, 1993).

One factor contributing to educational resilience for Native students is a curriculum that students perceive as personally meaningful (Maton, 1990). Toward this end, the American Indian Program in the Northwest Regional Education Laboratory in Oregon develops textbooks written by and for Native people. The program also developed a reading series made up of stories about Native Peoples of the Northwest which is marketed nationwide (Brown, 1993).

Disconnection between the worlds of school and family life is a major risk factor undermining educational resilience (Wang, Haertel, & Walberg, 1990). Therefore, involving families significantly increases the effectiveness of educational programs (Walberg, 1984). For example, in the southwestern region of the Navajo Nation, the Little Singer Community School took an innovative approach to involving the community in the children's education. School board members visited the homes of relatives of the students and personally invited them to bring their talents to the local primary school. School personnel observed the following results: (a) students' behavior has improved markedly since it is being observed by their relatives, (b) parents are more involved in the children's education, (c) children are more invested in their education, and (d) teachers felt supported and viewed parents more positively (T. Walker, personal communication, June 15, 2000).
Positive educational outcomes are even more likely when families, communities, and schools cooperate in setting high expectations and supporting students' efforts to meet them (Holtzman, 1991; Krist & McLaughlin, 1990; National Center on Education in the Inner Cities, 1990). For example, across the nation, schools are bringing elders from Native communities into schools to teach students traditional lifeways through storytelling and demonstration. These ways of teaching are traditional in many tribes and have the advantage of mirroring the ways that many children were taught by family members before entering school. Some schools employ the same traditional teaching strategies to help Native students master mainstream academic skills (Brown, 1993).

In some cases, Native educators have established alternative schools for urban Native students. One such program is the Heart of the Earth Survival School in Minnesota, which was founded on the premise that a culturally relevant curriculum delivered by Native teachers can promote educational resilience among Native students who have not been successful in public high schools (Brown, 1993). In Duluth, Minnesota, Native parents have petitioned the school district for a separate Native American high school (not necessarily limited to Native students). Parents advocating for this school believe that a separate school will foster educational resilience by eliminating the distractions related to the cultural discontinuities Native students experience in mainstream high schools. They also argued that a separate school would give them a greater voice in determining curriculum design making the school environment hospitable (Associated Press, 1989).

The Hoop of Learning

The Hoop of Learning Program was implemented in the summer of 1995 in response to concerns voiced by Native parents in an urban high school district in Phoenix, Arizona. The Indian Education Program Parent Executive Committee approached the director of the Indian Education Program with concerns that the local high schools were not offering culturally appropriate support or direction to prepare their children for higher education and career development. As a result, the parents, the high school
district, and a local community college formed a partnership committed to providing meaningful education for Native students. The Hoop of Learning program is the product of this partnership.

Program Concept

The Hoop of Learning is a middle school-to-high school-to-college bridge program designed to foster educational resilience and career development among Native students in a large metropolitan school district in the Southwestern United States. The primary objective in designing the Hoop of Learning Program was to counteract the long history of alienation and social isolation of Native students in American urban educational institutions by providing a culturally responsive educational environment rich in the critical elements of familiarity and comfort.

Program Design

The Hoop of Learning is an original design based on a traditional Native world view of a circle of lifelong development. In many Indigenous societies, junior high school age is the age of maturity. At this point individuals must begin preparing to make a living to contribute to the support of their extended family/clan/tribe, for the survival of their people. Accordingly, a basic tenet of the Hoop of Learning program is the belief in the importance of young people developing strong positive ethnic identities and realizing that their educational and career success is critical to the survival of their people.

The number of students enrolled in the program varies, but is generally about 65 in a given academic year. The “Hoop” is conceptualized as a continuous circle of support for students that includes parents/extended family, the school system and the community partners. The program offers a protected, culture-rich learning environment designed by and for Native people within the mainstream public high school system. In keeping with traditional education in many Indigenous cultures, a central focus of the program is nurturing the student’s Indigenous worldview and spiritual understanding as the basis for development, and as protection from negative influences and self-destructive paths.

Collaboration of student families, program staff, and community partners replicates a traditional tribal community in which children’s progress is monitored and facilitated by a broad net-
work of relations. In a traditional community, children have the sense of being looked after wherever they are. Similarly, at each level of education, the Hoop of Learning program has a readily accessible coordinator/counselor who establishes connections with students during monthly one-on-one academic/career counseling sessions. Further, students are not isolated, but rather, are embedded in a large network of supportive peers with whom they have much in common. They progress together, share the same classes, and facilitate one another's progress through the program. The "culture shock" of the college campus environment is mitigated by sharing the experience with supportive friends. Overall, the learning environment is based on personal connections and commitments rather than impersonal bureaucracy. For example, information about policies and procedures, curriculum, and requirements, is conveyed in face-to-face interactions rather than through paper documents alone.

Hoop of Learning staff also recognize that some Native students may have difficulty maintaining continuous enrollment in the program, because, for example, urban students' families may move frequently between school districts seeking better housing. Alternatively, students may move back and forth between the city and their home reservations. Because mobility is a reality for a significant number of Native students, the program is designed in such a way that students can re-enroll with a minimum of 'red tape.' In this way, it is difficult for Hoop of Learning students to get lost "in the cracks" as they might in a mainstream school setting.

Program Structure

Classes for 9th and 10th graders are limited to Hoop of Learning students, whereas juniors and seniors are mainstreamed according to their career interests. While continuing in mainstream schools (middle schools, high schools, or community college), Hoop of Learning students also belong to a rich, nutritive community (including family, faculty, staff, and fellow students, all of whom are Native) akin to a traditional communal tribal context in which each individual is supported by a wide network of extended family, clan, and tribal relations and, in return, is expected to contribute to the well being of the community.
From 7th grade through high school, students participate in five-week summer programs that include two courses as well as a variety of events aimed at community building and increasing students' confidence, familiarity, and comfort in new educational environments at new levels. At each level of education, students receive credit leading to advanced placement at the next level. Accordingly, junior high school students receive high school credit and high school students receive college credit. While still in high school, Hoop of Learning students can earn as many as 24 college credits, all transferable to the 2-year community college where they have been taking classes. When they graduate from community college, all credits earned are transferred to local four-year colleges.

The program's support network includes parents and extended family/clan relations, program coordinators/counselors at each educational level (junior high school, high school, community college, and four-year college), local industry, city government, and the local Native American community health center. This network is rich in resources for emotional, academic, and instrumental support. Parents, faculty, and Hoop of Learning staff set high expectations for students while providing continuous encouragement. Hoop of Learning staff provide day-to-day personal support, academic counseling, and instrumental support such as arranging for housing, job placement, and other forms of assistance as needed. Essentially, they operate as mentors, brokers, and advocates, and assume other roles as necessary to assist students with managing any barrier to educational resilience.

The local Native American Community Mental Health Center provides personal and family counseling. The elementary school district provides 7th and 8th grade Hoop participants with a coordinator/counselor, recruitment and retention support, specialized instructors, and transportation to the summer program. The high school district provides: (a) a coordinator/counselor, (b) high school credit for junior high school courses, (c) books and supplies, (d) classroom space for middle school students, and (e) transportation for high school students to the community college. The community college provides: (a) a full-time coordinator/counselor, (b) faculty, (c) tutoring, (d) college credit for
Hoop of Learning classes (e), testing to determine competency in mathematics, English, and reading, (f) career and financial counseling, (g) campus tours and orientation, (h) the opportunity to participate in the Native American student club, (i) tuition waivers, (j) classroom space, and (k) instructional technology, including a computer lab for weekend and summer classes.

Eligibility

Hoop of Learning students must fulfill academic and curriculum requirements and participate in program events to remain in the program. All students sign contracts affirming their commitment to meet these requirements. To be eligible for the program, students must be enrolled in school, must be in good academic standing, and must be registered with the district Native American Education Program. New students, accompanied by an adult family member, attend an orientation workshop. During this workshop, students take the ASSET Placement Test to place them in the appropriate math, English, and reading courses. The new participants are required to take a course that introduces them to college life (curriculum, registration, study skills, etc.). All students must commit to successfully completing two courses (one academic course and one Indigenous Peoples studies course) during their first summer of enrollment. They must also take at least two courses during subsequent summer sessions. Students receive books, supplies, and tuition waivers for any college courses taken during their enrollment in the Hoop of Learning program. In order to remain in the program, students must maintain a grade point average of 2.0 on a 4-point scale in Hoop of Learning courses as well as in all of their other middle school or high school classes. Additionally, they must pass each level of the program before advancing to the next level.

Junior high school students take courses in personal development, career planning, study skills, computer science, math, and language arts. High school students take courses in English, math, reading, sciences, communication skills, computer science, Native American Studies, and personal and career development. This curriculum includes learning strategies for balancing their identities as they move between Native and non-Native worlds. Students may choose one of five program tracks. These include:
health sciences, general education, law, Native American studies, and technology.

To assist students in becoming familiar and comfortable with subsequent steps in their education, the program arranges campus orientations and tours. Additionally, junior high school students must travel to a local high school campus to take Hoop of Learning courses, and high school students must travel to the community college campus to participate in the program. This greatly reduces the "culture shock" students experience when they become full-time students on unfamiliar campuses.

Preliminary Outcomes

Quantitative data. The Hoop of Learning Program has been evolving over the past six years. Preliminary outcome indicators suggest that the program has been successful in meeting the goal of educational resilience for Native students. Table 1 outlines the retention, transfer, and dropout rates for the years 1998, 1999, and 2000 for Native students participating in the Hoop of Learning Program, as compared to those not participating in the program.

The data indicate that Native students participating in the program had markedly higher rates of retention, lower rates of trans-

Table 1


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1998</th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>2000</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Native Non-Hoop Students</td>
<td>Native Hoop Students</td>
<td>Native Non-Hoop Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n = 1118</td>
<td>n = 85</td>
<td>n = 1134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>686 (61%)</td>
<td>71 (84%)</td>
<td>693 (61%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer</td>
<td>290 (26%)</td>
<td>13 (15%)</td>
<td>346 (31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dropout</td>
<td>142 (13%)</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>95 (8%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The number outside of parentheses is the number of students within that category; the number within the parentheses represents the percentage of the total number of students.
Table 2

Graduation Rates for Hoop of Learning Program Seniors Compared to Non-Hoop Seniors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Native Non-Hoop Seniors</th>
<th>Hoop Seniors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>71/119 (60%)</td>
<td>16/16 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>73/153 (48%)</td>
<td>21/21 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>76/124 (61%)</td>
<td>26/26 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The numerator is the number of graduating seniors; the denominator is the total number of seniors within the indicated year; and the number within the parentheses is the percent graduated.

fer to other schools, and lower dropout rates than Native students who did not participate in the program. Moreover, retention rates have increased each year with a total increase over three years of 9%. Transfer rates for Hoop of Learning students have decreased by 10% over the same three year period. Table 2 outlines the senior graduation rates for Native students participating in the Hoop of Learning Program as compared to those not participating in the program.

All senior Hoop of Learning students graduated from high school during the three years examined. By contrast, there were substantially lower rates of graduation for non-Hoop Native students (60, 48, and 61 percent respectively). Further, of the 63 Hoop students who graduated from high school between the years 1998–2000, 57 (90%) matriculated to college. Fifty-five of these matriculating students (96%) enrolled in the community college within the Hoop of Learning partnership. Future evaluation efforts will explore the impact of the Hoop of Learning program on other salient variables (e.g., disciplinary referrals and suspension rates in high school) and the longitudinal effect of the program (i.e., GPA's during college years and the number of students that graduate from college).

Qualitative Data. An analysis of students' written evaluations of the Hoop of Learning Program indicate particular factors that contributed to students' choosing to participate and having positive experiences in the program. Since most of the students have grown up in an urban environment removed from their tribal
communities, they value the opportunity to learn more about their history and their cultures. Having spent their prior school years as minorities in inner city classrooms, they are comforted by belonging to an all Native peer group in a program designed and staffed by Native people. In some cases, this program is the first time participants have experienced a "critical mass" of Native people in an educational setting.

For several participants, an important protective factor is the instrumental support they receive in the Hoop of Learning Program, including tuition waivers and funding for books, supplies, transportation, lunches. Without this support, many Hoop of Learning students would not have been able to continue in school. Students also value the opportunity to gain confidence in their ability to succeed in college. As one student put it, the program gives him a "... head start in college, while my friends and family never had a chance for this education, [this is] an opportunity I never dream [sic] of." A second student expects to "increase my knowledge and gain self-confidence that I can complete something that I started." Another student is seeking "... a chance to become a future role model through the education" that he will be receiving through the program. A fourth student hopes "... to get as much education as possible and learn about my heritage." Generally, student comments reflect appreciation of the program for giving them a comfortable, familiar, yet challenging context in which they can meet their educational and career aspirations—opportunities that are typically lacking in mainstream educational settings.

Program staff have identified several additional factors contributing to the success of the Hoop of Learning program. They recognize that Native students encounter many psychological, sociohistorical, cultural, and economic barriers to educational and occupational resilience. The Hoop of Learning program helps students to surmount some of these obstacles by providing needed social and material support in a culturally familiar and comfortable context guided by Native staff. Program staff recognize the importance of family commitment and support to the creation and continuing success of the Hoop of Learning program.

Many Native families feel alienated from mainstream educational systems. Accordingly, it is difficult for them to take an active role in their children's education. By contrast, the Hoop of
Learning staff respectfully acknowledges and responds to family concerns and suggestions and realizes that family support is vital to the program. Monthly multiple-family group meetings allow program staff to consult and inform families about every aspect of the program. These meetings reflect the traditional communal approach to community planning and problem solving. Another favorable condition for this kind of bridge program is supportive high school and community college districts. Without the on-site program coordinator/counselors, books and supplies, transportation, lunches, and other instrumental supports that the districts provide, many students would be unable to continue in school.

**Future Directions**

Areas for future development of the program include: (a) increasing the number of participating community colleges; (b) further program development to facilitate students' transition from community college to four-year institutions (e.g., tours and campus orientations, a support group for parents and students, a program coordinator/counselor, tuition waivers for Hoop of Learning graduates, career and financial counseling, access to campus Native American student organizations, and summer academies to help Hoop of Learning students transition from community college to the four-year college environment); (c) development of a tiered student-to-student mentoring program in which university students from Native American student clubs would mentor community college students; community college students would mentor high school students; and high school students would mentor junior high school students. In this way, every Hoop of Learning student would have a student mentor from the subsequent educational level who offers inspiration and demystifies upcoming educational challenges; (d) completing a comprehensive program.

**Conclusions**

Indigenous communities in the United States have a wealth of cultural and social resources that can be mobilized to facilitate educational resilience among Native students. The authors
reviewed the historical context, contemporary trends, and current challenges related to education of Indigenous students, and provided a detailed description of one inner city program that appears to be fostering educational resilience among Native students. The Hoop of Learning program is complex and multidimensional and depends on a holistic, multisystemic, culturally appropriate approach to fostering educational resilience. Preliminary outcome data from the Hoop of Learning Program confirm earlier findings (Hibbeler & Hibbeler, 1994) related to the relationship between a sense of comfort and familiarity and educational resilience for Native students. Findings corroborate earlier data suggesting that in order to be perceived by students as personally relevant, curricula must address "the historical realities of Native American education and incorporate the cultural principles that have an impact on a student's ability to learn" (Brown, 1993, p. 108). It appears that this kind of bridge program facilitates educational resilience by giving Native students an oasis of comfort and familiarity within dominant culture educational settings, and perhaps for the first time, giving them the opportunity to pursue their dreams without having to decide how much of their ethnic identity they will have to give up in order to succeed in the American mainstream.

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E.L.D.E.R.S. Gathering for Native American Youth: Continuing Native American Traditions and Curbing Substance Abuse in Native American Youth

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E.L.D.E.R.S. Gathering for Native American youth: continuing Native American traditions and curbing substance abuse in Native American youth describes the efforts of Native American Elders, traditionalists, and non-native volunteers interested in preserving the culture and traditions of the Haudenosaunee (People of the Longhouse), also known as the Iroquois. This event is held every summer at the Ganondagan Historical site located near Victor, in upstate New York. The purpose of this week long gathering is to bring together Native American youth who are interested in learning more about their traditional ways with Native American Elders who practice these traditions. Much of the program's efforts focus on developing the "good mind" of the youth participants so that the youth and Elders are more likely to refrain from substance abuse. Youth participants begin to learn how to incorporate traditional values and beliefs into their lives while also developing leadership skills for use when each returns to their home environment hence, the acronym E.L.D.E.R.S. (Encouraging Leaders Dedicated to Enriching Respect and Spirituality). Many participants make the annual visit from reservations and urban areas in the New York state area while some have come from as far away as California. In addition to describing this program, a literature review that highlights some of the issues facing Native American youth in contemporary society accompanies this report. Insight and suggestions for developing similar programs are presented as well.
Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to present the on-going efforts of several concerned individuals and community leaders who, with corporate connections and support from Native American businesses and volunteers, have taken the initiative to organize a week long camping event for Native American youth. This event is held annually at the Ganondagan Native American historical site in upstate New York near Victor, Ontario County. At issue is the acknowledgment that many indigenous youth are growing up having never been exposed to the beliefs of their ancestors and that coming into adolescence with increased experience and knowledge of their culture may help in the self identity process. This self identity process is thought to aid them as they make their way living in "two worlds"; the world of their heritage and the world of the dominant society. Originators of the camp believe that a lack of exposure to traditional beliefs and values as they face the challenges of growing up in two cultures might contribute significantly to the increase of substance use and abuse and that a decline in healthy living practices can also lead to such conditions as obesity related diabetes.

At it's inception, the camp was originally intended to serve as a support for Native American adolescents who are interested in learning and retaining more of their cultural heritage. The program for the camp is designed so that the youth are provided with ample opportunity to network with other Native youth who face similar issues and challenges of identity development in contemporary society. A serendipitous outcome is that while the initial program was intended to be one of cultural discovery, it has evolved into a program that increasingly addresses matters of substance abuse prevention in Native youth based on an increased understanding of the indigenous culture.

Participants learn some of the traditional practices and values of their ancestors from Haudenosaunee elders and from youth who are more culturally aware. As the program has evolved, the youth who attend this event annually report that they have made conscious efforts to refrain from substances and to modify their lifestyle. Recently, due to the increased level of diabetes within many Native American communities, dietary issues have been
addressed during recent camp initiatives while continuing the cultural learning and substance abuse prevention aspects.

Definitions

Haudenosaunee, also known as the Six Nations of the Iroquois, refers to the People of the Longhouse and describes a social group alliance that has historically revered the teaching and wisdom of its elders. The elders, those with experience in traditional practices of indigenous peoples, maintain the responsibility of carrying on the traditions and cultural values of the Six Nations members and their descendants. The organizers of this event are descendents of the Senecas, or Keepers of the Western Door of the Six Nations alliance. Therefore, much of the teaching and learning activities are rooted in this cultural framework.

Tradition will be defined as those practices and beliefs that are passed down from generation to generation, usually orally, from elders with extensive practice knowledge and experience in the Longhouse traditions. The traditional practices that tend to receive the greatest amount of attention are those associated with the retention of the native language: Recently, in many indigenous communities, there has been a rise in efforts to revitalize the traditional languages such as Seneca, the language spoken by many from western New York state. Much of the history, and the values that emanate from the history, is passed on orally from one generation to the next via the language. The language is also instrumental in the appropriate recitation of the Thanksgiving Address, the traditional way of giving thanks at the opening of a gathering, and numerous recognized prayers and spiritual offerings.

Seven Generations is the term used to describe the belief that the activities, accomplishments, and planning for the future needs to be cognizant with the needs and requirements of future generations seven generations hence. As such, great care is taken to preserve and retain cultural practices and to instill in the youth the importance of passing on this knowledge and wisdom to the next generation.

Culture will be defined as the shared set of beliefs and values that emanate from a groups practice of a shared language,
behaviors, customs, and knowledge and is derived from a common comprehension of reality, history, and future (Yutrzenka, Todd-Bazemore, Caraway, 1999).

Activities

During the camp those in attendance are provided with the insights needed in order to begin to develop an understanding of the basics of the Haudenosaunee belief system. This includes knowing the importance of the earth ecosystem, each persons role as caretaker of the "Earth Mother" and its relevance to continued indigenous development. Recognizing and understanding of the importance of the Seneca language use to convey this knowledge is essential to this aspect of the program.

For some who speak their language, they are able to present the Thanksgiving Address in the native language. The Thanksgiving Address is an expression of appreciation for, and reverence of, all things that have been provided to indigenous people by their creator. It should be noted that while Seneca is the main language spoken by elders and attendees of this camp, there are a number of attendees who speak the Mohawk language and will offer the address using this language as well. Many program facilitators believe that the erosion of indigenous cultures is in direct relation with the degree to which language is practiced and spoken making language retention and usage high on the camp priority list. Language is also believed to be central to appropriately practicing the Longhouse belief system.

Among the Longhouse beliefs, the meaning and spirit of the ceremonial dances and the welcoming of the new year receive utmost attention. Campers are provided with information on the importance of the ceremonial dances as well as being provided with an opportunity to develop some insight on how these dances are used and performed. Since many of the campers come from different tribal nations and backgrounds, the information presented is meant to serve as a reference guide and each is instructed to explore the finer points of the dances and language interpretations as they apply to each ones respective community upon their return to their home communities. There are subtle
differences and nuances that camp leaders make every effort to respect and protect the integrity of these differences.

Traditional games such as lacrosse are also introduced and played by novices and seasoned players alike. Many of the attendees are exposed to this game for the first time. The more experienced players are always willing to take on added responsibility as they teach the lesser experienced players the finer points of the game. The fun and game activities are always included as part of the camp and balance of these activities is sought to include the life lessons that are the theme of the week.

As the camp has evolved over the years, planners of this event have decided that, based on the return rates of campers from previous years events, there is a developing sense of cultural awareness in their participants and a renewed interest in regaining the culture. This anecdotal data makes organizers optimistic that they are contributing to the vision of planning for the next Seven Generations.

The concept of the “good mind” will be mentioned throughout this paper and is used holistically in context with various activities that are being described. It is important to note that many traditionalists believe that the mind, working in concert with the Creator or Creators, allows the individual to make healthy living choices when considering the use of mood altering substances, dietary content, and one's overall lifestyle. As one continues to develop this pattern for living, the mind and body are strengthened to support each other for the welfare of the person and to develop their mental strength. The good mind is also essential in continuing the transfer of knowledge from one generation to the next; knowledge that must be communicated from a mind that is free of mood altering effects of alcohol and drugs.

Rationale

The goal of the original program organizers was that, upon completion of the week of activities, these youth will, in turn, continue with the practices they have learned and will share them with others. This community based work will aid in developing the good mind which calls, in part, for community service.
Learning about their respective cultures and developing an understanding of the responsibility that each person has for continuing their culture is a major component of the gathering. Some of the more significant social aspects of the programs include developing an understanding of the significance of wampum belts, the importance and role of treaties and of the sovereignty that accompanies these treaty rights. Youth are taught they each have an obligation and responsibility that is associated with the continuance of these social agreements making the participants feel more important as people. This sense of connection and involvement tends to encourage each participant to feel more involved in their role in cultural preservation as well as seeing themselves being vital to their groups' future. This sense of responsibility is identified as one of the most meaningful and those attendees completing the program tend to appreciate and accept this newfound sense of duty with optimism. Program facilitators and leaders are generally pleased with the ability of the campers to comprehend the spirit of the camp and state that they feel confident that they are successful in their efforts.

At the outset of the program, the originators believed that if Native youth were provided with the opportunity to learn more of their culture, to interact with other youth who share similar circumstances and concerns and were provided with a forum to address these concerns in a non-threatening way, they would be able to develop a greater sense of self. Those participants who actively engaged in this week-long set of activities would then be able to more successfully engage in their day to day lives upon returning to live in their “two world” communities (Moran, Fleming, Somervell, Manson, 1999). These two worlds consist of their own local Native communities and neighborhoods and that of the dominant American society. The challenges of living in these two worlds, for Native American youth, is said to be one of the most stressful processes they will ever face particularly when factoring in the influences of poverty, socio-economic conditions, and their experiences with social disenfranchisement (Cameron, 1999).

This paper also recognizes that the adolescents who attend the program have received extensive exposure to the non-indigenous world through non-Native peer groups, education systems, and the media. Thus, the concept of orthogonal cultural
identification whereby the member retains the cultural identities of one or more influences as they attempt to negotiate their way through their daily activities. Oetting states that individuals from multi-cultural backgrounds will draw from their experiences in one or more cultures to achieve their means enabling them to increase their identity in one or more cultures rather than relinquish some cultural traits once they have been exposed to another. The individual develops socialization skills whereby they retain aspects of their culture and incorporate those of another (Oetting, Chiarella, 1998)

As the event has evolved over the years, so too has its purpose, size, and scope. This paper hopes, that by reporting on the activities of the camp and in identifying some of the success stories, it will contribute to the process of discovering whether or not initiatives such as this have an impact on the rates of substance abuse and healthy living. It is meant to be informative and invites others to share their experiences with similar initiatives, most notably in effecting the incidence rates of substance abuse and diabetes among Native American youth. Researchers may also benefit from exploring any differences that might exist when comparing healthy lifestyles and/or substance abuse rates among attendees of camps such as this to those adolescents who do not experience these types of camps.

While the efforts at understanding the impact of summer camps on substance use rates among attendees has not been studied in great detail, this paper acknowledges that the empirical data regarding this type of initiative is scant at best and hopes to contribute the existing body of knowledge on this topic. This paper also offers perspectives for future study.

Overview of Substance Abuse and Youth in Native America

Following is a presentation of the overall snapshot of substance abuse within Native American youth in contemporary American society. It is presented in the spirit of identifying some of the relevant change rates of substance abuse within this population and not designed to imply that all Native Americans experience this level of abuse. The sole purpose of the data presented is to reflect the degree to which this group has experienced greater
morbidity rates from substance abuse than those in other underrepresented groups. Readers should caution against focusing exclusively on the data that could suggest, to the uninformed, that the entire population has a deficit in this area. On the contrary, as this article will illuminate, there have been numerous instances where social effects have been recognized and dealt with by members of this group only to turn potential extinction into strength. The resiliency of this population can be seen not only in the stated effects of this program, but in the steady growth of the group as a whole. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, the American Indian population has increased by more than twenty five thousand since 1990. This data then is presented as a demonstration of resiliency and strength rather than as a sign of deficit.

Within the general population, adolescents in the contemporary United States must face challenges never before experienced in American history. Increased rates of violence experienced at the hands of family members, suicides, and substance abuse overdoses are taking the lives of hundreds of America's youth on a daily basis (Borowsky, Resnick, Ireland, Blum, 1999; Cameron, 1999). Among adolescents, Native American youth experience the highest rates of substance abuse in the U.S., including the abuse of solvent based inhalants (Cameron, 1999; Beauvais, 1996; Plunkett & Mitchell, 2000; Howard et. al, 1999); experience alcoholism rates three times higher than in other youth peer groups (Perkins, Giese, 1994); and experience the highest co-morbid rates of substance related suicide and mental health problems (Herring, 1994; Cameron, 1999; Beauvais, 1996). In addition to experiencing the highest national rates of street illegal drug use, rates of the use of smokeless tobacco products such as snuff and chewing tobacco have increased dramatically within this group during the past ten years leaving many youthful Native American consumers physically scarred for life from the oral lesions produced by the use of these products (Bruerd, 1990; JAMA, 1989).

Native American adolescents also tend to engage in health compromising behaviors such as poor dietary practices and injuries related to substance abuse. Physical problems related to continued mental distress are being experienced at higher rates than their non-Native peers as well (Beauvais, 1996). Of the various minority populations in the United States, Native American
youth experience the largest substance related high school drop-out rates (Cameron, 1999) and are using the widest varieties of the most volatile substances available (Novins & Mitchell, 1998). Of these volatile substances, inhalants are fast becoming one of the more widely abused substances, particularly within the pre-teen Native population. Inhalant use is said to be well on its way to replacing marijuana as the "gateway" substance for those who develop a dependency on alcohol and/or other drugs (Howard, et. al, 1999). Although marijuana use among Native American youth, which is generally higher for males than for females, should still be regarded as one of the most widely abused gateway drugs (Mitchell & Plunkett, 2000), for those youth who engage in inhalant use, the progression to serious levels of other drug use is much faster for those whose earliest drug use is marijuana and/or alcohol (Herring, 1994). This literature review suggests that there are significant indicators that differentiate the substance abuse problem among indigenous people from those of contemporary society.

Mainstream substance abuse prevention programs have minimal effect when attempting to address the Native American youth population. Unfortunately, many programs that serve Native American client populations fall short of providing adequate treatment services since most are only now starting to become more culturally competent as they begin to incorporate these competencies into their practices (Weaver, 1999).

More recently, the threat of HIV/AIDS is increasing in Native America with the highest rates being identified in the subgroups of Native people who are injecting illegal drugs and engaging in sexual activity. As a result of this combination, the rates of HIV/AIDS among Native Americans has doubled within the last three years (Baldwin, et. al., 1999).

Contemporary Native American Youth

It is widely accepted that societies and groups are the outcome of their historical development and the factors that are significant to their group's development. Some of the issues facing contemporary Native American youth are the direct result of initiatives and government sponsored programs initiated during the late
1800's to mid-1950's; efforts that were said to be designed to address the Indian "problem." These initiatives and programs, particularly those including boarding schools, did more to disrupt Native American life than any other government sponsored effort.

Boarding schools were the result of a governmental policy initiated in 1819 called the Civilization Fund Act and was designed to provide legal rights to non-native run agencies and churches whose goal was to civilize the Indian. This initiative eventually evolved into little more than militaristic boot camps for Indigenous children where these children were prohibited from speaking their languages, practicing their customs, or using their true names given to them by their Nations (Cross, Earle, Simmons, 2000). The long lasting effects of these schools have led to the steady decline of the natural Native American family system in many areas of North America (Harrod, 1999). In addition to the damaging effects that this initiative has had on the traditional extended family system, communal child rearing practices fell victim to this effort leaving many children feeling abandoned and lost in a world without a connection or in the care of adults who were ill-equipped to occupy the role of parents; having only the abusive child development practices of the boarding school to rely on as a model for their own parenting skills. This condition has been found to significantly contribute to Native American adolescents exorbitantly high rates of suicide, substance abuse, and risky health behaviors which are the highest of any other minority group in North America (Manson, Beals, Dick, Duclos, 1989).

The Program

G. Peter Jemison, Site Manager of Ganondagan Historical site, himself a Seneca, collaborated on the initial effort with Jeannette Miller, Mohawk, and Marcheta "Marky" Davidson, Seneca, who planned this initial event. Ms. Davidson originally introduced the idea of this program in 1980 after having just returned from a similar function in another Native community. The experience had such a dramatic impact on her and the youth in attendance that she felt compelled to promote a similar event in her local community. Since the first gathering at Ganondagan, these orga-
nizers have been joined by numerous volunteers and many others who share their expertise as spiritualists, preparers of traditional foods, and teachers of Native American games, activities, and culture.

Originally, the program was sparsely funded and consisted of about 20 youth attendees who were sponsored by their home territories, public grants and/or private contributions. Local communities sponsored their youth and volunteers/chaperones for this camp. Attendance at the inaugural camp consisted primarily of Senecas from the Western New York State area. The program is also supported by members of Mohawk territory in northern New York state which is located near the Canadian border. Over the past several years, the numbers of youth attendees has steadily increased to about fifty for the event and has welcomed some youth from as far away as California and Washington, D.C.

The goal of the camp is to teach the youth that by learning and incorporating their cultural values and practices into their lives that they can develop that which is referred to as the "good mind"; a mind that is not influenced by mood altering substances, serves them in healthy decision making processes, and helps to develop balance in their lives. Many traditional First Nations people believe that a good mind is necessary in order to live up to the expectations and directions given to each member by the Creator. These directions include continued traditional practices, fairness in dealing with others, and a commitment to serve ones community in supportive ways. In order to accomplish this, the program consists of a number of activities that are designed to keep the participants actively engaged in physical wellness through exercise, activities designed to stimulate learning about their traditional culture, spirituality, engaging in team sports.

Games such as lacrosse have long been enjoyed and used by indigenous people to aid in teamwork and other group activities. The health benefits of a game as rigorous as lacrosse make it one of the most beneficial health promoting activities one can engage in. The effective socialization of the campers who play is also important since this activity aids in helping the players to feel included and welcome; as if they are an active participant and promotes the goal of establishing social support. The social
aspects, as well as the physical and cognitive benefits of playing this game have a role in promoting sustained wellness.

Gaining knowledge of traditional foods and how they are prepared is also increasing in popularity among the youth. This is particularly pleasing to the camp organizers since they have recognized that, within many indigenous communities, there is an alarming increase in the number of youth who are being diagnosed with adult onset diabetes. Corn, beans, and squash, referred to as the “Three Sisters”, factor in heavily as staples of traditional dishes prepared by the campers and the elders who present this aspect of the program feel much satisfaction and joy in the contribution each is making in sustaining this aspect of the culture. There are currently plans underway to address dietary concerns to a greater degree at future gatherings.

There is also considerable activity involved in learning the meanings of traditional ceremonies, traditional dancing, beadwork, basket weaving, and participating in “talking circles.” Camp organizers believe that all aspects of traditional Haudenosaunee culture are important and that exposure to the youth is critical in making their camping experience a success. This holistic approach to addressing the needs of Native American youth is consistent with a number of similar camp initiatives gaining momentum nationwide and includes teaching them the importance of drawing on the practices of their elders in achieving total wellness of their bodies, minds, and in providing service to their community (Perkins, Giese, 1994; Reston, 1994; Vollers, 1996). Maintaining a focus on this type of activity is believed to be one of the most significant factors in helping the youth to develop the good mind and it’s expected that this approach to living will be modeled to their counterparts upon their return to their home community.

The typical day begins with a round of prayers and offerings of traditional tobacco at sunrise at around 5:30 am followed by some light exercise and then breakfast which sets the tone that this camp experience is not going to be some leisurely lounge around time. Some campers jokingly state that, when they are in their own communities, they are usually just returning home at this time. As a result, this early wake up call is quite a shock to many of their sleep patterns. All participants are expected to attend
this ceremony which consists of burning tobacco as an offering of thanks to the Creator and of saying prayers or asking for guidance and strength in preparation for the days activities that lie ahead. In one aspect, the tobacco burning ceremony is significant in that the purity of the smoke is believed to carry the prayers, of those gathered, to the Creator. It should be noted that the campers are not forced into, nor are they taught any particular brand of “religion,” but are instead encouraged by Haudenosaunee spiritual leaders to look within themselves and to others for strength. Many of the youth, as a result of this encouragement, begin to find sources of strength and/or spirituality that they may not have otherwise had the opportunity to seek. Walking the peaceful early morning trails of Ganondagan and stretching the body is necessary after a night of sleeping on the ground. Walking the grounds affords the attendee the opportunity to reflect on the wealth of heritage and history that can be learned as they read the plaques and markers along each trail that describe the lives of the first inhabitants of this site. Another reason for the stretch is that many of the activities that follow tend to require much sitting and listening to traditional elders as they speaking about indigenous culture while providing some insights for practicing these values and beliefs. Experience has shown that many of the adolescents have little to no practice in this, (sitting and listening), and instead have adopted to the ways of the dominant society where speaking out of turn and demonstrating minimal respect for elders seems to be the norm. It should be noted that this behavior doesn’t go unrecognized by the elders and is thought to be partly the result of having minimal exposure to these practices. That being the case, youth are not punished for this behavior. Instead, youth who experience difficulty in listening to the teachings of the camp leaders are redirected to become more in tune with the value of respect of their elders and the wisdom each has to offer. Before the end of the week, most of the youth who come into the camp as somewhat rebellious and overactive seem to appreciate the structure and direction offered to them. As in any gathering of this type, however, there are those who decide that this type of structure isn’t for them and promptly leave.

Part of the daily program offers translations and discussion of the traditional Thanksgiving Address described earlier. The
Message of the Peacemaker describes the manner in which people treat others with respect and work towards commonality and agreement. This Message warns of the perils of divisiveness when resolving contentious issues and the importance of consensus making for important decisions. The contributions to the Great Law of Peace, which encourages the relinquishing of resentments between individuals and groups so that all can live in harmony, is also a major component of the learning activities. Camp organizers have also recognized that Native youth experience many aspects of Haudenosaunee culture in settings where these are presented in the native language only and that many of the youth lack an understanding of the language. This lack of understanding makes much of the wisdom contained in these messages non-accessible. During the camp these addresses are generally spoken in the Seneca language but are also spoken in accordance with the specific variation of the other member nations as well as English for those without indigenous language skills. Therefore, care is taken to ensure that the various teachings are interpreted in accordance with the attendees language keeping in mind that the nuances of each nation differ and that some campers speak only English. Resources for continued learning of their native language is provided to the youth so that they can continue to learn their language upon return to their respective communities.

Taking on the responsibility for the preparation and service of the food is also seen as critical to the success of the youth's experience while at the camp and, as a community effort, is one of the most important aspects of the program. Many of the traditional dishes, such as corn soup, require diligence, time, and much work in order for it to be prepared successfully. Being of service to the community in preparing the food is as much a symbolic need as it is one of necessity. Service to the community is seen as vital to the success of this and other such camping experiences. A Cherokee youth fitness camp reports similar success when promoting cultural retention through practicing of traditional values, beliefs, and approaches to spirituality, particularly when focusing on the importance of service to the community and in taking responsibility for their service roles (Perkins, L. K. & Giese, M. L., 1994).

Engaging in traditional team sports tends to be one of the most enjoyable aspects of this camp for youth. It is during these
activities that many bonds are made and friendships are initiated that have endured over the years. Many of the youth return every year and these relationships are renewed as while creating linkages for them to network with other Native youth. This linkage is particularly crucial to those who live off of the reservation and who may not have the benefit of knowing other Native Americans from their peer group. Research has shown that while many minority groups experience some culture separation as a result of living in two worlds, Native American youth experience greater degrees of disenfranchisement since prejudice against their racial group is supported in contemporary society in the form of stereotypical sports team mascots, educational systems with insensitive stereotypical approaches and portrayals of their culture, and of having to endure life in a society that degrades their ethnic identities (Moran, Fleming, Somervell, Manson, 1999).

"Talking circles" are also part of the program. Talking circles are group activities that allow for the attendees to share, in a non-threatening and supportive environment, issues that are upsetting to them and where the camper may wish to address personal concerns and seek support for resolving this issue. Participants take turns to share what’s going on in their lives and are given undivided attention of the others. For many, this is the first time they have ever felt acknowledged and completely heard or listened to—that their voice means something. Many participants, youth and adult chaperones alike, regard this activity as one of the more emotionally stimulating and powerful of their experiences at the camp. Personally distressing issues that have laid dormant for years, sometimes decades, are released during this activity creating an atmosphere of increased trust and commitment among those who engage in the talking circle.

The significance of this activity is that participants are able to discuss some of their most personal concerns and feel comfortable in knowing that they are not alone in their struggles. Many leave this activity feeling much freedom from stress related to their problems and a sense of shared unity with other youth who may be experiencing similar dilemmas. The promotion of mental welness is a hallmark of this activity.

The day generally ends around 10 PM. with discussions around the fire where the youth are invited to share the events of the day and assist in the direction for planning the next days
events. A social dance is usually held on the last night where members of the community and volunteers are invited to participate in closing ceremonies.

The social dance at this camp consists of campers, elders, and community members having a dinner provided by the campers at late afternoon. This dinner is followed by a gathering around a fire where a drum and singing group will perform traditional songs for all to dance to. The dance usually has someone on hand to provide the Thanksgiving Address to those guests who have joined for the evening and to wish them a safe trip home upon the completion. The host also provides a description of the song and a history of its significance to the society.

Future Plans and Initiatives

Future plans for this gathering are twofold. First, it is the hope of the organizers that there will be a preparatory type of gathering for the youth who have been attending over the years so that they can assume a more active role in the actual operation of the camp function and activities. Several of the youth will be making their third or fourth return and, since they have demonstrated the ability to serve in leadership roles, these youth will be afforded the opportunity to serve as community chaperones and small group leaders. As one youth attendee writes, this is the chance "to give youth from Akwasasne the chance that I got to learn so much about myself and my history and my culture" as she assumes a leadership role for the first time in 2001 (David, 2000). In time, she hopes that by sharing her experiences, she will initiate added interest in this type of program and will host similar events in her community. This aim is supported by a large number of researchers who have argued the best efforts at providing long-term effectiveness of programs initiated within reservations are most effective when it is a community-based effort (Cheadle, Pearson, Wagner, Psaty, Diehr, Koepsell, 1995).

Plans for the future include an added focus on foods and healthy dietary habits. Focusing on dietary needs and leading healthier lifestyles is said to be a central concern within many Native American communities. Diabetes is recognized as a growing and significant health problem for increasing numbers of
Native Americans and indigenous communities. Some Nations are reporting that the rates of type two diabetes is at fifty percent (American Diabetes Association, 2000).

In a study using Indian Health Services data that was collected from 1990 to 1997, statistics show a 29% increase in the incidence of type 2 diabetes among indigenous Americans and Alaskans with women showing a significantly higher rate of increase than men and those representing the Alaska subset showing a 76% increase overall (Burrows, Geiss, Engelau & Acton, 2000).

One Native youth camp sponsored by the University of Arizona focuses exclusively on the physical wellness of its participants; particularly in ways for participants to both manage obesity and in learning how to monitor blood sugar levels due to their increased rates of type 2 diabetes—the type known as adult onset diabetes that is normally found in people over thirty years of age (Sterba, 1997). Personal wellness and improved health status for Native Americans is going to be one of the vehicles by which the strengthening of Nations can be achieved; primarily by reducing the incidence of diabetes. Since the disease of diabetes is such a rapidly growing problem within Indian Country, the strategy of providing diabetes education as a prevention effort will significantly improve the quality of life for this generation and Seven Generations hence. As so many of the elders and supporters of this event will say, "it begins with the youth."

The ideal outcome of this camp, according to organizers, is for the youth who attend this camp consistently to return to their home communities and develop similar initiatives locally. There has been overwhelming support from other communities who have supported their youth’s attendance at this camp and many adults are beginning to develop strategies to host similar events. It is believed that if more youth experience this type of camping event that the host community will benefit overall. It is expected that it will be their youth and the community members in general who increase the likelihood of developing healthier lifestyles, increased mental wellness, and increased retention of cultural traits. In keeping with the spirit of the "good mind and in preparing for the seventh generation, organizers and attendees of this camp feel convinced that is has the ability to satisfy these aims.


Public Voices and Public Policy: 
Changing the Societal Discourse on “Welfare”

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Much of the public discourse on welfare reform is subjective and value laden, a composite of socially constructed stories and myths that support the dominant ideology. This article reports on a study that examines the language used by government officials, poverty experts, advocates and others to discuss welfare reform. Statements made about welfare reform were extracted from the Washington Post and the New York Times and analyzed using qualitative content analysis. Dissecting the public language of welfare provides insight into how prevailing ideologies are communicated and reinforced, and how they can be changed.

Social problems that involve a lack of something—such as health care, money, food, housing or child care—are inevitably framed by one basic question: is it the individual or the government’s responsibility to provide it? Stated in this way, the answer is less empirical than ideological. Ideologies of “self-sufficiency” or “individualism” determine the response, with welfare serving more a symbolic than substantive purpose (Edelman, 1975, 1998; Schramm, 1995). This figurative use of welfare is communicated through language as we construct stories, myths, and “facts” to support this dominant ideology. Even scientific studies designed to measure and explain poverty often conform “to the prevailing biases of welfare policy discourse” (Schramm, 1995, p. 6) using language that supports those biases. In this way, when formulating policy, the “words of welfare” can become more significant than any “facts” about welfare (Schramm, 1995).
While welfare rarely falls completely off the public's radar screen, sometimes the public discourse about welfare remains in the background, generating no action. Other times, as in 1996 when the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program was abolished and replaced with the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families program (TANF), the rumblings turn into shouts, and major policy changes are enacted. While policy changes are, of course, the result of a confluence of factors, it is words that signal and embody the changes, with language "not simply an instrument for describing events, but . . . a part of events, strongly shaping their meaning and the political roles officials and mass publics see themselves as playing" (Edelman, 1975, 1998, p. 132). Thinking about welfare thus requires thinking about the words used to describe it.

This article reports on a study of the "words of welfare" that preceded the enactment of TANF. It is based on a qualitative content analysis of statements made by elected officials, poverty experts, bureaucrats, advocates and others about welfare reform in the New York Times and the Washington Post between 1994 and 1996. Studying this public discussion provides insight into the prevailing ideology of welfare, and how that ideology is communicated and reinforced. It also leads the way to constructing different "words of welfare" that promote a different response to poverty (Schramm, 1995).

Methodology

There are many sources for finding the public "words of welfare". They include books, academic articles, the popular media, and the historical record made by legislators (i.e. legislative transcripts, speeches etc). This study chose the popular media because it is the most inclusive, providing a forum for disparate communities and individuals to exchange ideas and debate proposals. It functions as our town square, providing a daily chronicle of how social problems are defined within society and by whom. It is where politicians and others go to plead their case (Cook, 1998). Since this study sought to examine what was being said about welfare reform by the various and most influential participants in the debate, the popular media was the most fertile
source for extracting this information. Thus, while this study is not an examination of the role of the media in public policy, it uses the media as one kind of a historical record of the public discourse.

Newspapers were chosen because within the hierarchy of the popular media, including television, radio and print, they are the primary and most influential source of information for political information (Chaffee and Frank, 1996; Johnson, Stamm, Lisosky, and James, 1996; Neuman, Just, and Crigler, 1992; Dickson, 1992; Patterson, 1980). The New York Times and the Washington Post in particular were chosen because "they are recognized as leading and influential newspapers read by lawmakers, policy makers, and the more highly educated and informed public" (Dickson, 1992, p. 565; Loseke, 1997). It is in these two newspapers that those groups that form the political elite are likely to be quoted, and hence where the words that encapsulate a society's dominant ideology can be found. However, restricting the study to these two newspapers is also a limitation of the study. They are perceived by some as liberal in bias and are not necessarily representative of the way news is reported in the rest of the country, or even by other national newspapers that may fall at different points in the political spectrum (with the Wall Street Journal or the Christian Science Monitor as but two examples).

The Washington Post Index and the New York Times Index were used to identify articles about welfare, and in particular articles about the reform of the AFDC program, between January 1994 through August 1996, when TANF was passed. This time period was chosen because that was when the public debate over welfare reform reached its peak, as evidenced by a doubling of the number of welfare related newspaper articles in the Post and the Times between 1994 and 1995. However, restricting the study to this time period is also a limitation of the study. It coincides with an attempt by conservatives to consciously and deliberately engage in a media blitz to sell the American public on the new conservative revolution (Cook, 1998). Thus the level of regressive conservative rhetoric may have been higher than in previous periods. However in as much as this rhetoric was followed by the abolishment of AFDC, focusing on this time period can provide useful insights on the power of public words.
Four hundred and sixteen articles on welfare reform and AFDC were identified, with ninety seven eliminated because they did not contain descriptive accounts of welfare and welfare recipients. Thus a total of three hundred nineteen articles (144 articles from the Post and 175 articles from the Times) were chosen as the sample for this study. Statements made about welfare reform by various individuals and organizations were extracted from the articles and coded and analyzed using HyperResearch, a computer software program for qualitative research that assists in the organization, storage, retrieval and analysis of coded material.

Findings

This study began with the assumption that welfare is condemned by virtually everyone and those that rely on it are similarly disdained (Gans, 1995; Gordon, 1994; Ellwood, 1988; Katz, 1989). Why this is so has been covered thoroughly by others. Katz (1989) argues that contempt for the poor and support of capitalism goes hand in hand. When people are measured by how much they produce those who produce little or nothing will be judged the harshest of all. Piven and Cloward (1994) explain that denigrating the poor and stigmatizing welfare use helps capitalism work by insuring a cheap pool of labor. Abramovitz (1996) contributes the view that certain of the poor, specifically women raising children without husbands, are derided as much for how little they produce as the fact they are trying to produce it outside of capitalism's patriarchal system.

The question asked by this study, then, is not why, but how, does a society communicate these views. The first part of this question requires us to identify who is doing the talking; what groups in our society are given the public space, and how much of it, to talk about social problems? Thus although this study is primarily qualitative, quantitative analysis was used to determine who participated in the public discourse and how frequently.

Those connected to government, including elected officials, federal appointees, and state and local bureaucrats, dominated the debate, representing 58% of all sources quoted in the newspaper articles. Of elected officials quoted, three fourths served
on the federal level. Outside of government, experts, defined as individuals or organizations engaged in research on poverty, were relied on the most, constituting 14% of all sources. 10% of all sources were recipients. Advocates, defined as "individuals or groups "concerned with improving services and resources on behalf of the poor" (Kemp, 1995, p. 196) were less represented, making up only 7% of all sources. Social service workers and religious leaders, at 3% each, were heard from the least. In sum, by far the largest group participating in the public discourse was the political elite—politicians and government officials (Zaller, 1992).

The next step was to examine how these various participants communicated their underlying ideologies about welfare and welfare reform. We know that one way to uncover this is by examining the myths and values that are embedded in our discourse (Loseke, 1999). Attention must also be paid to what is not said, as these silences can be signs of what a society chooses to ignore or in unable to discuss (Edelman, 1988). These three facets of public discourse—myths, values, and silences—are discussed below.

**Communicating myths about welfare**

Myths are simplistic stories that help us ward off the anxiety we feel about potentially disruptive social problems by providing us with a ready made cast of characters, including victims and villains, and equally as ready made solutions (Edelman, (1975), 1998; Stone, 1989). Both villains and victims, despite their complexity, are distilled into "typifications" or stereotypes, a "convenient shorthand" for describing people and problems (Best, 1995, p. 114).

In the past, the stereotypical myth of the welfare queen has played a prominent role in welfare discourse (Seccombe, 1999; Abramovitz, 1996; Gordon, 1995; Handler, 1995). Drawing on racial stereotyping, this myth brands female welfare recipients, and especially African-American women, as deviant, promiscuous, and manipulative, willing to live off the "system" rather than become self-sufficient. Another dominant myth is to paint the welfare poor as the “other” in American society, with labels such as the “underclass” used as a code word to imply undeservingness, and deviance from the dominant American culture (Gans, 1995).
Participants in the TANF debates overall marginalized recipients, calling forth the stereotypical images of the "underclass" although not by that name. Those elected officials on the conservative end of the political spectrum (mostly Republicans) relied primarily on language that emphasized the "otherness" of welfare recipients; the kind of people as one elected official put it "you would not let baby-sit your kids or grand kids" (Vobejda, 1995c, p. A1). These officials invoked broad generalizations that vilified recipients. Thus, one compared recipients as a group to animals, who become dependent if not encouraged to find their own food (Pear, 1995b, sec. 1, p. 1). Another found them lazy, unlike "other" Americans, such as the immigrants of yesteryear who knew the value of hard work. (Rosenbaum, 1995, sec. 4, p. 7)

Bureaucrats and experts also depicted recipients negatively, but using what Schramm (1995) refers to as an "economist therapeutic managerial discourse" that focuses on how the state can regulate individual behavior. The dramatic rhetoric of the elected officials was replaced with more measured, objective and dispassionate language that described individual faults. Thus bureaucrats provided a catalogue of problems from educational and skills deficiencies to personal problems. For example, one described recipients as "a "challenge" to work with because "they don't have the staying power because of absenteeism, or they don't like the boss, or the supervisor changed what they were doing" (Jeter, 1995, p. B1).

Experts likewise painted a bleak portrait of recipients, characterizing them as people bewildered by the social mores of working. Thus, they were described as "lack[ing] social skills . . . resent[ing] the authority of supervisors, quarrel[ing] with co-workers or customers or fail[ing] to report to work on time" (DeParle, 1994b, p. A1). Other were unable "to understand some of the unwritten rules of office etiquette" (Thompson, 1995, p. A1). Still others suffered from "a debilitating lack of self-esteem" (Vobejda, 1995b, p. A1). Like the bureaucrats, experts provided descriptions that reinforced stereotypical images of the "underclass" as consisting of behaviorally dysfunctional individuals.

Recipients, either as described by journalists or as they described themselves, also reinforced these stereotypes. These narratives portrayed recipients as incompetent and almost child like. They were described as "strangled by insecurity" (Vobejda, 1995b,
(p. A1), another so befuddled "even now social workers must tell her where to put her first and last names on forms" (Hsu, 1995, p. B1). (A full exploration of how recipients described themselves is beyond the scope of this article, and is reported elsewhere. Lens, in press).

There was a dearth of counter images to contradict these negative images. Neither advocates nor more liberal elected officials (primarily Democrats), the two groups most likely to offer a competing version of welfare recipients, did so. Both groups were largely silent when it came to constructing a public image of welfare recipients, a silence that could easily have been construed as agreement. And while liberals and advocates did not turn recipients into the villains described by others, they also did not provide an alternative and more positive image. Missing from them were any descriptions or vignettes that cast recipients as "heroines" or "survivors", mythical archetypes that would have demonstrated strength in the face of adversities like extreme poverty or difficult life situations.

Thus, while strains of the welfare queen myth were present, especially among the broader generalizations made about welfare recipients, the ineptitude and dysfunction described was more child-like than queen-like. Unlike the arrogant and scheming women represented by the myth of the welfare queen, these women were described as less unwilling to work as incapable of working because of a range of personal defects. They still securely occupied the position of "other" in American society, but in a medicalized version that focused on psychological and behavioral defects.

The existence of these myths play a very important role in the public discourse about welfare. As Edelman states "to believe that the poor are basically responsible for their poverty is also to exonerate economic and political institutions from that responsibility and to legitimize the efforts of authorities to change the poor person's attitudes and behaviors" ((1975), 1998, p. 134).

**Constructing moralities**

Construction of social problems also include constructions of moralities (Loseke, 1999). Embedded within the public discourse are sacred symbols or themes that locate the problem in a particular moral universe. They are invoked by the selective use
of language that can encapsulate in a word or phrase an entire ideology. The word “welfare” is itself an example of this. It is a word that “connotes to a great many people that the problem lies in the public dole which encourages laziness” (Edelman, 1975) 1998, p. 135). The word dependency has a similar import, invoking images of individual indolence rather than structural impediments as the cause of poverty.

Lakeoff (1996), a cognitive and linguistic scientist, has studied the way in which conservatives and liberals use language to communicate their world views, and hence their moralities. He likens the nation to a family, with the government as parent and its citizens as children. Conservatives use a “strict father model” of parenting, which emphasizes tradition and authority, self-control, obedience and discipline. Liberals follow a “nurturing parent model” which stresses love, empathy, tolerance, self-exploration, and the questioning of authority. Each uses different words to communicate their respective ideologies. Conservatives rely on such terms as individual responsibility, tough love, dependency, deviant, and self-reliance. (Lakeoff, 1996, p. 30). In contrast liberals use words like social responsibility, concern, care, help, oppression, and basic human dignity (Lakeoff, 1996, p. 30-31).

Lakeoff contends that a conservative ideology has dominated over the last twenty five years because its language has dominated the public discourse: As Lakeoff explains:

They have done this by carefully working out their values, comprehending their myths so that they can evoke them with powerful slogans, repeated over and over again, that reinforce those family-morality-policy links, until the connections have come to seem natural to many Americans, including many in the media (p. 19).

The TANF discourse was in fact infused with the moral language of conservatives, although this type of language was used primarily by elected officials. Other participants in the discussion including experts, advocates, and bureaucrats relied on more scientific and morally neutral language. The terms “welfare dependency”, “self-sufficiency” and “responsibility” were uttered over and over again by elected officials, (of both parties), and the President. For example, the President spoke of “real reform that promotes work and responsibility” (Havemann and Devroy, 1995,

True to Lakeoff’s “strict father role” conservatives relied on the moral themes of self-discipline and self control. Recipients were likened to unruly teenagers, requiring “tough love” (Havemann, 1995, p. A5). It was necessary “to knock the crutches out” (Dowd, 1994, p. A1), and “[though] people will fall down . . . they will learn to walk” (“Rethinking welfare”, 1995, p. A1).

However, conservatives added a new twist by borrowing from the moral language of liberals. For example, they spoke of “empowering” recipients (“Republican officials”, 1995, p. A1), and described how “the end of the welfare state . . . mark(s) the beginning of the opportunity society” (DeParle, 1994a, sec. 4, p. 5). They also talked about “liberat[ing]” welfare recipients, and “sav[ing] the children” (Pear, 1995c, p. A19).

There were some attempts by liberals to use “liberal” language, invoking themes of compassion, helping, and protection of the young. Thus, one Congressman, after invoking the Holocaust while denying that he was, went on to warn his colleagues to “open your eyes. Read the proposal. Read the small print. . . . They are coming for the children. They are coming for the poor. They are coming for the sick, the elderly and the disabled” (Toner, 1995, p. A23). Conservatives were also accused of “committing legislative child abuse” (Vobejda, 1995a, p. A1) and “waging a campaign of hate against children” (Pear, 1995a, p. A18). In a particular dramatic plea, one Congressman asked “Where is the compassion . . . where is the sense of decency? Where is the heart of this Congress? This bill is mean. It is base. It is downright lowdown. What does it profit a great nation to conquer the world, only to lose its soul?” (Pear, 1996, p. A1).

However, this type of language was the exception rather than the rule, with conservatives and liberals alike adopting the moral language of “individual responsibility”. Moreover, the conservatives’ appropriation of the moral language of liberals helped inoculate them from liberal criticism; they too, were trying to help women and children albeit in a different way.
In sum, the language of conservatism, and the morality it implies, dominated the public discourse. It was communicated effectively through key words, such as "welfare", "dependency" and "responsibility". These words acted as a cognitive trigger, framing the issue of poverty as an individual problem, in the same way the myths described above framed welfare recipients as individually incompetent and dysfunctional. The words functioned as a linguistic reference, enabling people to reinforce previously held beliefs about the causes of poverty and the type of people who are poor (Edelman, 1975, 1998). In this way language served not to educate or inform, but to insure the stability of the dominant ideology.

Construing the silence

What is missing from the public discourse can be as important as what is included. Certain aspects of a social problem are never questioned because they either challenge a society’s bedrock ideology or have been absorbed so completely into the cultural landscape that they have become invisible (Edelman, 1988). According to Edelman, some problems and their solutions are designed to divert attention from certain threatening ideological and structural mine fields in a society. As an example Edelman cites poverty and the major responses to it in this earlier century—the New Deal and the War on Poverty. He posits that the consensus that emerged for these two measures was actually a way of avoiding the larger and more threatening issue of economic inequality, the solution to which would require the disruption of the entire economic system instead of funding a few anti-poverty programs.

As would be expected based on Edelman’s theory, the solution of structural changes was absent from the public discourse. Less predictable was the fact that many of the participants in the debate found nothing incongruous in proposing individual solutions while acknowledging structural obstacles.

The bureaucrats who worked with the poor, the experts who studied the poor, and the advocates who represented the poor, all pointed out the structural problems of insufficient wages. An official who directed a welfare to work program noted that a women who "get[s] a $4.50-an-hour job . . . is still poor, and she’s still on welfare (Rimer, 1995, p. A1). Experts pointed out
both deficiencies in the labor market for low-skill jobs and the low wages that these jobs pay. One pointed out that even a $.90 increase in the minimum wage would “still leave many (children) in poverty” (Loose, 1996, p. D3). Another made a direct connection between welfare and the working poor by explaining how working mothers in low wage jobs, such as cashiers and clerks, were worse off than those on welfare and were “45% more likely than those on welfare to experience . . . hardship” (DeParle, 1995, sec. 4, p. 1).

However, neither the experts or bureaucrats translated these structural explanations into structural solutions that would transform low wages into living wages or otherwise alter the economy. Instead, both discussed individual solutions, focusing on “personal responsibility” and individual behavior. Thus for example, several bureaucrats spoke of “changing the culture of welfare” (Clairborne, 1994, p. A3), and “implementing policies that nudge” recipients into working (Havemann, 1996, p. A1). Experts likewise spoke of solutions that, for example, mandated work for recipients but did not address insufficient wage levels.

Advocates also spoke often and forcefully about the structural obstacles to self-sufficiency. Emphasis was placed on perceived deficiencies in the labor market, with advocates posing such questions as “where are the jobs? Everyone knows that the jobs are not available” (Rimer, 1994, p. A12), and others pointing out that “many welfare recipients cannot find jobs even when the labor market is good” (DeParle, 1994c, p. A1). However, while advocates pointed out the lack of jobs and low wages they did not attempt to explain why this was so. In other words, while they described the economy they didn’t explain why it worked that way; they did not, for instance, attempt to explicate the underlying workings of the economy, the nature of capitalism etc. The closest any advocate came to framing the issue in terms of class or income inequality was the following comment made during a rally protesting welfare reform: “My God . . . it’s Christmas day, and all those making decisions are warm and cozy with presents around the fireplace and drinking spiked eggnog. And all the poor people are out here” (Tory, 1994, p. D1).

One consequence of this silence was that the solution proposed by the political elites of the government, which focused
solely on changing individual behavior, dominated the discussion. There simply were no structural alternatives offered. This failure to include a radical, or a more progressive, perspective is also indicative of how far the public discourse on welfare has shifted. According to de Goede (1996), since the 1980s liberals have “frequently accept[ed] the conservative diagnosis of what is wrong” (p. 317), letting the conservatives define the problem, and the solutions. This has resulted in liberals being almost as resistant to suggesting structural changes as conservatives. The media in turn has reinforced this shift to the right by labeling it as mainstream ideology (de Goede, 1996).

The absence of more radical solutions illustrates that the public discourse is a limited discourse. Despite the liberal tint of the newspapers chosen, those quoted within them maintained a conservative stance. Liberal advocates accepted and even parroted the conservative terms of the debate, while radical arguments were not even included. Contradictory information was thus absorbed and subsumed into the dominant ideology, insuring its continued hegemony over the public discourse.

Changing the Public Discourse

What then can be done to change the narratives that compose our discourse about poverty? How can new myths be propagated, different values incorporated, and new ideas included? Lakeoff (1996) suggests that liberals learn, as conservatives have, how to use language more effectively; to view it less as a way to rationally discuss ideas than as a vehicle for instilling values. Since much of what goes on in the public discourse is about competing values and ideologies, language should be used that communicates these differences. Liberals, by using the “opposition’s” words or failing to come up with compelling rhetoric of their own, made it more likely that a certain ideology, in this case the conservative’s, would prevail.

Thus one step toward changing the public discourse is changing the language of it. For liberals, it means consciously injecting “liberal” words, such as caring, compassion and tolerance, into speech, and avoiding “conservative” words, such as “dependency” and “responsibility”. It also means avoiding the term
"welfare", which has become so embedded in our language that conservatives and liberals alike (including this author in this article) use it routinely. Much more effective, for example, is the word "child poverty". The different impact of the two words is clear; it is as difficult to argue against "child poverty" as it is to argue for "welfare", a term with such negative connotations that it is hard for anyone to be for it. Moreover, a term such as "child poverty" is more likely to invoke discussions of structural and economic change than the term "welfare". In the same vein, describing someone as applying for "help" rather than applying for "welfare" conjures up a different, less negative, image of the applicant.

Myths about the type of people receiving public assistance, and why, also need to be challenged. In the TANF discourse, no alternative myths were offered of recipients, even by advocates. The prevailing myths portrayed women as incompetent, child-like and suffering from low self-esteem. But poor women daily confront challenges and obstacles that would stymie the most sophisticated and educated among us. What is needed is stories that describe how they meet those challenges, and which emphasize strengths rather than weaknesses. In such narratives, words such as courageous, resourceful or inventive can be substituted for "flustered" and "confused". Even words such as "victim" should be avoided. Instead such women should be labeled as "survivors", which communicates strength and resiliency.

Alternative narratives that re-frame the decision to apply for help can also be constructed. (it is here also that Lakeoff’s list of liberal words can be most helpful). Thus contrast the following two statements, both equally as true: "she applied for help to enable her to care for her children" with "she applied for welfare after leaving her job". Or contrast "she never worked a day in her life" with "she has spent her days caring for her young children and protecting them from harm". It is these types of narratives that need to be injected into the public discourse by challengers to the dominant ideology.

Narratives that emphasis interdependence, rather than individualism, should also be emphasized. In this way the concept of "welfare" can begin to shed its negative image and instead symbolize a spirit of collectivity where neighbor helps neighbor. Although "rugged individualism" is considered one of the
dominant ethos of American society, its counterpart—interdependence—is equally a part of the culture. Even that paradigm of rugged individualism—the wild west and the cowboys that inhabited it—was offset by collectively arranged wagon-trains, quilting bees, and community harvests. Nor has this longing for connection disappeared. The nostalgia many Americans feel for small town USA reflect a desire for interconnectedness and community, and the obligation to help one’s neighbors that accompanies it.

The homeless rights movement that sprung up in the early 1980s in New York City is an example of how the status of vulnerable populations can be shifted from outcast to cared for member of the community. Advocates, through a skillful use of the media, worked to replace images of the “bowery bum” with a more sympathetic picture of the homeless as victims of a callous society that needed to better protect and shelter its most vulnerable. While this view has dissipated somewhat, even today the homeless are often viewed more benignly and compassionately than the “welfare mother”.

Interjecting the theme of interdependence into the welfare debate requires that women receiving public assistance be transformed from the “other” to “neighbor”; that they be considered part of the community and not outside of it as they are now. Like medical patients who are referred to by their illness, thus obscuring the whole person these women are too often narrowly defined by the label “welfare”. They are not “mothers” but “welfare mothers”, thus severing their connection to the larger community of mothers. To restore this connection requires emphasizing the commonalities between these women and other families. “Mothering” narratives should be created that describe families on welfare as coping with many of the same issues around children and family life as other families. Women receiving public assistance, many of whom work, must also be included in the larger community of workers. Work place stories, in contrast to the stories described above that focus on individual ineptitude, should highlight obstacles and working conditions shared with others in the workforce.

The positive role many recipients play in their communities also need to be emphasized. One source in the African-American
community is the image of the strong matriarch who protects her young fiercely and who is a symbol of strength and inspiration to others. She is the woman in the inner city who "polices" the neighborhood for signs of danger and emphasizes the value of education to her children. Many however do not connect this image with that of women on welfare, even though they are often one and the same person.

Finally, alternative solutions need to be introduced into the public discourse. One striking characteristic of the TANF discourse was the absence of structural solutions even while structural obstacles were being identified. One could argue, as Edelman has (1988), that such a discussion is unlikely to happen because it threatens the existing political and economic order. However even within that order, there is room for variation. Welfare policy is not static; it has loosened and tightened over the years. And there are many, including academics, poverty experts and advocates, who have proposed alternative solutions. However, this study demonstrates the difficulty in making those alternatives a meaningful part of the public discourse, especially when the conservative view serves as the starting point for the debate. While there of course many factors that influence how we solve social problems, adopting new "words of welfare" that challenge the dominant myths and values embedded in our discourse is one way in which to make these alternatives heard and influence the course of welfare policy.

References


Appendix

References from *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*


This article presents research on the impact of welfare reform on 90 nonprofit organizations in Southeast Michigan. Utilizing a refined survey instrument, in-depth interviews and focus groups with agency executives and staff, and the analysis of agency documents, it assesses how the racial characteristics of agencies' client populations affected the organizational consequences of welfare reform. The study confirmed that welfare reform has affected the ability of nonprofit organizations to meet the increased expectations generated by recent legislation. These effects have been particularly pronounced among agencies serving a high proportion of racial minority clients.

Introduction

For many years, race has played a significant role in the development of various U.S. public policies, especially those related to public assistance (Brown, 1999; Lieberman, 1998; Thompson, 1998). Federal and state welfare policies have directly or indirectly discriminated against racial minorities, particularly African Americans, from the provisions of the Social Security Act of 1935 to the implementation of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of 1996. Even during eras of social reform, such as the 1960s, the focus on race produced both discriminatory policies and substantial white backlash, which, in turn, inhibited the creation of progressive policies for the working poor (Quadagno, 1996).
Since the 1960s, social scientists have debated the relative significance of race or class factors in determining the socioeconomic status of racial minorities in the U.S. including their disproportionate representation on the welfare rolls (Massey and Denton, 1993; Wilson, 1996). At the same time, significant alterations in welfare policies have had a dramatic and disproportionate impact on people of color. These include the adoption of work requirements—from the 1967 Social Security Amendments to the welfare reforms of 1996—and the contraction or elimination of a broad range of supportive services (Schiele, 1998; Abramovitz, 1998). Bobo and Smith (1998) characterize these trends as a new "laissez faire" racism in the nation’s welfare policies based on the perceived inferiority of African American individuals and culture.

The association of welfare status with racial minorities is perpetuated by stereotypical portrayals in the media and the use of racial codes for political purposes (Schiele, 1998; Edsall, 1991). The persistent image of the so-called "welfare queen," despite ample contradictory scholarship, further reduces public support for welfare programs (Clawson and Trice, 2000; Gilliam, 1999; Zucchino, 1997). Ironically, the effects of recent welfare reforms appear to be turning some of these myths into reality as, for the first time, racial minorities begin to comprise the majority of welfare recipients in certain regions (Bischoff and Reisch, 2000). At the same time, the decline in the size of the welfare rolls since 1996 has created more sympathetic attitudes towards those who receive public assistance (DeParle, 1998).

Although persons of color, particularly African Americans, have historically comprised a disproportionately high percentage of the AFDC/TANF population, this difference has become even more pronounced since the mid-1990s. National statistics reveal that the proportion of white recipients dropped from 37.4% in 1994 to 30.5% in 1999, while, during the same period, African Americans went from 36.4% to 38% of the welfare population and the proportion of Latinos increased from 19.9% to 24.5% (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2000). In addition, welfare caseloads are becoming increasingly concentrated in urban counties, with 10 counties comprising 33% of the entire nation’s welfare population (Allen and Kirby, 2000).
There is also ample evidence that welfare reform has had a major impact on communities of color, especially the African American community, and the organizations that provide services to them. Recent research demonstrates that welfare reform has already and will continue to intensify the economic and social problems confronting low-income neighborhoods, with particularly deleterious effects on individuals and families most dependent on the services nonprofit community-based organizations provide (Albelda, 1998; Kittay, 1998; Meyer and Cancian, 1998; Swigonski, 1996; Jencks, 1996).

This is partly because the PRWORA changed the structure as well as the substance of U.S. social policy. By devolving responsibility for welfare programs to states and localities, it increased the role of the private sector and faith-based organizations in program implementation and service provision (Cnaan, Weinburg, and Boddie, 1999). The act affirmed the three-decade old partnership between government agencies and non-profit human service organizations but made a range of services provided by nonprofits both more critical to clients’ success and more complicated to access (Bloom, 1997; Burt, Pindus, & Capizzano, 2000).

This article presents the findings of recent research on the impact of welfare reform on 90 nonprofit organizations in two counties in Southeast Michigan, one urban and the other suburban/rural. Utilizing a refined survey instrument, in-depth interviews and focus groups with agency executives and staff, and the analysis of agency documents, it explores the changes produced by welfare reform between 1996–2000 on agency staffs, clients, programs, budgets, and inter-organizational relationships. One purpose of this study was to assess how the racial characteristics of agencies’ client populations affected the organizational consequences of welfare reform.

Review of the Literature

Although policy makers have acknowledged the potential effects of welfare reform on community-based organizations, most research to date has focused on its impact on individual recipients or public sector agencies (Michigan League for Human Services, 1998; Besharov, Germanis, and Rossi, 1997; Carnochan
Few studies have examined nonprofits' role in implementing welfare reform or on the impact of policy change on the organizations themselves, particularly those that serve predominantly racial minority clients (Besharov, Germanis, and Rossi, 1997; Hassett and Austin, 1997; Perlmutter, 1997; Johnson, 1998; Briggs, 1999; Raffel, 1998; Riccio and Orenstein, 1996). Research on community well-being, however, has long established the relationship between poverty and organizational infrastructure at the neighborhood level, particularly in communities of color (Figueira-McDonough, 1995; Etzioni, 1996; Fellin and Litwak, 1968; Warren, 1983). For example, Cnaan, Wineburg and Boddie (1999) and others (Thompson, 1998; Schiele, 1998) found that churches, community organizations, and civic institutions may play a stronger role in communities of color, given the often damaging effects of public policy interventions. Few studies, however, have investigated the unique role community-based nonprofit agencies play in enhancing neighborhood survival strategies, building on community assets, and empowering communities in positions of resource and power disadvantage (East, 1999; Gerder, 1998; Edin and Lein, 1998; Coulton, 1996). Despite the growing support for faith-based services, it remains to be seen whether a combination of sectarian and non-sectarian organizations can fill the gaps created by the reduction in public sector support.

County Comparison

In many ways, the two counties in which the research was conducted reflect the patterns of racial resegregation occurring throughout the U.S. Wayne County is densely populated and urban with over 2 million residents. Almost half of its residents (46%) live in Detroit, the nation's 10th largest city with a population of approximately 950,000. In comparison, Washtenaw County is comprised of smaller cities, such as Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti, and some rural areas. Its total population is approximately 323,000 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000).

The racial composition of the two counties also varies quite significantly. The proportion of African Americans living in Wayne County is more than three times that of Washtenaw County, 42% to 12% (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000). While this
difference is substantial, the county level data obscure an even sharper contrast since the city of Detroit is predominantly African American (82% as of the 2000 census), while the surrounding suburbs that are part of Wayne County are predominantly white.

These differences are also reflected in the size and composition of the counties' TANF welfare caseloads. In 2000, African Americans comprised 81% of Wayne County welfare cases (up from 78% in 1994), while whites comprised only 14%, a drop from 19% just six years before (Allen and Kirby, 2000). In Washtenaw County, African Americans and whites comprised 60% and 32%, respectively, of the county’s welfare caseload during the first quarter of 2000 (Family Independence Agency, 2000).

Research Methodology

The research sample was compiled from several directories of nonprofit organizations in Southeast Michigan. All agencies met several criteria: (1) they provided health or human services to

Table 1

County Comparisons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wayne County</th>
<th>Washtenaw County</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000 Population</td>
<td>2,061,162</td>
<td>322,895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000 Racial Composition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% White</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% African American</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997 Est. Poverty Rate</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997 Est. Child Poverty Rate</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997 Est. Median Household Inc</td>
<td>$35,357</td>
<td>$51,286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TANF Cases 4/00</td>
<td>31,593</td>
<td>1,088</td>
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<tr>
<td>TANF Rate/county resident 4/00</td>
<td>43 / 1000</td>
<td>10 / 1000</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000 TANF Racial Composition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% White</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% African American</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caseload Reduction 3/94–4/00*</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* National caseload reduction (1/94–12/99) 53%
Sources: Michigan's Family Independence Agency
U.S. Census Bureau
U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
potential TANF populations (young children and/or their caregivers); (2) they were located in either of the two counties; (3) they had been in operation at the time of the 1996 legislation's passage; and (4) they were all independent 501 c (3) organizations. Based on these criteria, an initial sample of 215 organizations (84 in Washtenaw County and 131 in Wayne County) was developed. Further scrutiny reduced this sample to 201 agencies. Ultimately, eighty-two organizations returned the survey questionnaire (35 from Washtenaw County and 47 from Wayne County)—an initial response rate of 41%. In addition, three focus groups were conducted—two in Wayne County and one in Washtenaw County—involving 32 participants from 30 agencies. Eight of the organizations represented at the focus groups did not return a survey. Therefore, a total of 90 organizations—45% of the modified sample—participated in the project in some way.

The survey and focus group questions sought to determine whether organizational changes had occurred during the past four years and to assess the extent to which there was an actual or perceived relationship between these changes and welfare reform. Responses were analyzed along several different organizational dimensions including the proportion of racial minorities served by each agency. The agencies were divided into three groups with low (<30%), medium (30-70%), and high (>70%) proportions of racial minority clients. Since the racial characteristics of the clients served differed significantly between agencies located in the two counties, geographic location was controlled for when analyzing responses.

Throughout the article, statistical significance is reported at the p < .05 level. For categorical analyses, independence was tested by computing chi-square and, where necessary, Fisher Exact Test (when low cell frequencies occurred). Association between ordinal level data was determined by computing Kendall’s Tau.

Characteristics of Participating Organizations

The proportion of racial minority clients served by the respondents ranged from 0% to 100%, with a number of different minority groups represented. Overall, 24% of the organizations served
a small proportion (less than 30%) of racial minority clients, 31% served a moderate proportion (30-70%), and 45% served a large proportion of minority clients (greater than 70%). Two-thirds of all the responding organizations served a client population that was comprised of at least 50% racial minority clients. The vast majority (90%) of the organizations that served predominantly racial minority clients provided services primarily to African Americans. The remaining 10% consisted of a few organizations that targeted predominantly Latino, Native American, or Middle Eastern communities.

There were substantial differences in the racial composition of clients served based upon the location of the organization. In Washtenaw County, 50% of the organizations served a small proportion, 43% served a moderate proportion, and only 7% (two organizations) a large proportion of racial minority clients. By contrast, only 9% of Wayne County organizations served a small proportion, 23% served a moderate proportion, and 68% a large proportion of racial minority clients.

Findings

Staff Changes

While nearly half (49%) of the respondents (n = 77) indicated that staff and volunteer composition changed as a direct or indirect result of welfare reform, agencies serving high proportions of racial minorities were the most likely to have experienced at least some changes in staffing. By contrast, there was little variation based on client characteristics in regard to changes in staff responsibilities or workload.

There were some interesting differences among respondents based on the proportion of racial minorities they served in their interpretation of the causes of staff changes. Over half (58%) of all respondents (n = 72) indicated that changes in welfare policy were directly or indirectly responsible for changes in staff workload and/or responsibilities. In comparison, 47% of the organizations serving a small proportion of racial minority clients as compared to 67% of organizations serving a moderate or large proportion of racial minority clients related the changes in staff workload and/or responsibility to changes in welfare policy. This finding is
suggestive as there were no differences among respondents based on organizational location.

Program Changes

While there were no substantial differences based on client demographics in the quantity of agency program activities, there was a significant difference in certain aspects of programs, such as duration of client contact. Overall, there was a significant association between the proportion of racial minority clients served and an agency's relating changes in welfare policy to changes in agency activities—31%, 41%, and 69%, respectively (p = .004). Among Wayne County organizations, as the proportion of racial minority clients served increased, the percentage of organizations indicating that changes in welfare policies resulted in changes in their program activities increased from 25% to 36% to 68% (p = .021). Agencies with under 30% racial minority clients served somewhat less likely (56%) to have changed program objectives than other agencies in the sample (56% vs. 70%).

There appeared to be a statistically significant trend in regard to the relationship between welfare policies and changes in program objectives among agencies based on their percentages of racial minority clients (n = 66; p = .039). Only 27% of agencies with relatively small minority client populations reported changes in program objectives, compared with 40% of "mid-range" agencies and 59% of agencies whose populations were over 70% minority. When only agencies that reported changes in program objectives were analyzed, only 1/3 of the agencies with fewer than 30% minority clients attributed program changes to welfare policy shifts, compared to 62% of agencies with more than 30% minority clients.

No significant differences appeared among agencies, however, based on client demographics in regard to changes in program outcomes. Over 70% of respondents (n = 67) indicated that their program outcomes had changed during the past four years. Slightly under 1/3 of respondents (n = 62) indicated that their program outcomes had changed due to welfare policy revisions. Small differences were found among agencies based on the proportion of minority clients they served. When only those agencies that reported changes were analyzed, the gap based on the proportion of minority clients served narrowed somewhat.
Table 2

Agency Staffing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>% Racial Minority Clients</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Wayne</td>
<td>Wash.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations reporting changes in staff/volunteer composition as a direct or indirect result of changes in welfare policy. (n = 75)</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations reporting changes in staff responsibilities during the past four years. (n = 76)</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations reporting changes in staff workload during the past four years. (n = 76)</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations reporting that the nature of staff workload and/or responsibility changed as a direct or indirect result of changes in welfare policy. (n = 67)</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Significant linear association (p ≤ .01)

a Includes only organizations that indicated changes in staff workload/responsibility.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>% Racial Minority Clients</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Wayne</td>
<td>Wash. (p value)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations reporting that changes in welfare policies altered their primary program activities. (n = 72)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>39  x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations reporting changes in program objectives during the past four years. (n = 70)</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>56  x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations reporting that changes in welfare policies affected program objectives. (n = 66)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>22§ .008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations reporting changes in program outcomes during the past four years. (n = 67)</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>63  x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations reporting that changes in welfare policies affected program outcomes. (n = 62)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>23  x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Significant linear association (p ≤ .05)
** Significant linear association (p ≤ .01)
§ Significant Chi-square difference (p ≤ .01)
Agency Budgets

There was a significant positive association between the proportion of racial minority clients and the degree to which welfare policies affected agency budget changes (n = 69; p = .008). In fact, 31% of agencies with large proportions of minority clients indicated a considerable/great effect on budget size, as compared to 12% and 5% of low and medium category agencies, respectively. When agencies reporting any changes were analyzed, 35% of agencies with small proportions of racial minority clients reported budget changes due to welfare policy, as compared to 43% of mid-range agencies, and 69% of agencies with large proportions of racial minority clients (p = .019). The proportion of racial minority clients served was also positively associated with the degree to which changes in welfare policy affected budget sources (p = .039).

Organizational Responses to Budget Changes

While nearly half (47%) of the agencies sampled (n = 77) reported making some substantial organizational adjustments as a consequence of welfare reform, certain suggestive differences existed among agencies based on the racial composition of their clients. For example, only agencies with over 30% minority clients engaged in any rationing or elimination of services (11%) or indicated an increased reliance on earned income (15%). Similarly, agencies with large minority client populations were about twice as likely to have made staffing adjustment (25% vs. 11%). The sample, however, was too small to show statistical significance in these areas.

Agencies with larger proportions of racial minority clients were also somewhat more likely to increase their use of volunteers. In addition, organizations with over 30% racial minority clients were much more likely (13% vs. 0%) to have relocated. By contrast, organizations with fewer racial minority clients were twice as likely to report making changes in agency structure (22% vs. 11%).

Inter-Organizational Activities

Most of the respondents (84%) indicated that they collaborated voluntarily with other organizations and 43% reported that
<table>
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<th>Table 4</th>
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</table>

**Welfare Policy and Agency Budgets**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>% Racial Minority Clients</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Wayne</td>
<td>Wash.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations reporting that changes in welfare policies had an impact on the size of the agency's budget. (n = 69)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations reporting that changes in welfare policies had an impact on the sources of the agency's budget. (n = 69)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Significant linear association (p ≤ .05)
they engaged in collaborative activities that were required by funders. Nearly all organizations with 30–70% minority client populations collaborated voluntarily (96%), as compared with slightly over \( \frac{3}{4} \) of those organizations with under 30% minority clients and slightly over \( \frac{4}{5} \) of those organizations with over 70% racial minority client populations. Organizations with higher proportions of racial minority clients were slightly more likely to engage in such collaborative activities.

**Advocacy Coalitions**

Although nearly \( \frac{2}{3} \) of all respondents indicated that they worked with other organizations in advocacy or coalition-type activities, organizations with higher proportions of minority and welfare clients were more likely to do so. Over \( \frac{3}{4} \) of the agencies with high percentages of minority clients reported such efforts as compared with 55% of other agencies.

**Training and Technical Assistance**

Nearly half of the respondents (48%) indicated that they collaborated with other organizations for purposes of training and technical assistance. Organizations with larger proportions of minority clients were substantially more likely to participate in collaborative activities for this purpose. Less than \( \frac{1}{4} \) of agencies with lower proportions of minority clients did so, as compared with nearly half (44%) of mid-range organizations and \( \frac{2}{3} \) of the agencies with over 70% minority clients (\( p = .004 \)). Agencies in the latter category participated in such collaborations twice as frequently as did all other agencies (\( p = .001 \)).

**Information and Resource Sharing**

Over 90% of the respondents indicated they cooperated with other organizations for purposes of information sharing. There were only slight differences among agencies in this regard based on the proportion of racial minority clients. Similarly, slightly over \( \frac{1}{3} \) of the respondents collaborate with other organizations for purposes of raising or sharing resources. There was no clear pattern among agencies based upon the proportion of minority clients. Agencies with 30–70% minority client populations were nearly twice as likely to engage in collaborative fundraising as
were agencies with under 30% minority clients (44% vs. 24%), and slightly more likely to do so than agencies with over 70% minority clients (36%).

**Changes in Inter-Organizational Relationships**

While slightly over 1/3 of the respondents (n = 73) reported that the purposes of their inter-organizational relationships had substantially changed during the past four years, there was no discernable pattern among agencies based on the proportion of racial minority clients they served. Yet, there were strong associations between the proportion of racial minority clients agencies served and the likelihood that welfare policies had affected their inter-organizational relationships.

Almost half of the respondents (n = 54) indicated that welfare policy changes had affected the purposes of their inter-organizational relationships. Yet, only 10% of agencies with under 30% minority clients reported a connection between welfare policies and the purpose of their inter-organizational relationships. By contrast, approximately half of the other agencies reported this connection (p = .03).

**Competition for Clients and Resources**

Nearly half of the respondents (44%; n = 75) indicated that they competed at least to some extent with other organizations for clients and over ¾ of the respondents (77%; n = 75) reported competition with other organizations for resources. While there were few distinctions on the basis of client demographics in regard to the former, an interesting pattern emerged in regard to competition for resources. Agencies with less than 30% racial minority clients were the least likely to be engaged in competition for resources with other organizations while agencies in the mid-range were the most likely to experience such competition. Agencies with the largest proportion of racial minority clients were slightly less likely to be involved in competition.

There were sharp differences on the basis of whether agencies' clients were under or over the 30% racial minority mark. About ¾ (65%) of the former group reported being engaged in competition for resources, as compared with 82% of those with over 30% racial minority clients. Among the latter, over half (54%) reported
they were engaged in such competition considerably or to a great extent \( (p = 0.011) \). When agencies experiencing considerable or a great deal of competition were combined, the differences were also significant \( (p = 0.03) \). In addition, while 61% of respondents \( (n = 64) \) reported that competition for resources had increased during the past four years, agencies with over 30% minority clients were substantially more likely to have experienced increased competition during this period \( (33\% \text{ vs. } 71\%; \ p = 0.009) \).

Finally, 75% of the respondents \( (n = 36) \) reported that welfare policies had contributed to this increased competition at least to some extent. While there were some differences among agencies based on their proportion of racial minority clients, there was no clear pattern or statistically significant difference. Ironically, agencies with larger proportions of racial minority clients were the least likely to attribute increased competition to welfare policies \( (63\%) \).

**Relationships with Government Agencies**

*Increased Accountability*

Nearly \( \frac{2}{3} \) of the respondents \( (n = 71) \) indicated that accountability requirements had increased during the past four years with agencies that had under 30% racial minority clients being somewhat less likely to do so. When all agencies with over 30% racial minority clients were combined and compared with those whose racial minority client populations were under 30%, the results were marked \( (71\% \text{ vs. } 47\%) \) but significant only at the \( p = 0.085 \) level. Agencies with higher proportions of racial minority clients, however, were more likely to indicate a need for information or technical assistance \( (p = 0.019) \). This mirrors the finding reported above regarding inter-organizational collaboration for such purposes.

*Adversarial Relationships*

Although welfare policies have often generated increased organizational strain, less than \( \frac{1}{4} \) (23%) of the respondents reported that their relationships with government staff in such state departments as the Family Independence Agency (FIA) had become more adversarial. Ironically, agencies with smaller proportions of
Table 5

*Inter-Organizational Work & Competition*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>% Racial Minority Clients</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Wayne</td>
<td>Wash. (p value)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborations for service provision (voluntary) (n = 75)</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborations for service provision (required) (n = 75)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocacy/Coalition work (n = 75)</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>45$^\text{##}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training/Technical assistance (n = 75)</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>24$^\text{##}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information sharing (n = 75)</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fundraising/resource sharing (n = 75)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations reporting substantial changes in the purpose of interorganizational relationships during the past four years. (n = 73)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations reporting that changes in welfare policy substantially changed interorganizational relationships. (n = 54)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations reporting competition with other organizations for clients. (n = 75)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations reporting competition with other organizations for resources. (n = 75)</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations reporting increased competition during the past four years. (n = 64)</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations attributing the increase in competition to changes in welfare policies. (n = 36)</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Significant Chi-square difference (p ≤ .01)
§ Significant Chi-square difference (p ≤ .05)
§§ Significant Chi-square difference (p ≤ .01)
# Significant Chi-square difference (p ≤ .05) exists when these two categories are collapsed.
racial minority clients were more likely to report an increase in adversarial relationships with government staff than were other agencies with larger minority client populations. This probably reflected the finding that agencies in Washtenaw County, as a whole, reported more of an increase in their adversarial relationships with government, while Wayne County organizations had a longer history of such adversity. As a consequence, over half of the respondents (55%) reported increased client advocacy within government agencies during the previous four years. Agencies with larger proportions of racial minority clients were somewhat more likely to report increased client advocacy than the rest of the sample.

Summary and Implications

This study found that the effects of welfare reform have been particularly pronounced among agencies serving a high proportion of racial minority clients. They are more likely to have experienced changes in staff composition (e.g., turnover), program objectives, agency budget size, and budget sources. In addition, such agencies were also significantly more likely to regard welfare reform as a direct or indirect cause of such changes.

At the same time, no significant differences were found among such agencies in regard to changes in staff responsibilities or workloads and program outcomes. One implication of these findings is that nonprofit agencies that serve predominantly racial minority populations are under greater organizational strain as a consequence of the legislation’s impact. This strain is a result, in part, of attempting to provide new and more extensive services with unstable resources and staff. Another possible implication is that the effects of welfare reform are beginning to create conditions in some agencies that serve lower proportions of racial minorities that resemble those of organizations with a largely racial minority clientele.

These effects are also reflected in the nature of organizational responses to the consequences of welfare reform. Agencies with larger proportions of racial minority clients were much more likely to respond to the impact of policy changes by rationing or eliminating services, relying on earned income, making staffing
adjustments, using volunteers, and relocating their services. They were much less likely to have made changes in agency structure. This may reflect the need for such organizations to make tactical, rather than strategic responses to the changing policy environment.

Changes in the inter-organizational activities of respondents also mirror these differences. Organizations with higher proportions of racial minority clients were more likely to engage in collaborative activities and to join with other organizations for purposes of advocacy or coalition building. They participated in collaborative activities for purposes of training and technical assistance with far greater frequency and were equally likely to cooperate with other agencies to share information. Organizations with larger racial minority clienteles also appeared to have a slightly greater tendency to engage in collaborative fundraising or resource sharing. These findings may be explained by their greater likelihood of experiencing competition over resources, a likelihood that has increased over the past four years.

Finally, agencies with larger proportions of racial minority clients experienced greater changes in the past four years in their relationship with government agencies. These changes included an increase in reporting (accountability) requirements, a need for information and technical assistance (including the interpretation of legislative or regulatory changes), and government controls. While such agencies were less likely to report increasingly adversarial relationships with government staff, focus group comments indicated that this probably reflected the relative lack of change in an already adversarial relationship. The finding that these agencies were somewhat more likely to report increased client advocacy gives credence to this interpretation.

Conclusion

This study confirmed previous research that welfare reform has had a substantial impact on the ability of nonprofit organizations to meet the increased expectations generated by recent policy changes (Alexander, 1999; Bischoff and Reisch, 2000; DiPadova, 2000; Withorn, 1999). These effects have been particularly pronounced among agencies serving a high proportion of racial
minority clients. Many respondents frequently expressed concern that their agencies were unable to keep up with increases in client demands—demands that they attributed to welfare reform. They believe that current statutory requirements are detrimental for clients and staff, and that many clients are struggling to survive with minimal or no safety net supports. These effects have been particularly pronounced among people of color and are reflected in the increased need for foster care, the growing marginalization of substance abusers, lack of access to health care, and the inability of many clients to obtain the survival skills needed to remain in the job market. They are also reflected in the large increases in client referrals reported by most agencies, especially for emergency services.

These findings have serious implications for the future of nonprofit service provision in the United States. Nonprofits that are most likely to address the most severe economic and social consequences of welfare reform—those that primarily serve racial minority clients, whether in urban or non-urban settings—are increasingly unable, despite their best efforts, to respond adequately to the serious challenges they face. Small agencies and those that respond to clients' emergency needs are particularly vulnerable in the current environment. Unlike their larger and more mainstream counterparts, they have less access to critical information, less flexibility in developing alternative staffing patterns, and fewer options to generate new resources. Yet, as comments from more stable, better funded organizations indicate, their presence in the overall social service nexus is critical to the survival of low-income individuals and families and to the success of welfare reform. As Congress debates the pending reauthorization of the PRWORA and considers expanding the role of faith-based organizations in social service delivery, this gap among nonprofits needs to be addressed in order to avoid creating another structural impediment to racial equality.

References


This two volume set of articles addresses the connection between classical and contemporary sociology. The articles are primarily drawn from sociology journals published during the past decade. Through the content and style of the articles, the collection both demonstrates and problematizes the purpose of maintaining disciplinary continuity. The benefit of addressing the history of the discipline is in establishing intellectual depth and relevance. However, if the accumulation of knowledge is treated as a necessary exercise but not an urgent necessity, sociological work perpetuates intellectual redundancy and superficiality. As Herbert Gans notes at the beginning of volume one, “The discussion and worship of Durkheim, Marx, Weber, and a handful to other classical and contemporary theorists, seems in fact enough to satisfy the discipline’s need for collective memory” (8). The satisfaction of sociologists to rely upon the basic ideas of Marx, Weber, or Durkheim obscures both the richness of their research and that of less famous older sociologists.

The Living legacy confronts this neglect by revisiting the ideas of classic sociology through the lens of current methodologies of contemporary social questions. The authors generally either return to the original questions of the theorist, or they ask a question relevant to contemporary social life but refer to classical sociological theory as a mode of response. The topics of the articles thus range from re-analysis, for instance, of Durkheim’s concept of social differentiation (see Young, Frank W., “A Neo-Durkheimian Theory of Small Communities”), to the application of a theory, such as that of the causes of suicide, on current research (see Cutchin, Malcolm P. and Churchill, Robert P., “Scale, Context, and Causes of Suicide In the United States”). The articles themselves likewise extend in their styles from excurses on the state of theory and research today to the explication of a particular research problem.
Although often fascinating on the level of individual articles, the collection stumbles in delivering its overall message.

In perhaps two of the most thematically significant articles, Arthur Vidich ("Social Theory and The Substantive Problems of Sociology") and Herbert Gans ("Sociological Amnesia: The Noncumulation of Normal Social Science") warn sociologists of an unpromising future and indeed their warnings haunt the reading of the other articles. Vidich and Gans advise their younger colleagues not to ignore "ongoing historical reality in the moving present" in favor of "Extensive preoccupation with problems of epistemology, hermeneutics, and methodology" (265) and not to shun accumulated disciplinary knowledge in favor of what is sometimes an intellectually embarrassing ahistoricism. Gans realizes that current problems engender more interest than those of the past and that the discipline offers more financial and professional reward for the belief in "ever-continuing methodological progress as well as ever continuing social change" (10). Yet, he emphasizes, the future of sociology is under threat, and the discipline needs a systematic effort to restore its political and intellectual relevance.

With more of a leitmotif of intellectual urgency, of pulling sociology together to confront the intellectual critique of ahistoricism, an absence of theoretical development, or methodological refinement at the expense of the exploration of new ideas, the collection would have represented a major contribution to sociological research and theory. Nicos Mouzelis, in a review of David Lockwood's Solidarity and Schism: "The Problem of Disorder" in Durkheimian and Marxist Sociology (London: Oxford University Press, 1992), emphasizes that it is concepts of social organization and conflict and methods of social research that make sociology valuable. He writes of Lockwood's book that "it [is] an excellent example of what sociological theory is or should be about . . . the construction of interrelated conceptual tools that can prepare the grounds for empirical sociological work . . ." (592). The collection offers an excellent reference for sociologists looking for opinions on concepts or new research addressing classic theoretical questions, such as on the division of labor or on the social significance of religion. However, whether a statistical analysis of the relation between death anxiety and religious practice among
the elderly (Duff, Robert W. and Hong, Lawrence,, “Age Density, Religiosity and Death Anxiety in Retirement Communities”) or a re-translation of critical words from Weber’s “Class, Status, Party” (Abel, Thomas and Cockerham, William C., “Lifestyle of Lebensführung?”), the articles only provide fragmentary evidence for Mouzelis’ assertion and not a needed coherent illustration of proof.

Shana Cohen
George Washington University


In the past decade, we have seen a dramatic increase of immigrants and refugees settling in the United States. The latest census data reveal that 9.5% of the population (25.9 million individuals) were born in another country compared to 8.0% in 1990. Many of these persons have fled wars in the native lands, arrived here in a desperate search for work, or have come to be reunited with family members. Compared to previous migrations, the editor points out in his introductory chapter that “immigrants represent greater diversity with regard to country of origin, race and ethnicity, spoken language, and, often, different value systems.” Too, I would hasten to add, they present many of the same challenges that social workers faced in another era, working in settlement houses. Housing, jobs and job training, language classes, schooling for the children are usually the first line of required services while social support, income maintenance, health care, and on occasion, mental health assistance are needed as well. Social workers in most major cities in the country are facing the increasing problems and needs of these newcomers. This book, Social Work Practice with Immigrants and Refugees, examines and develops roles that social workers may play in assisting this population.

The reader is presented with an excellent introduction that contributes to an understanding of immigrants, refugees, and illegal aliens within the context of yesterday and today’s world. The notions of the “melting pot,” assimilation, the ugly tide of xenophobia, and cultural pluralism are explored under the rubric
of ecological theory. Also, the authors refer to and discuss the rich history of social work's involvement in serving immigrants and refugees in the past and draw appropriate recommendations for social work intervention today.

Other chapters attend to social work practice with recent arrivals from Asia, Central and South America, Africa and the Caribbean, and Europe. One learns of the historical patterns of migration, problems faced by the migrants, and U. S. laws and policies that influenced resettlement of each of these immigrant groups. Case examples highlight the ways in which social workers assist and support immigrant and refugee families. Specific suggestions are offered for doing assessments and dealing with such issues as health needs, substance abuse, and HIV/AIDS.

We are presented with a profile of individuals and families who have relocated to the United States since 1990. We learn of their demographics, how they maintain contact with their countries of origin, and how current immigration policy influence positively and negatively their adjustment. Valuable information is offered about programs for cash and medical assistance, employment services, and preventive health services for immigrants and refugees. In a concluding chapter, the editor of this volume states that "the role of the social worker is to learn how to assess immigrants' situations, advocate for their rights and needs, determine which community resources they need . . .".

It is a fact that globalization and regional conflicts have produced considerable forced and economic migration to the United States that has resulted in individual and family upheaval. Their problems, needs, and issues in adjustment strongly call for social work intervention at both the micro and macro levels. The authors of this book have added greatly to our knowledge on this subject. Social work faculty, responsible for classes in human behavior and the social environment, diversity, and practice, will find this book an informative and useful text for their students. Finally, social work practitioners will encounter in these chapters an excellent reference for practice with immigrants and refugees.

Frederick L. Ahearn, Jr.
Catholic University of America

The New Deal Era continues to fascinate anyone interested in how the US government responds to social problems. New Dealers flocked to Washington, D.C. after the inauguration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt as President in 1932 buoyed by challenges of creating and implementing innovative ways to combat the Great Depression and the havoc it created. Harry Hopkins, a New York social worker who had worked on state relief for President Roosevelt when he was Governor of New York, became head of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Hopkins understood that he was a trailblazer and that there was enormous hostility among many to the fundamental notion that the federal government should play an expansive role in the provision of relief and welfare. Perhaps to provide ammunition to support his work as well as to provide employment for a close friend of Eleanor Roosevelt, Hopkins hired Lorena Hickok, an Associated Press reporter who had been a journalist for the Minneapolis Tribune and the New York Daily Mirror, to travel throughout the country as his "confidential investigator" to report on what the depression meant to the American people and how his relief programs were working. Her poignant letters to Hopkins and Eleanor Roosevelt, written in 1933 and 1934, are collected in this book which was first published in 1981. Her insightful, humorous, caustic and sometimes overtly prejudiced comments about relief recipients and oftentimes bungling local efforts to implement relief undoubtedly influenced the thought of leading New Dealers. When placed alongside the famous depression era photographs of Walker Evans and Dorothea Lange, Hickok's letters show the devastating social impact of the economic collapse and how difficult it was to implement complex relief programs in ways that assured assistance would actually reach those most in need.

With her trained journalist's eye, Hickok would arrive in a community, arrange to meet local politicians, relief workers and anyone who could help her in crafting reports for her Washington, D.C. based audience. She visited thirty-two states and and her writings are primary, eye-witness reports that are rich resources
for those who interested in the human face of the depression as well as the difficulties inherent in undertaking a massive federal relief program.

Writing in 1934 from Columbia, South Carolina, Hickok opined: “Well CWA (Civil Works Administration) came. Fulfilled its purposes, and, I believe, should go. We made mistakes. They were bound to be made. No doubt there’s been graft. No doubt there’s been politics. No doubt there’s been misuse of CWA. All that money constituted too much of a temptation for many American pliticians, businessmen, and small fry in the office personnel to withstand. And yet- I think you will find that most people will agree that it did more good than harm.” Her biases sometimes seem shocking yet undoubtedly they were shared widely. Convinced that rural poor in the South needed more than relief and showing her feelings about many poor southerners she wrote “What these people need is to be taught is how to build toilets.” Visiting Minneapolis just before Christmas in 1933, she saw shoppers jamming the streets on Saturday evening just as they had when she lived in the city before the crash of 1929. They had some money to spend, “CWA wages, wheat money, corn money, after several years of being broke.” She felt things were getting better and her reports musthave been welcomed in Washington, D.C. She suggested writing a book about “Unsung Heroes of the New Deal” referring to embattled local relief admin- istrators struggling with local politicians, ineptitude, indifference and sometimes brazen dishonesty. In South Dakota she found local county officials trying to administer relief who could barely read themselves. In Nogales, Arizona, there were so many poor waiting to be buried that she suggested coffin making as a suitable work relief project. Throughout her journeys across the country, Hickok she saw federally initiated relief and jobs making positive differences in the lives of the destitute. Her reports show how truly indomitable is the human spirit. With so little, people still got together to sing, to pray, to assist one another, to talk about their hopes that things would get better even after devasta tions like dust storms, drought, job losses and premature deaths.

Hickok believed relief itself was an ineffective response to unemployment and the problems of that one-third of a nation President Roosevelt said must be assisted. She wanted people to
have good jobs which would sustain their lives and give them dignity. The transition from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) to the Works Progress Administration (WPA) which offered jobs and wages was a natural progression for many New Dealers. Though not an historian, Hickok’s lively writings, despite her biases, can serve as an informative and invaluable history of the early New Deal. The editors’ work in compiling Hickok’s reports is commendable and the University of Illinois Press’s reprinting of this book is especially timely given current debates about the purpose and function of federally directed public welfare programs and services.

John M. Herrick
Michigan State University


In *A Prelude to the Welfare State: The Origins of Workers' Compensation* Fishback and Kantor claim to “offer an alternative interpretation of the success of workers' compensation that builds on and enhances the analysis of earlier scholars.” (p. 198). The authors' substantial, well-written, and compelling book does just that, integrating their earlier work concerning workers' compensation with the writings of other thoughtful scholars. The end result is an in-depth analysis of how workers' compensation was created and initially implemented in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The overall structure of the book, eight chapters and eleven appendices, allows for either a medium or in-depth reading. In total there are 316 pages of which 203 are the eight-chapter heart of the book. The layout of the chapters, an introduction wrapped around an example vignette, the concise defining of key players, the identification of the questions to be answered during the chapter, supporting evidence, findings, and summary provide a clean structure. The footnoting is lavish, with the use of multiple parallel examples that augment and support the authors’ primary points. The appendices offer the kind of detailed
information sought by individuals interested in a critical analysis of any scholar’s work.

The backbone of Fishback and Kantor’s book is the sample of data and statistical analysis, which bring to life the creation and early implementation of workers’ compensation. The comprehensive quantitative data, which is from a number of different federal, state, and private sources, is matched with elaborate and detailed qualitative data. The combination of strong quantitative analysis and well-organized example vignettes and case studies allows the reader to move from the personal to policy and back with ease.

The first three chapters of the book are spent carefully identifying and explaining how “the legislation [workers’ compensation] evolved from the mutual desire of workers, employers, and insurers to resolve problems with workplace accident liability that had developed in the first decade of the twentieth century.” (p. 199). The quantitative data show how the various interests represented by employers, workers, and insurers stood to benefit under workers’ compensation. As well, the data show how the old negligence liability system, which relied upon the three judicial defenses of assumption of risk (unspoken ex ante contracts in the form of higher wages in exchange for increased workplace risk), fellow servant (coworkers was at fault for harm), and contributory negligence (harm self inflicted) was becoming an increasingly ineffective policy for employers and workers. The data convincingly demonstrate why the idea of workers’ compensation attracted a “broad-based coalition of divergent interests” (p. 136) and the authors’ contentions are well founded based on the evidence presented.

The last four chapters of the book (Chapter 8 is an epilogue) are spent examining the complex wrangling between interest groups and politicians that occurs when legislation is in the process of adoption, even if it has broad-based support. In these chapters the qualitative data, which comes in the form of individual state case studies are used to delineated how states shared several features as well as how they were divergent in their process of adopting workers’ compensation. The data confirm states differed significantly based on a variety of variables that were influenced by the unique political environment of each state. The authors organize and discuss the complex relationships
highlighted in the case study data in a digestible and interesting fashion. For example, they use the implementation of workers' compensation to examine the sticky question of whether broad based political movements or narrowly focused economic interest groups are the determining factor in the development of legislation (Chapter 6).

Fishback and Kantor's other significant contention is that "workers' compensation set precedents for government requirements of . . . Social Security, Medicare, and eventually to the entire network of modern social welfare programs in the United States." (p. 1). This point is not as convincingly argued as the authors' other points, particularly in the area of workers' compensation's connection to Social Security and modern social welfare. The authors have underestimated the effect of the great stock market crash of 1929 on the fabric of U.S. culture. For the first time, the general public accepted the possibility that poverty, failure, and unemployment could occur as a result of an environmental flaw rather than a personal one. This shift towards an ecological view of poverty provided the necessary impetus for the passage of Social Security and influenced the creation of modern welfare. Without the crash of 1929, workers' compensation in and of itself would not have led to Social Security and other modern social welfare programs. Furthermore, the contention that workers' compensation's set precedence for Social Security and modern welfare policy is not necessary to the authors' other arguments.

In conclusion, I highly recommend Fishback and Kantor's book for any scholar interested in the creation and initial implementation of workers' compensation in the United States. I also recommend the book to anyone looking to read a piece of model social policy analysis.

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Few government programs have been the targets of so much public debate for so many years as Social Security. For much of the last half century in the United States there has been periodic
discussion on the fiscal viability of the system. Over the years numerous modifications have, in fact, been appropriately made in the funding and benefit formulae to reflect changing social, economic, and demographic conditions.

Despite the past success in maintaining the integrity of the program, several recent and projected developments have led to renewed concerns, once again putting the system in the limelight. Not the least of these developments is the well publicised anticipated impact of the baby boomers who, when they become eligible for social security, will strain the capacity of the system to make payments as promised. The situation has been compounded by the shift to the political right where Social Security has been viewed with considerable disdain as an undesirable holdover from a liberal period that is seemingly best to forget.

The rise of politically conservative and centrist Congress and Executive Office has led to an emphasis on social policies that are more focussed on individual self-sufficiency, self-reliance, and as much independence from government as possible. With the notable exception of support for government programs that actively encourage social solidarity at the community level, recent political leaders have worked to limit, if not reduce, the role of government as an instrument of social cohesion and social capital. There is no clearer example of this than the myriad proposals to reform Social Security by increasing its individualistic aspects through partial privatization in the form of "personal accounts."

This book is one of the many attempts to justify giving individuals the option to privately invest a part of their Social Security contributions (payroll tax). It is argued that such an option will not only give young workers the opportunity to receive a much higher rate of return on their contributions, but will also prevent an otherwise inevitable fiscal collapse of the system. The author makes it perfectly clear that there is simply no other viable alternative to fiscal solvency. End of story. Well, almost. There is recognition given to the need to review the retirement age, the benefit formulae, and other miscellaneous modifications, but there is no doubt that the success of reforms hinges most on the adoption of a provision of personal accounts.

In the process of presenting the case for privatization, the book offers a very readable and straightforward account of recent
congressional debates and commission reports. The author has considerable insight and knowledge of not only the content of the main arguments for privatization, but of the decision making processes involved in current reform initiatives. He also provides some interesting observations on the efforts of various lobby groups that have played a major role in helping to prevent fundamental changes in the system.

The primary intent of this book is clearly to make a persuasive case for establishing a personal account option of two or three percentage points of the overall Social Security payroll tax. The author particularly favours a system comparable to the “Thrift Savings Plan” investment option that is available to government workers. Similar to 401 (k) plans, this option allows workers to assume more of the responsibility for funding their own retirement (and reduce the dependency on a faceless bureaucracy).

This book is well worth reading. It presents the arguments for partial privatization in very clear and uncertain terms. And would be a valuable resource for anyone interested in following upcoming developments related to the newest commission on social security reform appointed by President Bush in May 2001.

However, the reader needs to fully recognize that all of these arguments, whatever their intrinsic value, make absolutely no reference to a, if not the, primary purpose of Social Security. Yes, Social Security is an income support system. Yes, Social Security is aimed at reducing poverty among older retired workers and their families. Yes, the system must maintain its fiscal solvency and not pose a financial burden on the national economy. But, NO, the purpose of the system is NOT limited to its role as an entitlement program for individuals who have an account. Although you would never know it by reading this book, the goal of Social Security is not only income.

Indeed, Social Security is as much, if not more, about the social cohesion achieved by one generation supporting another. It is about individuals contributing to the common good for the betterment of all of society. Social security systems around the world have done more to establish social cohesion, build civil society and social solidarity than any public program in history. Yet, there is no consideration of the potentially harmful impact that private accounts would have on the social component of
Social Security. It is not considered an important enough aspect to even mention, much less refute. This is a remarkable oversight, although not an uncommon one in the current debates. It is a pity that experts of the calibre of this author have such a restrictive tunnel vision of social policies. The absence of discussion on the social aspect of Social Security helps keep the public from the role it plays in maintaining civil society.

Martin B. Tracy
University of Kentucky


Several recurring problems exist in social welfare policy history. One of the most enduring is the tension between individual responsibility and collective responsibility for maintaining adequate levels of nutrition, shelter and other necessities of life. A closely related controversy is the effort to determine how risks such as unemployment, ill health and ravages of old age should be managed. To what extent should government take over managing these risks that occur to individuals, and to what extent should individuals be subject to coping for situations beyond their control? These issues, like the poor, will always be with us. Social Security and Medicare: Individual vs. Collective Risk and Responsibility clarifies the impact decisions on these matters have on ordinary people. It is not an easy read, by any means, but the reader will be rewarded with an astonishingly detailed look at both Social Security and Medicare, two of the most important American social insurance programs, set in the context of the “big picture.”

Social Security and Medicare is an edited collection of papers and responses from thirty of the most important, influential and knowledgeable experts on these topics, including Robert Ball, Senator John Breaux, Senator Edward Kennedy, Theodore Marmor, and William Niskanen. All thirty were present at the Eleventh Annual conference of the National Academy of Social Insurance, held in January, 1999, just after President Clinton had
proposed using the budget surplus to strengthen Medicare and Social Security retirement. The participants were, in the words of Sheila Burke, executive dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, "for the first time in a very long time, driven by long-term, rather than short-term, crisis." Thus, the discussion could focus not only on "practical" issues, but could address many of the underlying conceptual issues regarding these two programs. Among other key areas of discussion are "whether choice should be introduced into the programs, how it would be defined and structured, and (if greater choice were adopted) what sorts of safeguards would be needed to protect vulnerable populations" (p. 1).

Most of the nine chapters in this volume consist of one or two main papers, delivered by the conference's main speakers, followed by shorter responses by lesser-known, perhaps, speakers who nonetheless have important experience and views. This structure captures the sense of being at a panel discussion, with its give-and-take and chance for immediate feedback on ideas. This is no Crossfire, with the discussants shouting at each other, seemingly believing that loudest makes right-these are highly intelligent, considered discussions that nonetheless have a drama of their own, as each side presents its best arguments.

The topics in the book are well-chosen and sequenced. After an introductory chapter, two chapters on social security history and its implications for the present, provide an important context to the rest of the book. Many of the most important arguments about collective and individual risk are discussed in the next chapter by two excellent proponents of very different views. Theodore Marmor, professor of public policy at Yale University, faces off against Stuart Butler, director of domestic and economic policy studies at the conservative Heritage Foundation. Unlike the other chapters, Marmor and Butler are in an actual debate, with a quick but careful amount of cut-and-thrust discussion, moving from one to the next. It is a fascinating and educational example of expertise based on different values in action.

The remaining chapters present information that underlies some of the proposals coming out of various quarters. Topics include how people make decisions regarding their retirement and health care (Chapter 5), how to regulate choice in Medicare
(Chapter 6), policy implementation and ideas for the future (Chapter 7), international perspectives on health policy (Chapter 8) and the impact of public opinion on reforming Social Security and Medicare (Chapter 9). Each chapter is informative and engaging.

The strengths of this book are many. Taking a topic that seems at first glance narrow and appealing only to policy wonks, the speakers not only educate us on Social Security and Medicare, but relate these programs to the larger themes inherent in social policy questions. The information is as up-to-date as possible while the themes addressed are timeless. The editors have done a good job taking conference transcripts and making a readable book out of them.

While the book is not perfect, its weaknesses are few and minor. One problem with edited conference proceedings can be a lack of continuity between the different chapters. While this problem is somewhat evident, the theme of the conference is sufficiently tight that the book hangs together well. A concluding chapter by the editors to fully conceptualize the readings and bring home the "big picture" would have been a good way to close the book.

Students of the policy process understand that most of the work in developing policy alternatives is done behind the scenes, among legislators, lobbyists, researchers at universities and private think tanks and high level executive branch officials. This book enables the rest of us to hear what these discussions are like.

Rick Hoefer
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Book Notes


W.E.B. Dubois predicted that the central problem facing the United States in the 20th century would be the 'color' line. Dalmage suggests that central problem of the 21st century may be the blurring of the 'color' line, and the structure that this color line imposes on social and power relationships in United States. She examines the politically and socially loaded issue of multiracial families with clarity by retelling the stories shared with her through in-depth interview with over 40 individuals. The multi-racial movement is a growing movement and the demand for recognition of multi-racial families and individuals is of clear sociological significance.

This author offers a sociological account of multiracial families in which she names the phenomena related to these families (specifically black and white), and develops a language to describe lives that those who choose to 'trip' the color line experience. She addresses the issues of the borders that are in place in our society to ascertain which side of the color line an individual or a family belongs to. She also provides an interesting discussion of the different normative perspectives on race. This includes the essentialist who believes that race is genetic, the social constructionist who understands that the social concept of race builds a strong sense of them and us, and the color-blind arguist, who wants to believe that race is inconsequential.

Three themes emerge from Dalmage's research. The hurtfulness (and for whites the invisibility) of whiteness and racism; the lack of language available to describe the multiracial experience positively; and the demands that institutions and individuals impose on multiracial families to conform to a racially divided system. The book is most successful in developing a language to describe the multiracial experience. Terms such as 'border patrolling', 'black and white', as well as 'rebound racism' are new.
concepts that clarify the unique position of the multi-racial couple and of biracial individuals. The book points to the processes that stigmatize and traumatize the black, white and mixed-race members of multiracial families and shows how racial identities are constructed and deconstructed over time. A reoccurring theme is that of white women married to black men with biracial children who no longer claim the racial label of 'white' because of the racism they have been exposed to. The incredible stress of 'tripping' over the color line is also clearly elaborated. Another, very interesting and neglected aspect is that of biracial children of white appearance and the difficulties they experience. They have to deal with racism and racist talk by whites, rejection by blacks, the problems of 'passing' and feelings against their own family members.

A drawback of the book is the failure to undergird the qualitative information with statistical information. For example, Dalmage does not give statistics on the percentage of the mixed race couples or discuss the disproportionate percentage of white women married to black men versus black women to white men. She intimates that there is a difference but a full discussion of the significance of the difference would have enhanced the second chapter of the book dealing with 'Redlines and Colorlines'. In omitting a full discussion of the role of gender and race as it relates to couple formation, the author misses an opportunity to explore the fact that the multicultural world is mostly comprised of white women and black men.

Nevertheless, Dalmage presents a unique overview of a neglected issue, based on a unique familiarity with the literature on multiculturalism, black liberation, and race relations. Through her strong narrative, she is able to illuminate for the reader the world of those who are multiracial and who are involved in multiracial relationships. This is a very useful book and will form the basis for future policy discussions on race and racialization in the United States.


There has been a rapid increase in the number of academic articles and books on the topic of international social work in
recent years. Although the profession has been engaged in international activities for decades, the literature on the subject has previously been extremely limited. On the other hand, publications in the cognate field of international and comparative social welfare have been plentiful. But detailed accounts of how social workers function in different parts of the world, of the diverse roles they play, of how the profession is organized and of the common features in professional practice in different countries are relatively recent.

Lynne Healy's book is a welcome addition to the growing literature in the field. Written specifically as a textbook, it will be widely used in the classroom. The book is well organized, comprehensive and very readable. It begins with a useful historical account of international collaboration in social welfare and then provides biographies of leading pioneers in the field. Extensive information about social work in different parts of the world is given and the values and ethics of international professional action are discussed. Healy's previous work on international organizations in the field is augmented by a thorough discussion of this topic. She also addresses the issue of how social work should function in a dynamic globalizing world and offers a helpful and insightful analysis of this complex topic. A chapter dealing with the relationship between international and domestic social work practice is discussed in some depth.

The book is ideally suited to students interested in international social work and it deserves to be widely adopted. However, the book should not be viewed only as a textbook. It has educational value for the whole profession which is still narrowly focused on domestic concerns. Indeed, as Healy has argued in previous publications, social workers in the United States are still insular and students have a very limited exposure and understanding of the way people's lives are being shaped by global forces. In addition, as immigrants of non-European origins flow into the country, there is an urgent need to link the profession's commitment to multiculturalism with a new commitment to internationalism. The fact that the Council on Social Work Education, which accredits social work programs in the United States, has recently adopted new accreditation standards that effectively discriminate against immigrant social worker educators is just one example of how much educating is still required.
Lynne Healy has many years of first hand experience of international activities in social work and she has published extensively on the subject. She is well equipped to produce a textbook that will be widely used by students. Her book should also be read by social work practitioners who need to understand the way societies are changing as a result of being integrated into a global world system. The author shows how the profession needs to adapt to these changes and embrace the opportunities offered by internationalism and increased global integration.


Sociologists have shown that social change comes about in many different ways. Change may be sparked by natural events, technological innovation or government policies to name but a few. But perhaps the most profound and enduring forms of social change are those that result from the organized efforts of ordinary people to address wrongs, educate others and modify existing beliefs and practices. Although previously neglected in sociological research, the study of social movements is now well developed and many examples of how popular movements have changed existing attitudes and social arrangements have been provided.

This book makes an impressive contribution to the understanding of how social movements arise, organize and effectively address entrenched challenges of discrimination and social injustice. However, its contribution is especially impressive for it is written not by professional sociologists but by two people who happen to have a deep personal experience of disability and whose understanding of the issues is uniquely insightful. Its account of how people with disabilities have organized to change stereotypes, challenge blatant discrimination and transform archaic attitudes offers unique insights into the much neglected issue of disability. Indeed, the authors point out that compared with race and gender, disability is seldom identified as a topic worthy of sociological research.

The authors provide a vivid and engaging historical account
of the struggles of people with disabilities to be treated as ordinary human beings and to be given the rights that other American citizens take for granted. The book begins by dramatically contrasting President Roosevelt, who sought to conceal his disability, with Charles Ruff, President Clinton's Chief Counsel, who appeared at the 1999 impeachment hearings in his wheelchair. It then chronologically traces the way people with disabilities have campaigned to change the prevailing approach from one which stressed charity, institutionalization and segregation to one which celebrates the ability of people with disabilities to live their lives within the community and to participate fully in the economy and society. Their campaigns have involved a difficult and protracted struggle which has, nevertheless, successfully contested conventional attributions, policies and practices and replaced them with a new insistence on normalization and inclusion. While the book shows just how much progress has been made in a relatively short period of time, it also reveals how much effort, determination and suffering has been required to affect social change. In addition, the authors are not complacent and warn that efforts are currently underway to reverse the gains of the past sixty years.

This is an important book. It exposes attitudes and practices towards people with disabilities that are at first shocking but on reflection evoke an awareness of how deeply ingrained prejudices about disability are, even among ordinary, well-meaning people. Its emphasis on rights and inclusion rather than charity offers an important basis for analyzing the movement's success. The authors cover an enormous range of topics, events and issues but despite its detail and comprehensiveness, the book is readable and engaging. It should be consulted by anyone interested in knowing how people who are discriminated against can overcome and bring about substantive social change.


It is an indication of sociology's maturity as a discipline that many different normative positions, reflecting diverse ideological commitments, are given expression in the subject's literature. Although these positions are often implicit, they are sometimes presented in a very explicit way. This is particularly true of
Marxist sociologists whose analysis of the negative consequences of capitalism was direct and forceful and whose advocacy of a the desirability of a collectivist alternative was unequivocal. On the other hand, sociological functionalists often revealed an implicit approval of social arrangements that supported the existing social order and maintained cohesion.

Feegin and Vera’s useful and readable book falls somewhere between these two positions. They are highly critical of what they regard as ‘establishment sociology’ and its commitment to instrumental positivism. But, their book does not provide a single, coherent normative alternative and instead is informed by an eclectic mix of approaches emanating from critical theory, radical populism, feminism, anti-racism, liberation theology and humanism to name but a few. The authors offer an equally loose definition of liberation sociology noting that it seeks to make the world a better place, empower people, challenge social hierarchies and eradicate oppression. While these are indeed desirable goals, it is clear that sociologists of different normative positions will interpret these goals and the best ways of achieving them in different ways.

The book’s failure to transcend generality is unfortunate. The author’s own commitment to a vague left-radical-populist-critical perspective is familiar but it does not explicate a clear ideological position that can be contrasted with that of others who also want to make the world a better place or empower people or end oppression. Terms such as ‘empowerment’ are no longer the prerogative of the political left but are used with equal conviction by those on the political right who believe that true empowerment occurs when individualism rather than collectivism is institutionalized. Similarly, the definition of what comprises social improvement is a relative one. Conservative Christians believe that social improvement involves the statutory imposition religious teaching and the promotion of social piety rather than the acceptance of secularism which characterizes left-progressivism. And, they are quite radical in their commitment to attain their version of the utopian condition. Similarly, while many on the political right believe that oppression is a consequence of state ‘interference’ in social and economic affairs, those
of a social democratic disposition have a quite different view of state collectivism.

Although the authors would have offered a more sophisticated account of liberation sociology if they had contrasted their own position with that of others who are equally passionate about their beliefs, they have written an engaging and informative text which will inspire many students. The authors provide excellent case study material and their frequent biographic references to sociologists who have campaigned for social betterment in the past are instructive. They also refer to other disciplines that have informed critical analysis and action. However, the neglect of social work is a glaring omission. Indeed, several historically important social workers who have made a significant contribution to social development are coopted and described as sociologists. The authors would have enriched their book if they had taken the time to refer to social work's historic commitment to the values that they espouse. Despite its shortcomings, this book will show students that sociology has been involved in promoting progressive social change. Its account of participatory research and other forms of left-progressive sociological involvement is thorough and informative.


Like the social changes that accompanied industrialization, changes in social institutions characterize the current Information Age. Modifications in the organization of work, the structure of the family and the community characterize life in information-based societies. Focusing on this issue, Carnoy examines similarities and differences in the social changes occurring in OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries. He argues that the nature of these changes and the ways governments respond to them, will determine which OECD economies succeed and which do not.

Global economic competition has forced companies to change the nature of work in order to survive. As a result, many have disaggregated work into discrete tasks that can be completed by
temporary, part-time or contract workers. However, this trend results in less stable employment for workers and a decrease in the firm's ability to function as a social institution. Thus, in contrast to firms of the previous industrial era, which frequently provided lifetime employment, social wages and a focus for social network formation, few Information Age firms provide such benefits.

Changes in the workplace also affect the family. As workers compete as economic actors, they are required to be flexible, spend long hours on the job or engaged in activities not compatible with family life. These changes, and related changes in family structure, make it difficult for the family to fulfill its role as the primary institution facilitating the inter-generational transmission of knowledge. Ironically, this is occurring precisely at a time when national economic success will depend on knowledge transmission.

*Sustaining the Economy* contributes to the literature on the information economy in several ways. First, it presents a great deal of data demonstrating the amount of variation in the changes taking place in OECD countries. Second, it shows that the relationship between technological change and changes in the social institutions of work, family and community are quite complex and rarely linear. Third, it emphasized the role of knowledge and the production of knowledge as essential to any nation that aspires to succeed in the new economy. Finally, it supplements its analysis with important policy propositions. Carnoy argues that a strong state is essential to guide nations through the current economic transformation. However, large state bureaucracies are no longer viable and like private firms, national governments must be flexible. In addition, policies that strengthen the family, schools and other organizations and address issues of parental leave, developing high quality child care centers and retooling schools to serve as centers of education for the entire community, are urgently needed.

The book addresses the economic and social changes faced by many societies as they cope with the new, information economy. Although the focus is on OECD countries, the global nature of the information economy makes it likely that social changes related
to the current transformation will affect other nations as well, even if different patters emerge. This interesting and informative book will be helpful in understanding the way the world’s rich nations are responding to the new economy. It will also help in the formulation of policy responses that may facilitate effective transitions in other parts of the world.
INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHORS
(Revised June, 2000)

JSSW welcomes a broad range of articles which analyze social welfare institutions, policies, or problems from a social scientific perspective or otherwise attempt to bridge the gap between social science theory and social work practice.

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Anonymous Review. To facilitate anonymous review, please keep identifying information out of the manuscript. Only the title should appear on the first page. Attach one cover page that contains the title, authors, affiliations, date of submission, mailing address, telephone number and any statements of credit or research support.

Style. Overall style should conform to that found in the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association, Fourth Edition, 1994. Use in-text citations (Reich, 1983), (Reich, 1983, p. 5). The use of footnotes in the text is discouraged. If footnotes are essential, include them on a separate sheet after the last page of the references. The use of italics or quotation marks for emphasis is discouraged. Words should be underlined only when it is intended that they be typeset in italics.

Gender and Disability Stereotypes. Please use gender neutral phrasing. Use plural pronouns and truly generic nouns ("labor force" instead of "manpower"). When dealing with disabilities, avoid making people synonymous with the disability they have ("employees with visual impairments" rather than "the blind"). Don’t magnify the disabling condition ("wheelchair user" rather than "confined to a wheelchair"). For further suggestions see the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association or Guide to Non-Sexist Language and Visuals, University of Wisconsin-Extension.

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