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AMERICANS FOR INDIAN OPPORTUNITY'S

FAMILY SYSTEMS PROJECT

FOR THE

INDIAN HEALTH SERVICE

PHASE II

OCTOBER 1987

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PROLOGUE

PROLOGUE

In the beginning was thought, and her name was Woman. The Mother, the Grandmother...to her we owe our lives, and from her comes our ability to endure, regardless of the concerted assaults on our, on Her, being, for the past five hundred years of colonizatin. She is the Old Woman who tends the fires of life. She is the Old Woman Spider who weaves us together in a fabric of interconnection. She is the Eldest God, the one who Remembers and Re-members; and though the history of the past five hundred years has taught us bitterness and helpless rage, we endure into the present, alive, certain of our significance, certain of her centrality, her identity as the Sacred Hoop of Be-ing.....

...the tendencey to equal distribution of value among all elements in a field, whether the field is social, spiritual, or aesthetic is an integral part of tribal consciousness and is reflected in tribal social and aesthetic systems all over the Americas. In this structural framework, no single element is foregrounded, leaving the others to supply "background." Thus, properly speaking, there are no heroes, no villains, no chorus, no setting (in the sense of inert ground against which dramas are played out). There are no minor characters, and foreground slips along from one focal point to another until all the pertinent elements in the ritual conversation have had their say.

In tribal literatures, the timing of the foregrounding of various elements is dependent on the purpose the narrative is intended to serve. Tribal art functions something like a forest in which all elements coexist, where each is integral to the being of the others. Depending on the season, the interplay of various life forms, the state of the overall biosphere and psychosphere, and the woman's reason for being there, certain plants will leap into focus on certain occasions. For example, when tribal women on the eastern seaboard went out to gather sassafras, what they noticed, what stood out sharply in their attention, were the sassafras plants...But the foregrounding of sassafras... in no way lessened the value of the other plants or features of the forest.....

...the patchwork quilt is the best material example I can think of to describe the plot and process of a traditional tribal narrative, and quilting is a non-Indian woman's art, one that Indian women have taken to avidly...

...to create background...is of ultimate importance in tribal context...Certainly the contents of one's background will largely determine the direction and meaning of one's life and, therefore, the meaning and effect of one's performance in any given sphere of activity.....

[Tribal stories are] about how a people engage themselves as a people within the spiritual cosmos in an ordered and proper way that bestows the dignity of each upon all with careful respect, folkish humor, and ceremonial delight. They are about how everyone is a part of the background that shapes the meaning and value of each person's life. They are about propriety, mutuality, and the dynamics of socioenvironmental change.

Context...is the source and generator of meaning. A vanished context is the same as a meaningless pile of data, and it is the same as a vanished source of meaning, a vanished God. Destroying the context parallels the destruction of a race. It amounts to Deicide (Allen, 1986, p. 11-268).

HISTORY OF PROJECT

INTRODUCTION

This is phase II of a project to investigate the appropriateness of a family systems initiative in Indian Country. This project is based on the assumption that the epidemic levels of alcohol and substance abuse, suicide and adult onset diabetes are all symptomatic of underlying stress caused by 500 years of unresolved cultural clash between tribal and Euro-American culture. "Indian America does not in any sense function in the same ways or from the same assumptions that western systems do" (Gunn, 1986, p. 7).

PHASE ONE

Our first phase consisted of two products: 1) a review of Native American autobiographical literature to identify effective coping behaviors and mechanisms (see Appendix I) and 2) a summary of interviews with health care givers in Indian Country on the subject of effective coping (see Appendix II).

REVIEW OF AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE

The review of autobiographical literature generated a sources of variance framework for effective coping (see Appendix I, p. 6-15) which provides a descriptive framework for identifying environmental, intra-personal and behavioral elements of effective coping, especially elements which nurture coping by Native American persons in multi-cultural environments. Six elements are identified as being particularly powerful, two each from the environmental, intra-personal and behavioral domains of the framework:

Environmental (The Interpersonal Environment)

1) Having a super-ordinate goal or purpose in life, a goal above and beyond one's self-interest.

2) Having role models within one's tribal community and mentors in the dominant society.

Intrapersonal

3) Having a sense of one's own complexity in the sense of choosing to be one's whole self.

4) Being able to transcend bitterness.

Behavioral

5) Acting on one's sense of one's own complexity

6) Being able to use flexibible coping strategies appropriately in general (that is, being able to use the gamut of strategies from active to passive) and when dealing with cultural choices (that is being able variously to adhere to one's first culture, to substitute second culture elements, to add second...or third, or fourth...culture elements to one's behavioral repertoire where appropriate, to synthesize first and other cultural elements to create new behaviors and, where necessary, to create entirely new cultural space in response to completely new circumstances.

These six elements seem to correspond with and be descriptive of the concept of differentation in Bowen's family systems theory, hat is the ability to be separate together, to be one's own person and allow others to be theirs while remaining emotionally connected.

This examination of autobiographies of tribal people concluded by identifying the critical coping issue for Native Americans as being the continuance of tribal communities into the 21st century. On a personal basis this translated into the problem of how to be a contemporary tribal person. Such a person has a sense of personal coherence despite the highly contrastive realities he/she must negotiate. Such a sense of coherence can best be nurtured in an environment that can hold public stereotypes (whether they orginate in the dominant or the tribal community) at bay while allowing people to process, to be in touch with their whole experience and to manifest the complex patterns of their own uniqueness while at the same time contributing to tribal continuity.

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS

The summary of interviews with health care givers (see Appendix II) revealed that persons who do not get diabetes, do not have a problem with alcohol or other substance abuse or who do not attempt suicide feel that they are in control of their own destinies, that they are powerful. People who control or recover from the above feel the same way. From whence does this empowerment come?

It comes from Indian communities and people asserting their own self-determination, and part of this assertion is articulating the micro-histories of each Indian person, family, kinship network, community and tribe. Such narratives are profoundly linked to the positive self-esteem generated by understanding one's own pattern of complex interactions in a plural society like ours.

Other important themes to emerge in the interviews were the identification of a multicultural adaptation (an "and/and," additive strategy) as correlating with high level functioning and of the importance of both persons and whole communities properly grieving the loss of culture. The literature on death, dying, and loss is helpful in understanding this process. Where a person/community is in the grief cycle depends on its acculturation dynamics (the time elapsed since it suffered disruptions in its traditional culture, the multiplicity and extent of the disruptions suffered and its experience with previous disruptions).

Markers of functionality were identified for communities, family/kinship networks, and persons as well as the salient characteristics of model interventions and things to remember in designing future interventions. The personal markers identified by the health care givers corresponded with those identified in the autobiographical literature (see Appendix II, p. 7).

IMPLICATIONS FOR PHASE TWO

Personal coherence and feelings of empowerment would be nurtured if persons and communities could be enabled to identify and examine systematically their own dynamic patterns across generations and to create their own contemporary narratives to articulate the emotional process in their communities.

Introducing a family systems perspective, the construction of an Indian specific family diagram, and the sharing of the major patterns the family diagrams so collected generate would constitute a method of systematically constructing such personal/community narratives.

The family systems approach assists one in constructing a multigenerational picture/story of the emotional process in one's family. This image is contructed around nodal events: births, deaths, marrigages, illnesses, etc. These are human events. For tribal people in the United States cognizance must be taken of other kinds of significant events: events in global, national, tribal and clan histories as well as fashions in government policy (see Appendix III).

RESONANCE WITH AIO GOVERNANCE WORK

Simultaneously with the health projects AIO has been organizing forums on governance and the role of tribal governments in the U.S. federal system. A group of twelve national tribal leaders identified the

contrasts between Indian views of themselves and others' views of Indians as a major governance issue for the next decade. A subsequent forum done at Winnebago for the tribal council, tribal administration and key community members identified unclear values for everyday decision-making as a major barrier to building consensus on a Winnebago self-sufficiency plan for the year 2000. Thus, negotiating value conflicts emerged as an important step in tribal long range planning. Organizing forums to discuss choices of values perhaps constitutes AIO's next governance step.

When a community understands its own dynamics, its government is capable of more effective social planning. This is the essential connection between AIO's health and governance work.

PHASE TWO

Ten families (functional and dysfunctional) in the Aberdeen Area were to be interviewed. However, while doing governance work at Winnebago in the Aberdeen Area, AIO shared news of our health project with the Chairman, and he immediately volunteered to have his family be one of the families interviewed. Subsequently, the Winnebago director of mental health became interested in the project, and it was decided to do all the interviews at Winnebago because of the high quality of cooperation that spontaneously emerged in the tribe in response to news of the project.

What follows is not an answer, but the beginning of a story which in the words of Chairman Snake might be called Walking in Moccasins and Cowboy Boots. It is about the ambivalence over several generations of being forced to choose an either/or strategy and about developing the self-confidence to choose both and wear each appropriately and/or create an entirely new kind of footwear - a metaphor for developing the self-confidence to be, in all its complexity, a contemporary Winnebago tribal person and to articulate reality from that perspective, that is from the perspective of manifesting Winnebago values into the 21st century.

Luckily, tribal values have always assumed the necessity of responding to a changing environment. This inherent flexibility is manifested in the continuance of 700 tribal communities in the U.S. inspite of 500 year of cultural impingement by Euro-American society.

FEEDBACK

TO

MENTAL HEALTH PROFESSIONALS

REPORT ON FAMILY ASSESSMENT PROJECT FOR AMERICANS FOR INDIAN OPPORTUNITY

by

Louise Rauseo, RN, CS

The objective of the initial contract was to do preliminary testing of a model assessment protocol for Indian families. The project has changed focus and scope with the beginning decision to work specifically with one tribe (Winnebago) where there was special interest in this project.

The decision to begin the project with Winnebago provided a unique opportunity to learn about the coping of families who have had very similar life circumstances. The interviews provided a unique, beginning understanding of the complexity of the family emotional process that governed the range of functioning and adaptation in the group. The interview also helped to suggest a different approach to the life problems of families in a tribal communtiy than originally suggested.

In keeping with our initial contract you will find here a suggested family diagram and history format from the literature, with additions specifically for Indian families. Appendix III includes items that are important in understanding the environment in which the families lived.

The most extensive aspect of the report is a summary of the findings in the 10 families interviewed. The report is prepared initially for those families and other interested people in Winnebago. The report includes some thoughts about family systems theory as one way of thinking about the findings. The response of the initial family respondents will also be included.

I expect the report will be followed by a dialogue with Winnebago that will provide a means for interested Winnebagos to make use of the concepts and the findings for their own development as individuals, families, and communities. The recommendations for that process and for using a similar process in other Indian communities are included in the final section of the report.

REPORT ON TESTING A FAMILY ASSESSMENT INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

The first step in developing a familiy assessment interview protocol for use in Indian communities was the four-generation interview of 10 families from the Winnebago, Nebraska, tribe by a person with extensive experience in family systems theory.

The interiews reinforced the idea that a systems model (such as family systems theory) is necessary to do justice to the complexity of phenomena present in these families. There are no clear "cause and effect" variables when the full story of these families is considered. The multiple variables are both striking and subtle.

The theoretical basis of the interviews is Bowen family systems theory. The value of Bowen's family systems theory is that it provides a way for one to move through a volume of details that are present in such extensive histories without getting lost in detail. It provides a blueprint for finding a broader process beyond the detail. The emotional process exists as a background process to all the foreground detail that generally gets addressed in trying to help identify pathologies, causes, and remedies.

The report of the interviews is not always clearly focused on that background process, but in those instances where it is seen clearly, it provides a more complete view of life processes than ordinarily seen. The written report tries to capture that background process by using the details of the stories as the "vehicle" on which the background process "rides." The ability to see that background process enables people to operate more effectively in their own families and in relating to family problems in general.

While the family diagram provides a way to gather relevant data, the ability to see the background process is usually cultivated slowly and with practice. Therefore, the information on gathering family data and using the family diagram as a format is presented here as a beginning step in a continuing process.

FAMILY DIAGRAM AND FAMILY HISTORY

The family diagram is a structure for showing relevant details of a family, enabling a person to see much information on three or more generations at a glance. The diagram is especially helpful in understanding relationships and patterns that are present in the family as a unit.

With family systems theory as a theoretical blueprint for thinking about family process, a family diagram is a helpful tool. Most people in clinical practice have developed their own style of drawing the diagram, but a consistent format makes it easier for people to make use of the information. The report to Winnebago contains examples of family diagrams that illustrate the common form used by most clinicians.

In 1985 a book entitled Genograms in Family Assessment by Monica McGoldrick and Randy Gerson was published, giving one of the most complete discussions of the family diagram and its clinical use that is available. The appendix of that text gives a clear summary of the information used. (Note: The term genogram and family diagram are used interchangeably in general practice; in this report I am using the words I think are most clearly understood and descriptive for general understanding.)

The appendix of this text is included here for clarity (see Appendix IV). It is not necessary to include other explanations that can be found in their text. However, in gathering data on Indian families, several unique life circumstances stand out and are most important in providing a complete picture of family relationships. The adaptations to the family history and diagram needed for Indian families are based on knowledge of specific variables that should be noted but might be missed in the brief outline form that is often used. Any good clinician would be sensitive to these issues, but it is helpful to make them explicit (see below).

Family System Variables to be Noted

1. Family stability and effectiveness as a unit.

2. Life-course of individuals: ability to sustain self, maintain reproductive partnership, raise effective offspring, and contribute to the famiy and the community.

3. Mechanisms used in the family to manage anxiety

    Emotional or physical distance
    Emotional cut-off
    Conflict
    Over-function/underfunction reciprocity
    Projection of problems to others - particularly children.

4. Symptoms as markers of the emotional process

    Physical
    Emotional
    Social

5. Important triangles in the family.

6. Sibling position: how the place in the family constellation affects the individual's natural functioning in relationships.

The interpretation of a family diagram is largely based on the blueprint of family systems theory. However, people without extensive knowledge of that framework can gain an appreciation of the complexity and richness of the relationship network by gathering data that will address the variables noted here. The infomation can then be assessed by someone skilled in family systems theory and perhaps add to the development of the project's data base that will provide a better understanding of the phenomena observed.

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE IMPORTANT TO ADD CONCRETE FACTS TO THE SIMPLE FACT-GATHERING STRUCTURE OF THE FAMILY DIAGRAM. THESE AREAS OF LIFE APPEAR TO HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FAMILIES IN WINNEBAGO AND PROBABLY FOR MOST NATIVE AMERICAN FAMILIES. EACH TRIBE MAY PRESENT SOME UNIQUE HISTORICAL FACTORS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED THE ANXIETY OF THE UNIT, BUT THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOUND IN THIS REPORT WILL HELP IDENTIFY APPROPRIATE AREAS OF INFORMATION.

I. Family Structure

Who were the most important caretaking adults? Usually the category of mother and father is insufficient to know the facts about the person's childhood family when the larger family unit is very involved in care. There are many variations on this pattern that have major influence on the lives of the family members.

During what time did the individual live with them?

Who were the alternate caregivers?

Who else made up the family unit most of the time?

How did position in the family affect functioning?

Note the fluidity of the family unit when that is applicable. If the make-up of the unit changed, was it due to a disintegrating family unit or to an adaptive unit responding to environmental stress?

II. Life Style

At what point in the family did the famiy have traditional Indian practices?

What is considered the "transitional" generation?

When did the family use their traditional language?

When did the family stop using the traditional language?

What were the attitudes in the family toward their traditional culture and language as well as to the problems and values present in the dominant culture?

How did religion or religions fit into the life of the family in different generations?

III. Life Events

Note the significant BIA policies that affected the tribe.

Note the dates of major relocations of tribes or families.

Note the dates of outside influences such as missionaries, etc.

Which children or generations were in boarding schools run by the BIA, missions, etc.?

How many years and at what ages were the children away from family?

How was the family relationship different when they returned from school?

CRITICAL CRITERIA TO DETERMINE FUNCTIONAL/DYSFUNCTIONAL FAMILIES

The data gathering on a large family unit quickly highlights the evidence for a family's level of function or dysfunction. The usual mix of function and dysfunction in a large family unit is average for society. The history-gathering technique given here simply provides an easier way of noting soemthing that needs no other criteria.

The important aspect of the histories as noted in this report, however, is the effort to understand something about the process over several generations that moves to increase or decrease the functioning in a branch of a family or a larger social group. The criteria for understanding his process are both clear and complex. The anxiety in a unit and the level of differentiation appear to interact in a way that the changes in functioning in the next generation can be "guessed" fairly accurately.

The critical criteria presented here are so complex that they will not be easily interpreted by anyone without a fairly sophisticated knowledge of family systems theory. However, the project proposes to continue to gather data in such a way as to develop a data base that will be able to help make the data more understandable and accurate for use by individuals, tribes, or the professional community.

So, for your consideration, here is the report to Winnebago on the Winnebago family interviews.

The experience has been a valuable one to me, and I thank the Winnebago families, Americans for Indian Opportunity and IHS for the opportunity to spend my professional time in such a productive way.

FEEDBACK

TO

WINNEBAGO FAMILY INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

REPORT ON FAMILY INTERVIEWS IN WINNEBAGO FROM FAMILY SYSTEMS PERSPECTIVE

Submitted to Americans for Indian Opportunity
on October 13, 1987 by Louise Rauseo, RN, CS

Family Systems Theory views dysfunction in a person as a part of a larger phenomenon. Each family as a unit has certain characteristics that partially determine the way that individuals will repsond to events and relationships.

The concept of differentiation is a cornerstone in this theory (Bowen, 1978). Differentiation is both a process and a quality of individuals and systems. As a quality of an individual it may be partially translated as "personhood," the ability to be one's person in the midst of a group's pressure to be like the group or the ability to be separate and still stay connected to the group. This quality is also seen in the ability of the person to separate feeling from thought, urges from principles, and to decide freely between them in specific instances.

Individuals and families vary greatly in this quality. Some FEW have a great deal of awareness and freedom to choose between responding to feelings and responding to thought out directions in life. Each choice can be appropriate at different times in life.

Most people don't recognize the choice; they talk about choices but instead are acting on a level of automatic reactiveness that masquerades as thinking. The largest number of people are consistently reactive to subtle shifts in the environment, to relationships, to anxiety, etc. They usually respond with polarities. They describe these polarities in terms of values and choices, but they are largely predictable, automatic responses to the unrecognized anxiety in the relationship environment.

What is the underlying, unrecognized anxiety in family relationship systems?

Over generations, unresolved issues between people are the CONTENT of a certain kind of anxiety. The PROCESS involves a borrowing of functional energy or emotional go-power from important relationships rather that operating from within one's own emotional boundaries. When the individuals in the process don't handle the emotional issues, the anxiety remains and is passed on to other relationships. (The detail of the moment by moment movement of anxiety between people is more accurately described in the concept of triangles, but that is too complex to deal with in this brief summary. See references please.)

The anxiety of unresolved relationships becomes the environment in which the next generation grows up, unaware of the facts that contributed to the anxiety surrounding them. Each one adds their own unresolved issues, and the environment of anxiety may increase from generation to generation. In each succeeding generation, some individuals get greater doses of the anxiety and are futher from any awareness of its connection to the past. More borrowing of functional energy in relationships accompanies this process with greater dysfunction in the family units.

Living organisms have several predictable, automatic responses to an anxious environment. These are easily observed in the animal world. When observed in humans, the responses are often labeled as individual pathology or problems. Frequently, the individuals think they are acting only on their own feelings and beliefs, but they are as frequently demonstrating an automantic response as predictable as any aspect of nature.

These are the common responses to an anxious environment:

1. Conflict
   Humans and animals both show this response.

2. Overfunction/Underfunction Reciprocity
   Some individuals in an anxious environment compulsively take over functioning for others; in a complementary way there are also some in the environment who give up their own functioning. Both need to exist for the phenomenon to continue.

3. Distance
   Emotional and physical distance are mechanisms frequently observed in the human and animal worlds.

4. Projection to Others
   This is mostly commonly talked about in humans; the classic situation is defined in the concept of triangles. Two individuals may experience anxiety and not resolve it easily in their relationship. It is automatic for one of them to include a third person who temporarily relieves the tension by becoming the focus of worry for the two, an alliance for one, or someone to be blamed. This common human phenomenon is present in families when a child becomes the recipient of the anxiety of the parental twosome.

   While this has been obeserved by many theoreticians, it is proposed in Bowen's natural systems theory as a phenomenon in all of nature. A primitive "two against one" can be seen in all levels of the animal world.

5. Multigenerationsl Transmission Process
   This projection process can be followed over several generations, with the individuals who are most involved in the parental anxiety being those with the least success as adults in the next generation. Eventually, certain branches of the groups move toward extinction while those less involved move toward better functioning. Those who take on the task of defining a SELF, moving toward differentiation and recognizing the automatic behaviors in self and in the group, may be able to stop or slow a process that has otherwise fairly predictable outcomes.

WINNEBAGO OVERVIEW

Current political, religious, familial, and generational conflicts go back to issues evident in all the families interviewed, issues unresolved in the past and unresolved now. Factions today react as if issues are current, and in some manner they are. However, in each family there is evidence of divisions between father and son, mother and daughter, wife and husband, "favored child" and "abandoned child"; issues are deep and disturbing. People do not know how to resolve the issues and go on about life the best they know how. However, the issues are often acted out along with other "excess baggage" of the family, issues of life style, religion, etc., and the issues become life-long divisions that are passed on the the children's children. Current violence may involve ancient divisions; people may be reacting as a part of an emotional process that they don't know and could not easily recognize.

The older generation often thinks that they have resolved the problem because they don't actively pursue the conflicts or issues of the past. "I try to be good to my sister and her children even though they have always treated me badly. I call her sister and tell her that I love her." OR, "I have tried to forget the past and live only in the present."

But the multigenerational emotional process that built the problem has never been studied, understood, or managed.

WINNEBAGO FAMILY STORIES

Several representatives of Winnebago families were generous contributors of their own family stories, recorded as accurately as possible by the interviewer. This report is only a beginning effort to understand the process that these stories represent. By nature of the effort, it is never complete, because the family goes beyond the knowledge of any one person. Although the report or the understanding is never complete, this report to Winnebago is a first step in a process to allow the stories to teach what there is to learn, using the blueprint of family systems theory to bring out background processes that may have been hidden from view by attention to individual problems or pathology.

In recording information as complex as three generations of one family, the most natural format was to start with the personal story of the respondent. Then, the interview usually proceeded to the stories of the parent generation and then the grandparents when remembered in some detail. The final aspect of the interview was the stories of the offspring or the current family. The report follows the same format.

Present Older Adult Generation (Born Around 1910 to 1930)

Each generation has its own perspective on the family, and it is only one perspective of many. The report starts with the generation of those older persons in the community who often were the reporters of their own stories and those of their children and children's children. These people were born in the generation around 1919 to around 1930. The family diagrams here represent composites of families at two extremes: those whose lives have diverged in the direction of more severe problems over the generations and those with stable families who may have in fact improved their functioning some in each generation.

More Functional Families

The more fortunate individuals were raised in fairly intact family units, either with one parent and grandparents or with both parents involved in strong and significant ways in their lives. Family values were clearly passed on to the person. These were often spiritual and/or moral values. Sometimes they were derived from traditional ways of living; sometimes they were derived from education or religion. In these families, the exact nature of the values seemed less important than the FACT that these values existed. Individual progess and contribution to the community were learned as much by example as by "teaching."

This does not mean that conflicts did not exist. In these families there were strong differences of opinion and many situations of conflict among family members. To the interviewer it appears that conflict over ideas is more obvious and more openly handled in these families while conflict over persons is less intense. The following examples are indicators of the ways these families handled problems.

In families with racially mixed marriages the awareness of differences was open, with a clear idea of the problem that it caused for the individuals involved. However, the difficulties did not create generations of issues for the family. It appears that the issues were resolved in the generation living with the problem to an extent that the way they were resolved is evident to the family. In one example of a racially mixed family, the white family resisted acceptance of the new partner. The issue was resolved by the ongoing contact and leadership of the Winnebago partner in a thoughtful and consistent way of being a "member" of both families.

Alcohol use and abuse was present in some family members in most families in this generation. However, the family did not seem to be organized around this problem, and the alcohol use or abuse did not have a powerful impact on the life of the respondent.

Loss of important family members also took place for people in this generation, the death of a parent due to accident or illness. For these more functional families, the death of a parent was a great loss but did not disrupt their lives completely. There was a stable family

unit with enough emotional energy or "go power" to provide a stable base for the child at such a time. The older the person at the time of the parent's death, the more likely the person was to simply start to take responsibility effectively for his or her own life, even at age 10 or 11.

These families had the ability to take what was available in the environment (work, goods, policies, etc.) and find a way to make use of them. They exhibited a resilience in the face of various obstacles, economic depression, deaths, loss of partners, etc. (Using the common analogy of the partially filled glass of water, they were able to turn the "half-empty" glass of water into the "half-full" glass of water and use it to grow a lush garden.)

The "composite" family diagram may give some idea of the way these families appeared. The structure, events, and process will be described during the discussion.

Less Functional Families

For the families with more severe life problems, there are some differences that were observed. These family units were clearly less stable. The families appeared to have less emotional energy for coping with life problems and less ability to be responible for those things that were normal life events for the first group. Frequently, parents were scarcely available and did not appear to function as parents to their offspring. This role was taken by a variety of people depending on the stability of the larger family group. Sometimes the more stable "parent" was an older sibling, sometimes another "mother" in Mother's family. Other times it became the mission of a particular missionary. None of the people that I interviewed had been "adopted out" and later returned to the tribe, but that is also a version of the pattern in some Indian families.

Alcohol use and abuse was common in these families, going back to the earliest settlers of Winnebago. In this older adult generation it was reported in both men and women, often as a part of the instability of the family unit. For those from unstable family units, alcohol may have become an issue first with a partner, then in their offspring, even if it was not present in the parent generation. The most clear common thread is the chaotic nature of the family, with or without alcohol, but with signs of increasing alcohol abuse as the family emotional process continues over the generations.

For instance, one person in middle age who was raised with 2 brothers and 4 sisters now has only one sister living and one brother in the penitentiary. All but one died of alcohol related illnesses or accidents. Of this person's two children, one died of an alcohol related accident and the other is addicted to drugs and alcohol, living in a series of unhappy relationships. This person left the area and has

largely lived in another culture, but the problems of the past continue into the present. [1]

In the less functional families, they have often lost the clear connection to the family values of the past. There is more evidence of emotional cut-off from the difficult issues of the past; with that there is an apparent "forgetting" of other important information and issues.

This is obvious also in the pattern with mixed marriages. In these families, the mixed marriage is simply reported without any information or even curiosity about the life history of the "other" parent. The issues presented by the differences are usually lost in the multitude of present day issues of chaotic family life.

The majority of the people in this generation were educated in boarding schools. However, even if they came home to some family member, the children were likely looking after themselves or other children while the adults either worked, drank, or gathered with other adults. The connection between the children and the adults was unclear from the interviews. The strong emphasis in this group was one of children who "raised themselves."

The people in this group put more emphasis on finding happiness with a lover, partner, or with their children, but put **less energy into developing their own lives.** These families showed unstable male/female relationships. There were frequent separations, frequent changes of partners, and as adults many never felt fully responsible or competent for their own lives.

Families With Mixed Functioning

Another group seemed to fit in between the two extremes of better or poorer functioning. In these, there was evidence of high level functioning for one or two family members but the larger family group exhibited serious problems. Usually, some of the family members could be depended on at times of crisis, and some people managed to develop goals for their own lives and some leadership within the community. That was not possible in the group described above.

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1. It is common for people to use emotional cut-off as a way of managing their own anxiety of unresolved issues and relationships. The past seems to contain many of the issues that this person wanted to get away from but is still living with today. Partly in reaction to that past this person has focused their energy on making things better for their children without knowing how this process is passed on from one generation to the next. Family systems theory can provide a blue-print for people to begin to understand this process and begin to change their part in it.

SUMMARY

THE INTERESTING FACT THAT EMERGES IN THESE STORIES IS THAT ANY SINGLE LIFE PROBLEM HAS BEEN FACED BY PEOPLE AT BOTH EXTREMES. THERE IS NO SINGLE FACTOR SUCH AS PARENTAL DEATHS OR BOARDING SCHOOLS OR RELOCATION THAT MAKE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FAMILIES WHO ARE DOING WELL TODAY AND THOSE WHO ARE NOT. RATHER, IT APPEARS THAT THE WAY THE FAMILIES MANAGE THE PARTICULAR PROBLEMS THAT CONFRONT EACH FAMILY GROUP SAYS MORE ABOUT THE OVERALL FUNCTIONING OF THE FAMILY UNIT THAN THE PROBLEMS DO.

THE ABILITY TO CONFRONT THE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS FACED BY THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY AND EMERGE STRONGER SEEMS TO BE A MAJOR FACTOR THAT SPEAKS TO THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THESE FAMILY GROUPS.

ONE OTHER FACT STANDS OUT. ONE FAMILY MEMBER MAY DO A GREAT DEAL BETTER THAN OTHERS IN THE GROUP. USUALLY IT APPEARS THAT PERSON HAS BEEN RAISED IN A FAR DIFFERENT EMOTIONAL ENVIRONMENT THAN THE SIBLINGS WHO DO NOT DO AS WELL. [2]

Summary of the Older Adult Generation

The following summaries of life events as experienced by the different groups help to see the complexity of the variables that influence functioning in these families.

At both extremes of functioning, the following events were commonly experienced:

Death of a parent before age 5.
Boarding school education at early age (5-7).
Alcohol problem of parent or caretaking grandparent.
Separation or divorce of parents.
Intermarriages between Indian tribes.
Racially mixed marriages.
Various religions and lifestyles.
One grandparent had a position of respect in the community.
Predominance of problems seen in either male or female members of family.

The following factors were more specific to the severely dysfunctional units:

Child neglect.
Dysfunctional life and unstable relationships of the adults in the family.
Failure to develop personal life interests and find a significant role in the community.
An extreme position of having ALL relationships within the Winnebago community
OR
Moving out of Winnebago and removing contact with family.

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2. Family systems theory suggests some of the variables involved in the different life course of members fo the same family. Study of th multiple factors influencing the different emotional environments of offspring raised in the same family needs more detailed systems analysis.

The following factors were more specific to groups with fewer life problems:

Parent or caretaker took interest in training and educating child.
Parent or caretaker was able to go against prevailing customs or attitudes for strongly held beliefs or principles.
Parent or caretaker had strong sense of self as evidenced by efforts exerted for specific goals for self, family or community.
Respect for learning and work - both as defined traditionally and in the dominant culture.
Parent or caretaker had developed a role in the community and often in the larger world that utilized specific training or skills.
More likely to have involvement with a wider group of people including other Indian groups, other races and cultures.
Know larger family unit and important issues of the family's past.
Can live either in Winnebago or dominant culture and make contribution. [3]

The Generation Past (Born around 1870 to 1900)

This generation, if still living, represent the elders in the community. They were more likely the first generation born in Winnebago and their parents may have come as children. They experienced the first stable generation in Winnebago. However, this generation appeared to be more unsettled in some ways. The movement back and forth from Wisconsin was more evident in partial units in Wisconsin. There was still much contact and connection with Wisconsin, often having brothers and sisters born to a father or mother who later returned to Wisconsin or who had children there before coming to Nebraska.

There were also frequent instances of "marrying out," and those situations seemed to present either a strength for future generations or a problem of unresolved issues that are unresolved to the present day.

In the families, there were the same issues of birth, death, marriage, dissolution of marriage, misunderstandings, conflicts of values, etc. that were mentioned in the generation described above. These took place in the families at all ranges of functioning. There is less direct information about how those problems were solved in that generation.

In this generation it was common for people to have four years (or more) of education in BIA schools. In spite of being educated in

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3. The goal of relating to both communities is not really to be "happy" in both groups, but one of being able to deal responsibly with issues in both groups and being able to define oneself more effectively as a person in any setting.

boarding schools, many people of this generation continued to speak Winnebago in the home and family, maintaining traditions and teaching children some of the old values. Even in mixed marriages, it appears that the more functional families were able to incorporate significant aspects of both groups; while the traditions were often lost in less functional families even though the marriages were among Winnebagos. This indicator of personal definition that is clearer in the more functional families is consistent with concepts from family systems theory. More complete data gathering in this generation will allow a better evaluation of this process.

More Functional Families

Again, the way the family managed the frequent moves or the presence of another culture or way of life was significant. In those marriages between other Indian nations, the contact with the extended family was as important a factor as it was in the interracial marriages. Those who kept contact with their families (whether Sioux, Santee, Ute or Oneida, white missionar, or those of French, Irish, or German descent or with the Winnebagos in Wisconsin) apparently provided an important ingredient of self-definition for themselves and for their children who were in contact with the families in a significant way. [4]

Although usually educated at BIA schools (often through high school), the family was intact and available when the young people were at home. The sketchy information available in this generation shows more stability in the family structure in past generations of families who have less problems in the present. This does not mean that they did not have some incidence of severe chronic illness, alcoholism, or unstable marriages. These "symptoms," though, are more scattered in the family across the generations and do not appear as often as in the families at the other extreme.

Less Functional Families

Death of a parent, severe chronic illness, and alcohol abuse were present and significant in families in this generation. The presence of extreme chronic problems such as TB, severe diabetes, or alcohol abuse in this generation was often accompanied by other signs of dysfunction - child neglect, chaotic families, instability of the family unit.

At one extreme, many of those born in this generation were raised from young childhood in one of the missions or passed among relatives; the instability of their lives was evident from frequent moves and no attachment to an adult family member. These children were usually incorporated into some family group or other, but the chaotic nature of their lives continued into the next generation. Frequently, they went on to produce very large families but did not function responsibly in them; this was soemtimes seen in child neglect (with or without alcohol abuse), and lack of ability to contribute to the family or the community.

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4. This does not mean that family history or getting to know distant relatives is a "cure" for life problems; it is only one of the ingredients in a person's ability to know some of the ways the family has handled life and perhaps begin to understand oneself in the context of relationships and life's issues.

One of the common comments in the families with severe problems was about early relationships. If these people were raised in a family the individual recognized the "favorites" in the family - those chosen early by mother, father, or caretaking grandparent for "special attention" or because of "special need." Often mother's favorite was a first surviving child after several deaths; this child often became the only one that mother or grandmother attended to regularly while the others were sometimes left to function together or chosen as "favorites" by other family members. Frequently, with many "half-brothers and sisters" in a family, father would choose one that best represented his investment in the family while mother had already chosen her favorite.

While tribal culture makes no difference among such brothers and sisters, the emotional process in these families made a significant difference in the outcome for the offspring. Often the favorites in the families did not have as successful lives as others. From the evidence it appears that the family divisions carried over in unknown and automatic ways to many generations in the future, so that the adults and teenagers of today who develop intense conflicts are still acting out a process started many generations past, but they are totally unaware of the facts behind them. [5]

The Middle Adult Generation (Born around 1940 to 1960)

The details of functioning of the middle adult generation and their offspring is more fully documented than that of the past. The divergence between the extremes of family functioning is more evident in the most functional and least functional families at his level.

More Functional Families

In the families with fewer problems, the progress of the past is continuing into the present. Even the most successful of the families, though, has been faced with almost all of the problems faced by the dysfunctional families, with someone in each generation providing a significant step of leadership in dealing with these.

For example, if a family found religion was helpful in defining a position about alcohol use or abuse for self and family, that was adopted and defined clearly. If a particular kind of work, such as raising animals, was helpful in maintaining an orientation toward life that successfully avoided some of the more common life problems, it was communicated to the family in a significant way. Some found that "marrying out" provided that kind of difference; for some it was education. Others talked about living slightly out of the emotional "center" of town as ways of keeping a sense of one's self while being a part of the whole. Other family members, then, may have utilized

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5. Perhaps these "half-siblings" represent a reality of tribal life that is in conflict with the ideal - and therefore not easily observed or managed because it theoretically "does not exist" in this culture.

the same life style or approach to life as an anchor. Often, though, it simply showed people that it was possible to be different from others and still be an important part of the community. [6]

In the more functional families, there are still unstable marriages, alcohol abuse, chronic illness, and some premature deaths. However, this is not the predominant feature of these families as in the next group.

The main feature of these families is stability and leadership. The offspring coming from these families appear to have some self-definition of their own and are going about finding ways to live their lives according to their own unique abilities while remaining in contact and contributing to the families from which they came.

Less Functional Families

At the most severe level of dysfunction, all of the offspring in a given unit in a family exhibit some severe form of dysfunction - physical, emotional, or social (or as in the case of substance abuse, perhaps a combination of all three). The general level of dysfunction is most obvious in the inability of the adult offspring to form a stable unit with a mate for the offspring. Often someone in the older generation attempts to support the poorly functioning offspring, but this seldom improves their functioning except for a short time.

In these few interviews, only the less functional families reported attempts at relocation in the 1950's. At the first severe crisis, it appears that people tried to return to Winnebago. In Winnebago, the family was less anxious and had possibly more resources to bolster their functioning through the crisis. However, not all the families in this group were relocated. Many simply remained in Winnebago with no sign of progress from one generation to the next.

In fact, the intensity of the life problems has escalated in some of these families to the point of severe physical abuse of partners and children. While there were probably isolated instances of this in these particular families in past generations, the incidence is increasing dramatically in these particular family units.

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6. Those same issues (religion, education, living out of town, farming, or marry out) were found in the dysfunctional families as well. The difference, once again, is how they were used by the families.

PRELIMINARY REFLECTIONS/ANALYSIS

Anxiety and Self-Definition

Modern psychological analysis of these factors would attempt to find cause and effect among them. Systems thinking simply sees the different factors as characteristics of the system under different conditions. In these families the condidtions of high anxiety and low definition of self are accompanied by the various dysfunctions observed in the family histories. Careful data gathering over the next several years and the development of a relationship data base will allow a clearer discussion of a relative importance of the factors and conditions observed.

One woman used this analogy to describe her family. She said it is like an amoeba that knows how to multiply but not divide. The protoplasm in such a cell then reverberated to any stimulus in the system, and it is felt throughout the protoplasmic blob.

Using this analogy, a family that is able to multiply but not divide is then constantly reverberating to any and every stimulus that touches any part of the "blob." Family members are caught in constant responsiveness or reactivity to the point that life energy is tied up in that process rather than in efforts for self or the community.

A critical point in this way of thinking is that of recognizing the phenomenon so that people can learn that here is a choice; there is a way of managing that reactivity and changing one's responsiveness or position in a "blob" without blaming the phenomenon or the others in the mass of protoplasm. [7]

Persons in an anxious unit in which many individuals function without self-definition have two equally important tasks if the unit is to change. Anxiety must be managed to a point that less reactive thinking is possible for some members of the unit. At the same time, members most able to think toward a self-definition within the system, will need to begin the task even though it will create new anxiety for self and for the unit at various times in the effort.

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7. A system's perspective does not see fault or blame in a natural process; it is simply a way of describing the way a system behaves. When one part of a system changes significantly, it throws the other parts out of balance; the system works to restore balance, at first by maintaining the old processes and attempting to restore all parts to the old processes. However, if the new behavior in a system is solid and does not change back with all the natural forces for restoring its former level of functioning, the system can resume a new balance. That new balance may be more effective for the entire system and for the individuals in it.

Group Cohension And Individual Persons

Several families show evidence of the compromise people often make between sorting out their own beliefs and acting as a PERSON vs. adapting to group values that are different from one's own. One example may demonstrate this, but it is only an obvious one to single out among many evident in the families.

Those of mixed race or tribe have often chosen to live AS IF one race or tribe (one parent or heritage) is totally unimportant, choosing to forget that part of SELF. This requires a great PRETEND that is designed to guarantee acceptance by one group or another. The group plays a part by excluding or extruding those who are different. Eventually, there is no SELF at all. And as a group of NO-SELF people, they are only reacting to others along the styles listed above in coping with an anxious environment.

One Example of the Patterns in Participant Families

The example involves various patterns that are present in families who "marry out." One pattern in some families is handled by the family simply "absorbing" the one from the other cutlure - almost as if there is no difference. That is, blurring over differences as a way of keeping some comfort. Generally the ones who function in this way are extremely cut-off from their own families and culture and have no "anchor." They are therefore vulnurable to dysfunction and are likely to borrow their functioning from their new relationship system. The families will know very little about the parent from the other race or culture, about their extended families. These families often have less fortunate lives.

Another pattern is seen when the ones who marry out do not keep contact with the partner or know their families. The children are left with a sense of the unknown or loss - there is an empty spot in the place of parent, grandparents, etc., and not even lively stories to take their places.

Another pattern is that the ones who marry out cut off from their own family and heritage; they are absorbed into the new family and may do well for a time but are also vulnurable at times of stress to symptoms in themselves or their familes.

One different pattern that appears to be more functional may also be, at times, fairly uncomfortable. The families recognize the issues that are involved in the differences, the conflicts and discomforts are recognized, the inevitable choices and decisions are made with full recognition of the history of the struggle and of the people involved. The players in these family dramas are all REAL people, flaws and all. They are less likely to become idealized or made scape-goats, but are seen with their strengths and flaws.

This pattern has the discomfort of constantly coming up against the real dilemmas of life, seldom hiding from them. The result for a family over several generations is that there is less hidden anxiety. There is a sense that difficulties can be handled, problems, overcome,and it is not necessary to run away from the real issues in life.

PRELIMINARY FEEDBACK FROM WINNEBAGO

TO

AMERICANS FOR INDIAN OPPORTUNITY

ON

FAMILY INTERVIEWS AND DRAFT REPORT

COMMENTS BY WINNEBAGO MENTAL HEALTH CENTER STAFF
October 19, 1987

Initial Primary Value of Project

Saw the difference in the work by the clinician (Mrs. Rauseo) and attributed some of it to the effectiveness of the family diagram as a tool for family assessment.

Since the interviews, the staff has been aware of the increased sensitivity of the process and the added information that was obtained by way of the interviews. The staff showed increased interest in using the genogram and trying to make use of some of the ideas.

Arranged for an inservice in November with a person from Creighton University who is able to teach the use of the genogram.

Recommendations for Follow-Up in Winnebago

Mrs. Rauseo to come back to talk over content that might be helpful to participants for clarification and understanding; once interest is developed need to confirm the process for those participants. Others in community may learn from this that there is something of value.

Training program would be important for those able to comprehend it. Only those who are motivated to continue should be invited to a training program as described in report. Outstanding idea.

The mental health staff wants to learn to work with people in the transitional generation: how can people manage both sets of values and come out with their own? How can we work with the participants in a therapeutic situation after these interviews if they are interested in pursuing the ideas more? (Maybe these participants are good candidates for the training too. L.R.)

Only motivated families should continue for a "next step," not those who want to be paid.* (Issue of finding realistic balance between helping people with realistic need vs. paying people to help themselves. What can therapy consist of for those who want to participate?)

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* To help with transportation/time off from work each family which participated was paid $20.00

Need help here to describe a different process that might be possible in the family rather than the current "unhealthy" processes. (How do we show alternatives without "prescribing" values for the families? Models of community leaders or mental health leaders? Alkalai Lake? L.R.)

Need a family resource center for treatment of major family dysfunction to include the whole family. (How about training for people to run such a center?)

COMMENTS BY WINNEBAGO INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS
October 19-20, 1987

Need to get away from Winnebago in order to learn about the broader world in order to change.

Too much is brought to Winnebago without effort from the people.

Cling too much to "old way."

Lived for the money we would one day get from the treaties....everyone had some money, and it was put aside for business.....and can't keep waiting for things.

These ideas have potential to help Indian people in a significant way.

Need to get the information from interviews with Indian people in many other cultures to see what is valid for others as well.

Want to involve many more people in the process. (When is it appropriate to start involving others, when is it counterproductive?)

CONCLUSION

What Are The Next Steps? OR What Is It Possible To Do With Family Systems Theory and Your Own Story?

IN EACH FAMILY IT IS CLEAR THAT THERE ARE TWO CATEGORIES OF PROBLEMS TO BE DEALT WITH. FIRST, THERE ARE THE SIGNIFICANT EVENTS THAT THE ENVIRONMENT BRINGS TO BEAR ON LIFE: TRAUMA, RACISM, IMPOSITION OF STIFLING POLICIES, ETC. THESE HAVE AN EFFECT ON THE ANXIETY OF THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY.

THE WAY PEOPLE DEAL WITH THESE THINGS HAS A LOT TO DO WITH A MORE SUBTLE PROBLEM FOR PEOPLE --- THEIR WON EMOTIONAL AND RELATIONSHIP ENVIRONMENT, THE "HIDDEN" ANXIETY THAT ACCOMPANIES THE UNRESOLVED ISSUES OF THE FAMILY AND THE EFFORTS TO HANDLE THAT ANXIETY WITH AUTOMATIC MECHANISMS. THESE EFFORTS USUALLY RESULT IN ADDED AND MORE ABVIOUS ANXIETY FOR THE WHOLE FAMILY.

THE SECOND AREA IS THE ONE THAT THIS PROJECT ADDRESSES. FAMILY SYSTEMS THEORY PROVIDES A WAY FOR PEOPLE TO UNDERSTAND THE PROCESS AND SYSTEMATICALLY FIND A WAY TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT. THOSE WHO ARE EFFECTIVE IN SUCH A TASK WILL THEN BE FAR MORE EFFECTIVE IN DEALING WITH THE FIRST GROUP OF PROBLEMS.

How Do Communities and Individuals Make Use Of Family Systems Theory?

People who have not given up SELF completely can learn to understand and deal with the unresolved issues of the past. These people are usually, but not always, the ones in the community or family who are not severely dysfunctional. However, this requires so much personal effort and clarity of purpose, it is never learned by those who are assigned such a task. It can only be taken on by those with enough committment and ability to sustain themselves as responsible members of the family group even though they will be pressured to remain the same or change back to old ways.

Only those with a deep committement to understanding their own history and unresolved issues will be able to accomplish this task, those leaders in or out of office with the courage to examine their own inconsistencies and take on the process of confronting their own lives. These people can have an influence, not by alliances or power, but by the example of the clarity of their lives.

Funding can best be spent on coaching and presenting to motivated individuals a systems approach to their own lives and tribal leadership. A family or community will be changed most by a few such motivated individuals who decide to study their own functioning

within the family and community from the perspective of family systems theory and manage to deal with their own personal issues. By changing their own functioning they enable the entire social system to change. For motivated leaders this effort is their LIVES, not just a job. The difference in results is profound.

NOTE: This does not rule out the participation of mental health professionals; it simply talks about how people are chosen to participate. For example, volunteers for a two year personal training program is different from a "course" imposed on mental health professionals.

The Following Ideas Have Been Considered by the Interviewer and By AIO

1. Provide opportunities to give feedback to Winnebago for the better understanding of family emotional systems in Winnebago.

2. Incorporate that feedback into the tool for getting family history (family diagram including important structures, events and relationships in the family).

3. Initiate the use of that tool in Winnebago for interested individuals in and out of the health fields.

4. Provide a training program of at least two years duration for interested participants at Georgetown or by Georgetown staff at Winnebago.

5. From the experience at Winnebago, develop opportunities for other interested tribes over the next year, offering the two year training period after first going through a development period similar to this three-month project.

These Main Ideas Can be Worked Out in Various Ways

1. Implementing the family history and family systems perspective in the better understanding of the forces at work at Winnebago in family functioning or dysfunctioning.

2. Providing an opportunity for interested individuals to continue learning and applying principles from family systems theory to their own lives and to their participation in the tribe.

3. Providing an opportunity to develop a computerized data-base utilizing the family interview information (as well as categories suggested by the Sources-of-Variance-Framework in Appendix I and the markers in Appendix II) and family systems theory to be more accurate about the issues presented in this report. (This data base would be availalbe to the tribe if it is successful.)

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

Overall Thoughts on Family Assessment Project

Thinking over the total picture at Winnebago and the unique contribution of Bowen's Family System's theory these ideas emerge:

1) Ability to conceptualize the entire community as an interconnected relationship sytem, an extended family in a way.

2) Provides the most effective approach in working with dysfunctional families or groups - NOT to treat the problem one (ones) but to find the strength in the family and provide an opportunity for that one (ones) to develop SELF and become more effective in the family or community.

Most programs in treatment (including conventional family therapy) continue to focus on the "problem" and do not know how to identify and train the effective ones to manage their lives differently in the face of the "problems." Most family therapy programs and treatment centers have similar outcomes to individual treatment since the focus is usually on the one with the problem and not on the broader background process in which the problem arises.

The idea of working with a few (or one) strong individual(s) from a group provides a very different (and more cost effective) approach to a community's problems. It is more "organic" (natural) but does not do well in a spotlight. It is not a new "program" to be developed but a different way of thinking available to those who find it attractive and who are willing to pursue it. (There are people who are sufficiently experienced and advanced with this way of thinking so that interested people can find models and mentors for the process.)

EPILOGUE

EPILOGUE

Soon after World War II a Navajo/Mexican medicine man explained to a young veteran from Laguna Pueblo that the old things must change, because the world has changed, but in fact everything has always been changing right along, since the beginning:

> "The people nowadays have an idea about ceremonies. They think the ceremonies must be performed exactly as they have always been done, because one slip-up or mistake and the whole ceremony must be stopped and the sand painting destroyed. That much is true. They think that if a singer tampers with any part of the ritual, great harm can be done, great power unleashed." He was quiet for a while, looking up at the sky through the smoke hole. "That much can be true also. But long ago when the people were ginven these ceremonies, changing began, if only in the aging of the yellow gourd rattle or the shrinking of the skin around the eagle's claw, if only in the different voices from generation to generation, singing the chants. You see, in many ways, the ceremonies have always been changing."
>
> Tayo nodded; he looked at the medicine pouches hanging from the ceiling and tried to imagine the objects they contained.
>
> "At one time, the ceremoines as they had been performed were enough for the way the world was then. But after the white people came, elements in this world began to shift, and it became necessary to create new ceremonies. I have made changes in the rituals. The people mistrust this greatly, but only this growth keeps the ceremonies strong."
>
> "[My mother] taught me this above all else: things which don't shift and grow are dead things. They are things the witcherey people want. Witchery wants to scare people, to make them fear growth. But it has always been necessary, and more than ever now, it is. Otherwise we won't make it. We won't survive.
>
> That is what witchery is counting on: that we will cling to the ceremonies the way they were, and then [the witchery's power] will triumph, and the people will be no more" (Silko, 1977, p. 126).

APPENDIX I

REVIEW OF AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Review of Autobiographical Literature

APPENDIX II: Summary of Interviews

APPENDIX III: Chronology

APPENDIX IV: Family Diagrams (Genograms: Format, Form and Outline)

EFFECTIVE NATIVE AMERICAN MULTIPLE CULTURAL COPING AND ADAPTATION

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For

Indian Health Service
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PROLOGUE

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> "The people nowadays have an idea about ceremonies. They think the ceremonies must be performed exactly as they have always been done, because one slip-up or mistake and the whole ceremony must be stopped and the sand painting destroyed. That much is true. They think that if a singer tampers with any part of the ritual, great harm can be done, great power unleashed." He was quiet for a while, looking up at the sky through the smoke hole. "That much can be true also. But long ago when the people were given these ceremonies, and changing began, if only in the aging of the yellow gourd rattle or the shrinking of the skin around the eagle's claw, if only in the different voices from generation to generation, singing the chants. You see, in many ways, the ceremonies have always been changing."
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> That's what witchery is counting on: that we will cling to the ceremonies the way they were, and then [the witchery's power] will triumph, and the people will be no more" (Silko, 1977, p. 126).

EFFECTIVE NATIVE-AMERICAN MULTIPLE CULTURAL COPING AND ADAPTATION

Introduction: The Sources-of-Variance Framework

The following is a description of effective multiple cultural coping and adaptation by Native American people in the United States during the twentieth century. This description is based on a sources-of-variance framework developed by Wasilewski (1982) from the analysis of the patterns which emerged from a close reading of the autobiographical literature of Native American, Hispanic, Black and Asian American people in the U.S. A sources-of-variance framework attempts a comprehensive identification of all the elements that contribute to the characteristics being studied, in this case, effective mutliple cultural coping and adaptation. The autobiographical literature used as the data base for this study was all written or recorded in English and it took four forms: oral histories, straight autobiographies, autobiographically inspired novels and news accounts. More than 90 Native American accounts were reviewed (Appendix I).

After a definition of terms, the first major section of this report will describe the total Native American coping and adaptation gestalt. The second major section will describe those dimensions which appear powerfully across groups of people of color (Wasilewski, 1982) and the third section will discuss critical issues in Native American coping and adaptation.

Definitions

The researcher's preferred definitions are as follows:

Coping

> "Coping resembles an ant circumventing a barrier while still maintaining a sense of direction . . . In itself it does not imply success, but effort" (Murphy, 1974, pp. 71,75).

Adaptation

> "Adaptation is not total mastery or surrender but an acceptable compromise . . . [However], an adaptive compromise not only preserves [living creatures] as they are but also permits them to grow, to increase both their size and their automony . . . strategies of adaptation lead not just to equilibrium but to development" (R.W. White, 1974, pp. 52, 54).

Culture

Briefly, culture is the total life way of a people (Tylor, 1891), and it is learned (Goodenough, 1976). Lansing (1979) referred to all extrasomatic adaptation (i.e., all nonbiological adaptation) as culture.

Effective

Effective, for the purposes of this report has four definitions: a phenomenological, a behavorial, an observational, and an alchemical or transcendental definition. Phenomenologically, the effective person, from the inside or emic perspective, is one who feels him/herself to be effective in each of his/her cultural settings in the sense that autonomy, choice, energy, and/or at least hope can be maintained in each setting. Behaviorally, an effective person in a complex, heterogeneous society does not conform to a rigid pattern of behavior but is able to behave efficiently within a rich and complex bi- or multicultural heritage (Fitzgerald, 1977). Observationally, the effective person, as seen by an outside observer or from the etic perspective, has survived as a whole human being, scarred perhaps, but not maimed, and above all not consumed by bitterness. The alchemical or transcendental definition of a effective person is one who has the abilitiy to change negative energy (e. g., bitterness) into positive energy, to create new cultural space for his/her cultural group, to transform and create culture, not just to imitate it.

Multicultural coping and adaptation

Multicultural coping and adaptation refers to the ability to cope and adapt to more than one cultural environment, to adjust to more than one cultural standard of behavior, and at times to synthesize and to create new cultural space.

It must be emphasized that the focus of this study is on multiple adaptation and that adaptation is always seen as reciprocal. The researcher has no quarrel with the technical anthropological meaning of acculturation as second culture learning, but in ordinary use it often becomes synonymous with assimilation, that is, the substitution of other, usually dominant, culture patterns. In this study the emphasis is not on those people who are successfully acculturating or assimilating to dominant culture patterns, but on those people who have been effective in maintaining their first culture patterns while at the same time acquiring dominant and other culture patterns. These people have maintained and/or have developed during their lives a multiple cultural adaptation.

The Gestalt of Effective Native American Coping and Adaptation As Described By The Dimensions Of The Sources-of-Variance Framework

French, Rogers, and Cobb (1974) conceptualize adjustment as a highly interactive paradigm of person-environment fit. Lazarus et al. (1974) offer a sources-of-variance model for coping behavior. They identify three main sources of variance: (1) stimulus or situation demands, (2) dispositional tendencies to react in certain ways, and (3) varieties of coping responses.

The sources-of-variance framework (Figure 1, p. 5) that emerged from the life histories of visible minorities or people of color analyzed in Wasilewski's work (1982) is composed of three major domains which resonate with those of French, Rogers and Cobb mentioned above: the environments in which interpersonal interaction takes place, the competencies of the actor, and the behaviors exhibited in these particular environments by the actor. This is an interactive framework. Environments, competencies, and performance behaviors all affect each other simultaneously and in all directions.

This framework was then elaborated into a checklist (Figure 2, p. 6) that attempts to identify all the dimensions involved in the dynamics of coping and adaptation by people of color in culturally plural settings controlled by a dominant cultural group.

Each domain of the elaborated framework-checklist will be discussed below. It is important to note that the framework-checklist does not have many mutually exclusive terms. For instance, "Urban," "Small town/village," and "Rural" could all be checked if a person's interpersonal mazeway extended into all three kinds of environments.

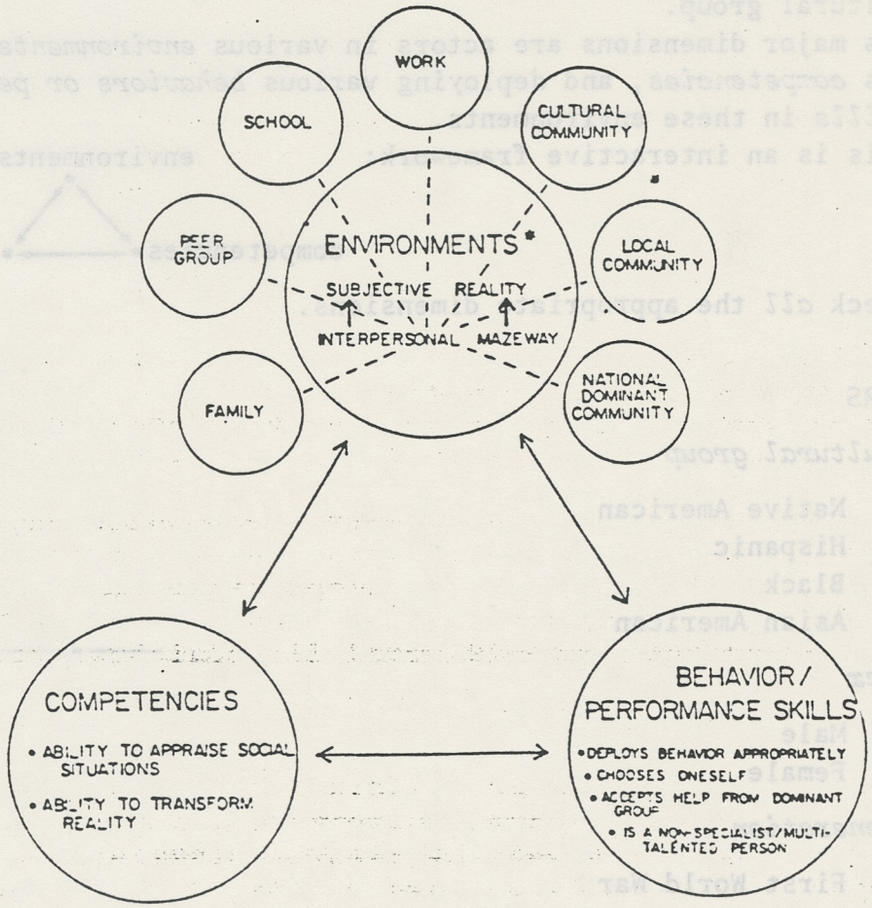
Environments

A minority person's subjective reality and precisely what he or she attends to in his or her interpersonal mazeway is all-important in the development of the person's ability to cope and adapt in different cultural contexts. At the very least, a multicultural person's interpersonal mazeway, by definition, must extend to environments that are culturally different. For instance, a Navajo child living with his or her grandparents in the middle of a reservation, interacting only with other Navajos, is not yet living in a multicultural world, even though the child lives in a larger plural society.

Subjective reality. This category attempts to indicate the underlying dimensions of a person's reality according to three criteria.

Figure 1

Sources-of-Variance Framework for the Analysis of Coping and Adaptation by Minority Persons in Culturally Plural Societies Controlled by a Dominant Group

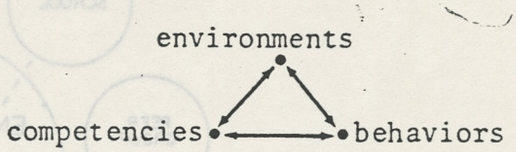


*Environments are made up of subjective reality and of one's interpersonal mazeway. One's interpersonal mazeway is in turn made up of elements from one's family, peer group, school, work, cultural community, local community, and national/dominant community. The elements attended to from these settings, however, influence the nature of one's subjective reality.

Figure 2

Sources-of-Variance Framework Checklist

1. This is a sources-of-variance framework.
2. It outlines the dynamics of coping and adaptation by minority persons in culturally plural settings controlled by a dominant cultural group.
3. Its major dimensions are actors in various *environments*, with various *competencies*, and deploying various *behaviors or performance skills* in these environments.
4. This is an interactive framework:



5. Check *all* the appropriate dimensions.

ACTORS

Cultural group

- Native American
- Hispanic
- Black
- Asian American

Sex

- Male
- Female

Generation

- First World War
- Depression
- Second World War
- Fifties
- Sixties

Notoriety

- Famous
- Ordinary

ENVIRONMENTS—EMIC PERSPECTIVE

Subjective reality

- Preferred data bases

Figure 2 —*Continued*

- Physical/sensation
- Emotional/feeling
- Cognitive/thinking
- Spiritual/intuitive

} (Briggs Myers, 1970)

- Relational
  - Nature/land/animals
  - Humans
  - Ideas
  - Spiritual/supernatural/paranormal/dreams/spirits/witches
- A superordinate goal/purpose
  - What?

Interpersonal mazeway

- Geographic location
  - Urban
  - Small town/village
  - Rural
- Geographic extent
  - Home
  - Local community
  - Regional
  - National
  - International
- Source of participants
  - Family
    - Nuclear
    - Extended
  - Cultural community
  - Peer group
  - School
  - Work
  - Community relationships/institutions
  - National relationships/institutions
  - Other
- Systemic stability
  - Disorganized
  - Transitional/changing
  - Stable

Figure 2 —*Continued*

Local community (where more heterogeneous than cultural community)
Other minority groups
Isolated from
Interacts with regularly
Dominant group
Isolated from
Interacts with regularly
International community
Isolated from
Interacts with regularly

Quality of relationship of person with

Family
Nuclear
Skilled in relations with
Alienated from
Accepted by
Understood by
Can process both positive and negative experience with
Impelled to leave in order to continue growth
Extended
Skilled in relations with
Alienated from
Accepted by
Understood by
Can process both positive and negative experience with
Impelled to leave in order to continue growth
Peer group (or groups
Skilled in relations with
Alienated from
Accepted by
Understood by
Can process both positive and negative experience with
Impelled to leave in order to continue growth
School
Skilled in relations at
Alienated from
Accepted by
Understood by
Can process both positive and negative experience in
Impelled to leave in order to continue growth

Figure 2 —*Continued*

- Degree of homogeneity
  - Homogeneous
  - Subgroups
  - Other minority groups
  - Dominant group
  - International groups
- Tolerant of differences/others
  - Family
    - Nuclear
    - Extended
  - Cultural community
  - Peer group (or groups)
  - School
  - Work
  - Local community (where more heterogeneous than cultural community)
  - Regional
  - National
  - International
- Frequency of contact of person with
  - Family
    - Nuclear
      - Isolated from
      - Lives with
    - Extended
      - Isolated from
      - Sees frequently
      - Lives with
  - Peer group (or groups)
    - Isolated from
    - Sees daily
  - School
    - Little contact
    - There regularly
  - Work
    - Little contact
    - There regularly
    - Works alone
  - Cultural community
    - Isolated from
    - Interacts with regularly

Figure 2 —*Continued*

Work
- Skilled in relations at
- Alienated from
- Accepted by
- Understood by
- Can process both positive and negative experience at
- Impelled to leave in order to continue growth

Cultural community
- Skilled in relations with
- Alienated from
- Accepted by
- Understood by
- Can process both positive and negative experience in
- Impelled to leave in order to continue growth

Local community (where more heterogeneous than cultural community)
- Other minority groups
  - Skilled in relations with
  - Alienated from
  - Accepted by
  - Understood by
  - Can process both positive and negative experience with
- Dominant group
  - Skilled in relations with
  - Alienated from
  - Accepted by
  - Understood by
  - Can process both positive and negative experience with
  - Impelled to leave in order to continue growth

National community
- Other minority groups
  - Skilled in relations with
  - Alienated from
  - Accepted by
  - Understood by
  - Can process both positive and negative experience with
- Dominant group
  - Skilled in relations with
  - Alienated from
  - Accepted by
  - Understood by

Figure 2—*Continued*

Can process both positive and negative experience with
Impelled to leave in order to continue growth

International community
Skilled in relations with
Alienated from
Accepted by
Understood by
Can process both positive and negative experience with

Role models with intercultural skills attended to by person from

Family
Adult
Peer

Cultural community
Adult
Peer

Other minority groups
Adult
Peer

Dominant group
Adult
Peer

International group
Adult
Peer

Aphorisms for survival

Person's access to institutions nurturing growth

Number
Kind
Source of access

Ways "out" attended to

Positive
Number
Kind
Source of access

Negative
Number
Kind
Source of access

Figure 2 —*Continued*

Kind of work done by parents/family
- Interact with people
  - Cultural community
  - Other minority groups
  - Dominant group
- Task focused
- Work alone

Mainstream/dominant group mentor in
- Personal (name)
  - Family
  - Peer group
  - At school
  - At work
  - In cultural community
  - In local community
  - From national community
- Institutional (name)
  - Family
  - Peer group
  - At school
  - At work
  - In cultural community
  - In local community
  - From national community

Nature of dominant group in person's mazeway
- Poor white/redneck
- Local power brokers
- Middle America
- Urban mix
- Educated elite

Macrohistorical—sociocultural dynamics
- Wars
- Depressions
- Movements
- Legislation/rulings affecting minority groups

COMPETENCIES

Ability to appraise social situations

The self system

Figure 2 —*Continued*

- The diverse self
  - Individual
  - Communal
  - Multiple
- When identifiers appear
  - Racial
  - Linguistic
  - Cultural
- Sense of personal coherence, history, heritage
- Structure of the "narrative" (Kavolis, 1977)
  - Forms of construction
    - Duality
    - Trinity
    - Circle
    - Monadic point
    - Collage
    - Monistic all-unity
  - Forms of relation
    - Within the construction
    - Between the construction and its ground
      - Construction +, ground —
        - Emanation
        - Encirclement
      - Construction —, ground +
        - Meaninglessness/stasis
        - Miraculous intervention
  - Forms of movement
    - Repetitive ascensions/descensions
    - Sinuously continuing dance at same level
    - Meandering with regular digressions
    - Strife to climax
    - Withdrawal/expulsion
    - Interminable individual quest
    - Collective pilgrimage
    - Sweeping wave
    - Organic development (stages)
    - Loss of initial purity/potential

Cognitive processes

- Cognitive style
  - Field independence
  - Field sensitivity

Figure 2 —*Continued*

Cognitive flexibility and complexity
The ability to describe in rich and complex fashion
Oneself
Physically
Emotionally
Familiar others
Physically
Emotionally
Unfamiliar others
Physically
Emotionally
Social situations
Past
Present
Alternative futures

Affective processes
Empathic ability
Does not fall prey to empathic fallacy (Grey, 1981)

Ability to transform reality

Transforms negative energy (bitterness) into positive energy (sometimes creates new cultural space)
Assesses situations realistically
Endures/struggles with dignity

BEHAVIORS/PERFORMANCE SKILLS

Ability to deploy behavior appropriately

Flexibility in interpersonal interaction
Ruben's (1976) interaction skills
Respectful
Nonjudgmental
Knowledge as personal
Empathetic
Functions in a variety of appropriate roles
Task roles
Relational roles
Individual roles
Reacts to new or ambiguous situation with little discomfort
Is able to lead and follow appropriately

Figure 2 —*Continued*

- Experiment's intercultural skills (Gochenour & Janeway, 1978)
  - Initiate communication in new situations
  - Be accepted
  - Observational skills
  - Establish role within role definitions
  - Maintain one's center
  - Conscious development of needed attributes
  - Derivation of self-sustaining and meaningful relationship
- Able to negotiate the rules/meanings (Bateson, 1972; Pearce & Harris, 1980)

Flexible coping strategies

- General coping
  - Active
  - Passive
- Cultural coping
  - Adherence
  - Substitution
  - Addition (the trouble is with subtracting)
  - Synthesis
  - Innovation/creation

Speaks appropriately in each linguistic community

Chooses oneself in all one's diversity

Accepts help/support from mainstream/dominant culture

Nonspecialist/multitalented person

The first criterion is the kind of data a person prefers to work with or attend to according to the major dimensions of the Briggs-Myers Personality Inventory (1970); i.e., sensate, emotional, cognitive, and/or spiritual/intuitive data.

The prefered cognitive data bases for Native Americans seem to be physical/sensate and spiritual/intuitive. The goal of most Native American education systems is to produce individuals who are acute observers of a constantly changing natural environment and who know how to live in balance in that environment. The traditional educational system also emphasizes personal knowing, an intuitive, experiential knowledge gained through dreams, vision quests and participation in ceremonies. The emhasis is not so much on the mastery of a belief system as on the ability to extract wisdom from personal and communal experience.

The second criterion is derived from the relational paths that are most important in a person's life; i.e., with the natural world, with other human beings, with ideas, and/or with spiritual/supernatural phenomena.

Native Americans relate strongly with a particular geographic place, its land forms, plants and animals which resonate spiritually with the entire cosmos. All of life is a cosmic set of nested ceremonies supported by reciprocal exchange obligations among human beings, and the ceremonies are quintessentially about maintaining balance.

The third criterion is the presence of a superordinate goal or purpose, whether in terms of an ideology or cause, of a personal goal, of family pride, or of the survival of a person who is in one's care (for instance, a child). What is important is that the goal or purpose is larger than or outside oneself. In the Native American case this often centers around concerns about "the continuation of the People."

The participants in one's interpersonal mazeway strongly determine the criteria and contents of one's subjective reality.

Interpersonal mazeway. This is the most complex dimension in the entire framework and perhaps the most important in terms of the development of both potential for and actual ability in coping and adapting in multiple cultural contexts. It is in this mazeway that one experiences different environments, finds one's teachers, accepts or rejects their ideals and purposes, models their behavior, and learns the interpersonal skills necessary for coping and adapting in multiple cultural environments.

The complexity and extent of these interpersonal mazeways in a plural society like the United States is sometimes astounding. The Yaqui poet Refugio Savala (1980) had an interpersonal network that extended throughout the western United States because of his work on the railroads, and one that extended across several social classes to include university professors. The Native American artists of the

"Taos-Santa Fe-Scottsdale Triangle" in New Mexico and Arizona share an interpersonal network that is regional, national, and international in extent and was started in the 1920's and 1930's when an educated Eastern artistic elite met the aesthetic proclivities of the Native Americans of the Southwest. The Native American artists of the 1970's and 1980's - who are no longer craft-oriented, no longer simply depicting scenes from Native American life or transferring Native American aesthetic forms (such as sandpaintings) onto easels, but who have created a cosmopolitan artistic style that emerged organically out of Native American aesthetic traditions - are the beneficiaries of this network begun in the twenties.

In many ways it is the number, kind, and variety of a person's experiences that prepare him or her to deal with others' differences. Many of the effective people in the autobiographies had lives characterized by a history of dealing with difference, with variety, which began, often even before they were born, in the bi- or multicultural structure of the families into which they were born.

What cannot be emphasized enough is that although the different environmental dimensions (family, peer group, school, work, etc.) pose problems of adaptation for the actor, they also provide resources, not only for the actor's adaptation to the environment but also for the environment's adaptation to the actor. Thus, the environmental domain of the framework is analogous to the Chinese ideogram for 'problem,' which encompasses the characters for both 'danger' and 'opportunity.'

There is immense power residing in a person's interpersonal mazeway because a community of people working together in concert ultimately are able to create great social change. The Black community in Atlanta, Georgia, for example, is possibly the single community that has most powerfully changed American society in this century.

The framework attempts to be congnizant of the complexity possible in an interpersonal mazeway. A mazeway that is characteristic of plural societies with a dominant cultural group can be described by taking into consideration the following factors:

1. Geographic location
2. Geographic extent
3. Sources of participants
4. Systemic stability
5. Degree of heterogeneity
6. Tolerance of differences/others
7. Frequency of contact
8. Quality of relationship
9. Accepted role models
10. Access to nurturing institutions
11. Accepted ways "out" into broader world
12. Kind of work done by parents/family
13. Dominant group mentors
14. Nature of dominant group
15. Macrohistorical-sociocultural dynamics

Each of these elements will be explained below. Each refers to the interpersonal mazeway, i.e., the characteristics of that network of relationships to which an individual attends.

An interpersonal mazeway exists in particular geographic locations: rural, small town/village, and/or urban. Very often a person's mazeway includes all the locations, particularly in the course of visits to extended family members. Urban locations tend to give more experience in dealing with difference and variety than do rural locations, although this depends on the makeup of particular rural communities.

In the autobiographies Native American experiences tended to be characterized by early childhoods spent in isolated, rural communites, followed by years at boarding school where young people met other Indian students from all over the country as well as the white bureaucracy which in effect gave young Indian children the message that they had to give up being Indian in order to become educated, "to make it." The major change since World War II is that over half of all Indians in the United States now live in urban areas, and the boarding school experience is slowly fading out as more tribes establish their own day schools and/or gain influence in their local public school systems.

The geographic extent of an interpersonal mazeway can stretch just as far as the immediate home, extend to the local community, the region, the nation, and/or include an international dimension. Often before Native American children in the life histories left for the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) boarding schools, they had had no experience with or connection with any mazeway that extended beyond their immediate kin group. Going to school put them in touch with a larger mazeway, but at the same time deprived them of their kinship network, which up to that point was the source of their social identity. Access to national and international networks was often through production of arts and crafts.

There are several sources of participants for a person's mazeway: from the nuclear and/or extended family, from the person's cultural (racial/ethnic) community, from the peer group, from school and/or work relationships, from community and/or national relationships and institutions, and/or from other sources. It does not seem to matter where the participants come from, just as long as an interpersonal mazeway exists that contains nurturing individuals.

The major sources of nurturing individuals for Native Americans have been the extended family/clan/kin network (grandmothers have been extremely important), peers at boarding school (only very occasionally a teacher), national anthropology and law networks and the national and international anthropology and art networks. Relatively new sources of participants for Native American mazeways are the national and international business communities (particularly around the development of natural resources) and global political relationships around indigenous peoples' issues.

The systemic stability of a person's mazeway can exist at three different levels: stable, transitional/changing, or disorganized. It is, of course, most nurturing for an individual if a single mazeway is flexible enough to give him or her stable support throughout his or her life. More often during the course of a lifetime, although one may have a core support group, in addition one has transitional/changing groups that become a part of one's mazeway as one goes through different ages and stages in life. What is most detrimental to a person is not that his or her mazeway expands and contracts or changes, but if (whether through death, mobility, or pathological psycho-dynamics) it becomes completely disorganized and even disappears.

The rapid and culturally highly contrastive changes that have occurred continuously in Indian Country throughout the period of European contact have produced unstable, constantly changing, transitional interpersonal systems characterized by death (because of European diseases and warfare), dislocation (removal of entire populations, the kidnapping of children to send them to school), and constant interference by the dominant society. That traditional culture perceives life as a balancing act in a dynamic, constantly changing environment probably has provided the flexibility for survival at all throughout the seven generations of largely antagonistic contact.

The degree of heterogeneity existing in a person's interpersonal mazeway can manifest intself on about five different levels:

1) It can be completely homogeneous, consisting of same-culture group members, sometimes being homogeneous to the extent of including only family members. (As mentioned before this is often the case on Navajo.)

2) It can include not only cultural group members but also other groups within that group; for example, on reservations on which more than one tribe live.

3) The mazeway can include other minority groups. One of the most fascinating examples of this was the mentoring relationship which existed between the several tribes on the Colorado River Reservation and the Japanese-Americans interned there during World War II (Lohah-Homer, 1985, personal communication). The Japanese built an irrigation system for themselves so they could farm. The Indians at Colorado River helped them. When the Japanese left after the War, the Indians maintained and extended the system so that today the Colorado River Reservation is the most intensively irrigated piece of Indian real estate in the country, and every year there is a reunion where the Japanese-Americans interned there during the War come back to the community.

4) The mazeway can include dominant group members, especially among Native Americans where white males have often chosen to live on the Native American side (Silko, 1981).

5) It can include international members; for instance, the relationship between Native American artists and the international artistic community, or the relationships between the Winnebago of Nebraska and Germans influenced by a series of books about American Indians written by a German earlier in the century named Karl Mai (Snake, 1985, personal communication).

Most of the effective copers come from heterogeneous families or were reared in heterogeneous circumstances, so that by birth or living environment, their interpersonal mazeway was marked by heterogeneity rather than homogeneity. The existence of positively valued heterogeneity in a child's initial mazeway can give the child an almost inherent sense of how to deal with difference, an understanding on some subliminal level that there are alternatives in the world that can be characterized simply in terms of difference rather than in terms of good/bad.

Many effective Native Americans came from families whose parents had been the people in the community who engaged in relationships with outsiders (Qoyawayma, 1964) or who themselves were children of "Indian school" marriages where the parents came from different tribes (Momaday, 1976). Or the heterogeneity came in the form of different religions as was the case with LaDonna Harris' maternal grandparents (1985, personal communication). While her grandmother was the second Comanche Christian, her grandfather was a peyote man, yet each respected the other's beliefs and practices and supported each other in them.

Which brings up the fact that birth and/or environment can have either of two effects; i.e., it can make the participants in one's mazeway (family, cultural community, peer group, etc.) tolerant of difference/others or intolerant of such heterogeneity, and the different participants in the mazeway need not - in fact, in most cases do not - move in the same direction on this dimension. Historically, the national community of the United States was intolerant of racial differences, and as the national community became more tolerant after the Second World War, regional communites were left entrenched in intolerance and prejudice. Native American communities, especially those on the plains, historically have been very tolerant of difference and have often seen the exogamous introduction of new blood into the community as strengthening for the continuation of the people, both in terms of fertility and in terms of the extension of the interpersonal network upon which one could rely, particularly in times of trouble, a network composed of people who were reciprocally obligated. Kinship and multidimensional relatedness were the operating concepts, not some mythical idea of racial purity. "Blood" should be rich and multifaceted, not pure and anemic.

Puebloan people, however, while tolerant of other people following their own ways, were often very suspicious of their own family/clan members who would leave to go outside." The question is how to incorporate enough difference be flexible and maintain enough of the core culture for it to continue to exist as a distinct entity.

Whether a person is able to take advantage of the resources or protect himself from the destructive aspects of his or her interpersonal mazeway depends to some extent on the person's frequency of contact with the different participants in the mazeway (family, peer group, cultural community, etc.). Frequency may not always vary in the same direction with each set of participants in the mazeway, and the direction of this variance may change according to different life stages; e.g., children having more frequent contact with families, adolescents with peer groups, and adults with work, etc.

The high frequency of contact of Native American children with BIA boarding school personnel resulted in too little contact with their families, thus, isolating and alienating them from their primary source of positive identity (Mitchell, 1967).

Boarding school introduced alienating dynamics in two other ways. It increased the frequency of inter-tribal marriage with, thus, English, and not either of the parents' tribal languages as the mother tongue of the children, and the children raised in boarding school also missed out in learning key parenting skills. In Alaska where day schools were instituted in the 1970's because of the high rate of suicide for Alaska Native children in boarding school, there are severe problems regarding the control of adolescents (Peratrovich, 1986, personal communication). For two to four generations the boarding schools had been raising the communities' adolescents.

Isolating oneself from a family or any other set of participants in one's interpersonal mazeway can, however, be therapeutic if that element is in any way dysfunctional, destructive, or pathological. This is probably most often the case regarding peer groups; e.g., choosing to be or not to be "one of the gang" during adolescence, especially in Indian Country as regards drinking. In short, frequency of contact can have positive and negative effects, depending on whether such conduct is protective or alienating.

Frequency of contact does not necessarily assure the quality of the relationship. One can be in frequent contact with the different sets of participants that make up ones's mazeway and at the same time be alienated from them. If a person behaves appropriately in each setting, at least he or she can usually be accepted, but sometimes, even if a person is skilled in his relationship with, for instance, his cultural community, the cultural community can be intolerant of the person. For instance, the Hopi community has at times dealt severely with persons who have chosen to live outside the community for a time, calling them ka-Hopi, or 'not Hopi,' denying them participation in ceremonial life (Qoyawayma & Carlson, 1964). It is only in this generation that the community has evolved a way of being Hopi and more cosmopolitan at the same time (Sekaquaptewa & Udall, 1977). In this evolution generations of skilled persons, such as Fred Kabotie and his family (Kabotie & Belknap, 1977) have invented the new way, their very skill enabling the community to adapt to the changing, larger environment, an environment that has included not only the

necessity of adapting to the mesas and the Colorado plateau country, but to the necessity of learning to manipulate the dominant white society so that the Hopi lifeway could organically continue.

There is also a progression of acceptance by the various sets of participants in the mazeway. One can be simply accepted, tolerated, and/or allowed to live authentically, although perhaps the family, community, or peer group looks a little askance at one's eccentricity. One can be truly understood, or one can be so "at home" (often not in one's own family) that one feels free to be expressive about any experience in one's life, positive or negative. When one feels quite comfortable, it is usually because there are others in that environment who, somewhere along the way, have had similar experiences.

Opposed to the progression of acceptance is the feeling that one is impelled to leave a particular setting in order to continue growth, or even more acutely in order not to die. This is a complicated dimension, because such departures can be necessary elements in certain rites of passage and indicate that, for instance, a family has done its job of nurturing well and has adequately prepared the individual for life's next stage; or such departures can indicate a reaction to a stifling or conflictive atmosphere.

A vast amount of Indian experience with the dominant community has hinged on evolving coping mechanisms for dealing with situations in which an individual has felt impelled to leave but has had no established place to go to escape the pressure of having to deal continuously with highly antagonistic cultural contasts (Welch, 1974).

Coping where there are no existing alternatives involves building havens and creating alternatives where none previously existed. The haven allows nurturance, survival, and a base for inventing change. The reservations have ironically provided such havens as have, for all their interference, the Indian schools, the BIA, the IHS, etc. They have at least provided loci around which to gradually build contemporary Indian control and influence.

The discussion of the creation of change, especially the kind of change which creates alternatives where none existed before, brings up the dimension of role models. The people in the autobiographies who managed to maintain their relationships with their own cultural group and simultaneously to achieve in terms of the dominant society did so more easily if there existed role models for doing this from their own cultural group. The idiosyncratic element of Native American experience is that very often even today such effectively bicultural people are the pioneer role models for such a multiple adaptation, for what it is to be a contemporary tribal person. If one looks at the influential members of Native American communities, they are very often descendants of the pioneer people who earlier helped their people adapt to a rapidly changing environment. For example, the extended Sekaquaptewa family who are so influencial in Hopi life today, both in tribal politics and in "modern" occupations, are all descendants of Helen and Emory Sekaquaptewa, who successfully lived off the reservation for many years and at the same time maintained

their tribal ties and participation in ceremonial life (Sekaquaptewa & Udall, 1977). Today's great Native American artists often belong to extended artistic families; e.g., the Martinez family of San Ildefonso (Marriott, 1948), Joseph Lonewolf's family at Santa Clara (Young, 1975), and the Lelooska family (Falk, 1976).

The mere presence of role models that an outside observer would identify in one's environment is not enough. A potential role model, in order to make a difference in a person's life, must be attended to by that person, must demonstrate a path that that person would like to follow.

Those families and communities which understand the necessity of learning to function in the white man's world in order to insure the survival of the community enhanced the coping ability of their family/community members. The challenge for most Native American communities now is to enable their educated young people to create community roles for themselves. This is particulary challenging since presently over half of all Native Americans live in urban areas, over half are under age 16, and within 15 years all communities will have outgrown their land bases. Therefore, there will be no possibility for the majority of Native Americans to maintain a traditional life style. These facts call for extreme cultural creativity on the part of Native American individuals and communities within the coming years. There has to be a reciprocal relationship between the roles individuals create for themselves and their communities' valuing of these new roles or new ways of being Indian in the comtemporary world.

What kind of access to institutions exists in a person's interpersonal mazeway? Is there access to nurturing institutions such as mutual-help associations, churches (the National Indian Lutheran Board), national culture group organizations (UNITY), and/or institutions run by an enlightened elite from the dominant society (the Santa Fe Indian School)? Or is there access only to "rehabilitative" ones, such as juvenile halls and prisons? Access to nurturing institutional networks greatly enlarges a person's arena of resources, especially if a person's abilities coincide with the interests and goals of the nurturing institutions.

Historically, in American society the "successful" person has moved from familial and communal enclaves toward participation in plural, urban America. There are often both positive and negative "ways out" of the communal enclave so that a person can enjoy a "broader" success. Negative ways include participation in various aspects of organized crime. With regard to positive avenues of success, different culture groups seem to have created their own specialized "ways out." Thus it is important to know which "ways" are available to a given person in his or her interpersonal mazeway, and if any of these "ways" coincide with his or her particular abilities.

Historically, for Native Americans those positive avenues have been church, school, anthropology, law and art networks. During World War II and the Korean War, Indians gained access to the military in large numbers, and during the 1960's the various federal programs in health,

housing, education, environmental protection and economic development provided access to the larger society. However, all these institutions operate according to culturally very contrastive rules so that especially the first generation to participate in these institutions had quite literally "to give up" being Indian for extended periods of time. Access has been at the cost of a kind of cultural amnesia.

Now that access/participation has been gained there remains the task of how to integrate important aspects of tribal culture into these institutions so that groups of communal, consensual people can effectively participate in our up until now individualistic and majoritarian society.

A key question is how to distribute wealth in a reservation community where only a small percentage of people have the opportunity for salaried employment. The federal programs of the 60's created for the first time the stratified economic classes on the reservations based on participation in the wage/cash economy: that is, an elite of Indian grantsmen and administrators and an unemployed underclass.

On the basis of the autobiographies, there seems to be a relationship between the kind of work done by one's parents and family and the kinds of skills one initially develops for dealing with differences, especially if the children of the family help with the adult labor. The child of a farmer on an isolated farm or of a person engaged in task-orientated work, such as making pottery, has much less opportunity for interacting with diverse kinds of people than does the child of a shopkeeper. Luther Standing Bear (1975), a Sioux who "made it" in the film industry in the early years of this century without ever deserting his people, had a father who was one of the first Sioux shopkeepers. His father spoke no English, but he understood business, engaged his son as interpreter for English-language transactions, and encourged him to acquire English and to learn how to move in the white man's world. He also learned to deal with all kinds of people while helping out in the store.

In short, there seem to be some fundamental people skills that enable a person to manage human interactions across all kinds of differences.

However, the work-a-day reality of much of Indian Country since the First World War has been that the majority of the Indian work force has been unemployed or employed only seasonally or on short term projects. The development of viable reservation economies and mutually beneficial economic relationships between Indian communities and the larger society are only now evolving.

The existence of dominant-group mentors, either institutional or personal, in any of the sets of participants in a person's mazeway is extremely powerful in bringing about individual mobility. Institutional mentors include the dominant religious and educational communities, as well as academic, legal, artistic and governmental networks, the latter associated with the government-to-government relationship between the treaty tribes and the federal government and with the federal programs serving the less privileged members of U.S. society. New mentors are emerging from the business and banking communities as well.

Sometimes a single organization in a local setting is a locus of Indian achievement; e.g., Wells Fargo's fair labor practices in the early decades of this century with Pima employees (Shaw, 1974, pp. 151-154). Often this was due to the enlightened vision of the owner/chief manager - in this case, James M. Williams, the general agent in Phoenix in the 1920's and his son, Jack, who later became governor of Arizona. When a customer would insist on being waited on by a white man rather than an Indian, Williams made it clear that the company would not put up with such insults and sent the person back to be waited on in the Indian clerk's line (Shaw, 1974, pp. 151-154).

The role of the wealthy and/or educated elite in knitting together American society is exemplified in the actions of some Eastern artists and intellectuals (plus a smattering of Europeans) in the already-mentioned development of the Taos-Santa Fe-Scottsdale Triangle (Brody, 1971).

The autobiographies also portray single individuals from the dominant group who were effective mentors; for instance, Maria Martinez's first teacher, Miss Grimes, is such a person. Maria Martinez went on to found the line of famous potters at San Ildefonso.

> Right from the beginning, Maria loved Miss Grimes. Miss Grimes told the children, on the day that school opened, that she did not know any Tewa. "I'd like to learn it, of course," she said, "but until I do, you'll have to help me out by speaking English." ... It was odd, but as long as Miss Grimes, who was a smart woman in every other way, stayed at Ildefonso, she never learned to speak Tewa. People had to go on helping her by speaking English all the years she lived there.
>
> Everybody was willing to help, because Miss Grimes was nice and friendly. She visited all the houses and she knew everybody in the pueblo by name. If she went to a house at mealtime, she sat down and ate with the family, and afterwards she helped with the dishes. She was never cross, and she never refused to help people in trouble.
>
> Once Maria spoke to Miss Grimes about it. "My mother says that you are not like other white women... Nobody else we ever knew was as easy to be with as you are."
>
> "Your mother is easy to be with, too," Miss Grimes answered. "She is a real lady" (Marriott, 1948, pp. 82).

The nature of the dominant group varies in different local settings, because the dominant culture group itself is not homogeneous. As pervasive as prejudice is, not everyone in the dominant group is prejudiced. The life histories often show amazing mixtures at a single local level.

Native Americans have always interacted with cross-sections of the dominant society, from the most prejudiced parochials to the cosmopolitan, educated elite. However, in general, whether the dominant society individual is a redneck or an intellectual the attitude of the dominant society members is largely schizophrenic as regards Native Americans, swinging erratically between the stereotype of the "noble savage" and the "drunken Indian," between believing that Indians will simply disappear (i.e. assimilate) into the melting pot or remain as museum pieces of atavistic aboriginal culture. Native Americans have to negotiate sometimes extreme local prejudice and national and international idealization.

All of these powerful external perceptions of Indian reality have only one thing in common. They are inaccurate and most often oversimplifications of that reality. In interacting with the larger society Indians must continually decide, "Well, today is it 'shades and braids,' or today are we expected to be 'Gucci Indians' (Lohah, 1985, personal communication)?"

Although the effects of macrohistorical-sociocultural dynamics in the form of wars, depressions, movements, and/or major legislation or other governmental rulings must be evaluated in terms of the precise manner in which they affected a particular person, over the last 500 years these macrodynamics have regularly profoundly affected Native Americans, causing the utter transformation of indigenous culture.

The rate of that transformation (where the cultures have survived) has accelerated since the 1880's (that is, during the last five generations), and it has occurred since World War I at a societal equivalent of the speed of light (that is, during the last three generations). No evaluation of Native American coping can be done if the rapidity of this transition is not taken into consideration. It is a feat, a tribute to human resilience that any of the communities have survived at all.

The Second World War had a profound effect, particularly on the lives of the most discriminated against U.S. visible minorities, because they fought well and bravely for democracy and freedom, only to return to a society that denied them both. These people, without exception, could no longer tolerate practices common and often unquestioned before the war.

Judicial, legislative and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) rulings of different sorts have also had profound effects on Native American peoples. These rulings have generally been ill-conceived, poorly planned attempts "to solve" "the Indian Problem," with no participation by Native Americans themselves in the decision-making. This was just as true of the imposition of "tribal government" in the 1930's as of the "termination" policies of the 1950's. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) work of the depression era brought unprecedented prosperity to Native American communities across the United States as did the federal anti-poverty programs of the 1960's and 70's, but these programs are always prey to budgetary decisions made outside the community.

It is only now in the 1980's that Indian groups have sufficiently mastered European ways that they can now proactively counter European philosophies and technology with their own understandings and begin to fully participate in the development of policies which affect their lives.

It is necessary to reiterate that the important thing, however, is to see if and how these macrodynamics impinge on the mazeway of particular persons.

Competencies

The two remaining major domains of the framework are competencies and behaviors/performance skills. This differentiation is based on the one made in linguistics between an individual's ability and an individual's performance of that ability in observable behavior. Competencies here are defined as nonobservable processes or systems that reside in the person. They are not, however, innate, static traits, but functional systems that arise in interaction with the environment (Cole & Scribner, 1974; Stewart, in press). The competencies domain consists of two dimensions, the ability to appraise social situations and the ability to transform reality.

Ability to appraise social situations. The ability to appaise social situations depends on the self-system, on cognitive processes (such as cognitive style and cognitive flexibility and complexity), and on affective processes (such as empathic ability).

The self-system of persons having to live in multiple-cultural environments is not understood. The conceptual framework of Western psychology assumes that the person is adjusting to a single standard. Obviously, this is not the problem set before people of color in a plural society that has a dominant group. Much has yet to be learned about the diverse self, a "self" which behaves appropriately according to often highly contrastive cultural norms.

The sense of self of different peoples is often predicated on quite different assumptions. Thoughout this study, the term person, rather than individual, has most often been used, because not all persons think of themselves a individuals. Some persons think of themselves only as imbedded in their communities. Therefore, their primary identification is not with ego, but with membership in a given community.

The task of most Native American people, especially those that are responsible for the "external affairs" of their communities, is to divise a self-system which enables them to function effectively in a differentiated manner both in the communal, consensual tribal community and in the individualistic, majoritarian dominant system. The contrast in these systems is illustrated by the following quote from Welch's (1986) Fool's Crow:

> ...He was enjoying himself. He had not been without another person for some time. He did not feel sad or lonely..., instead, he felt the freedom of being alone, of relying only upon himself. He remembered his first lone hunt as a youth, the giddiness with which he stalked the deer for a whole day...He had never felt so free.
>
> The thought came into his mind without warning, the sudden understanding of what Fast Horse found so attractive in running with Owl Child. It was this freedom from responsibility, from accountability to the group that was so alluring. As long as he was part of the group, he would be responsible to and for that group. If one cut the ties, he had the freedom to roam, to think only of himself and not worry about the consequences of his actions...
>
> But could be talk [Fast Horse] into returning to camp, into giving up his freedom? Fast Horse had changed, and Fools Crow knew his task was hopeless. His own freedom deserted him...he felt again the weight of responsibility.

It may also be that persons who perceive themselves as having multiple identities, one for each of their cultural settings, organize these identities in various ways. Multiple identities could be organized hierarchically or hetrarchically. In a hierarchical organization, there is a preferred ranking of identities, according to order of importance of status preference. In a hetrarchical organization, the key concept is appropriateness, not order of preference; i.e., the appropriate identity for a given environment comes to the fore at the appropriate time. Flexibility is the important component in hetrarchical organization.

Perhaps thinking of all this in terms of identities is backward. Maybe one does not have a metaphorical bag of identities that exist separate from interaction in particular environments. Maybe identities manifest themselves only in interaction within particular environments. Perhaps we should think in terms of deploying appropriate behaviors in particular environments so that identities appropriate to those environments can emerge.

Little is known about when racial, linguistic, and cultural identities first become self-concepts. On the basis of the autobiographies they certainly seem to be in place by the ages of 6 or 7, and it seems that the negative consequences of a minority identity begin to be felt at this age (Wasilewski, 1982).

Identifiers of difference for Native American children certainly appear the first time a Native American child leaves the reservation, and sometimes before, if the reservation is home to several tribal groups. In addition, some reservations are home to only one band of a larger tribal group, so it may be some time before a child identifies themselves with that larger group.

Identification is also complicated by the fact that a Native American's personal, family, clan, and tribal identifications rarely coincide with the larger society's identification of that person. For example, the larger society identification of Navajo, a Spanish name for that group of people, does not correspond to their self-identification as Dineh (The People).

Also the clan, band and village identifiers of Native Americans have no analogs in the identification system of the larger society.

One study of Hispanic children (Seelye & Wasilewski, 1981) revealed that a sense of personal coherence, history, and/or heritage was important to coping and adaptation by immigrant children. Children who had a "story line" for their lives, a personal narrative, seemed to be able to deal more effectively with the problems facing them. Obviously, people who write their own life histories or tell them to other people have this narrative sense about their own lives.

Having this sense not only about themselves but about their communities as well is of overwhelming importance to Native Americans, because if they, as contemporary members of their communities, do not have it, it is lost forever, because the narrative is not "stored" anywhere else in the world.

James Welch's Winter in the Blood (1974) is the most arresting account of the personal cost to a Native American person of not knowing the dynamics of his history. It would not be an exaggeration to state that the major Native American novelists of the twentieth century (McNickles, Momaday, Welch, Silko, etc.) take as their task the provision of narratives adequate for the Native American experience.

The structure of the narrative - the structure of a person's story about him or herself - is very revealing of underlying assumptions about self-environment interactions and possibilities. According to Kavolis (1977), narratives have forms of construction, relation, and movement. The forms of construction are: duality (sometimes a four-cornered or double duality), trinity, circle, monadic point, collage, and monistic all-unity. The latter has three manifestations: primordial slime, unity in diversity (the search for the common denominator), and transcendent unity. There are two forms of relation: all the action happening within one of the constructions or all the action happening between the construction and its ground. When the construction is a duality, almost all the action takes place within the construction (between the often polar opposites), and the ground fades into oblivion. In circular constructions, however, the major action is often between the construction and the ground. When the construction is positive and the ground negative, the action is often in terms of positive emanations from the center and threat of encirclement from the outside. When the construction is negative and the ground positive, meaninglessness can emanate from the center and miraculous intervention can occur from the outside. The forms of movement are repetitive ascensions and descents, a sinuously continuing dance at the same level, meandering with regular digressions like an eighteenth-

century novel, strife building to a climax, withdrawal/expulsion, interminable individual quest, collective pilgrimage, a sweeping wave, organic development by stages, and the story of loss of initial purity or potential.

In terms of Native American autobiographies, the forms of construction most favored seem to be those of the monadic point, the collage, and the circle with an intense awareness of the ground in which circular constructions have their being. The ground is either positive or negative, depending, as the Hopi say, on whether the community of people has kept a "good heart." In the twentieth century at least, Indian narratives seem often couched in the mode of initial individual quests which ultimately reveal themselves as collective pilgrimages.

In many Native American traditions people have the personal task of journeying around through the four points of a sacred circle (east, south, west, north, each with its associated qualities and learnings) so that ultimately they can walk through the center of this continuously emergent circle of energy, through the center of the "non-antagonistic contrasts" (Working Commission Report, 1983) in perfect balance.

To the extent that the members of the community are able to do this, the community is in harmony or balance. Almost all personal spirit work and communal ceremonies operate within this paradigm.

Comtemporary Native American narratives (especially Silko, 1977) take this traditional ceremonial paradigm and extend it to the entire human family. We all need each other's wisdom (the wisdom that each community has gained living in its place, making its journey) in order to resolve the issues that face us at the end of the 20th century.

What is also fascinating is that long after the original language is lost or fallen into disuse old rhetorical forms remain. Indian rhetoric is often constructed like a wheel. The subject being discussed is in the center of a circle. It is never directly named. Instead different perspectives on the subject are given as if the observer were moving randomly around the rim of the wheel and as if each perspective were a spoke of the wheel. Such is the circular, collage-like structure of Momaday's autobiography, The Names (1976) and Silko's autobiography, Storyteller (1981).

This structure of the narrative dimension of the framework, along with the subjective reality dimension from the environmental section of the framework, provide insights into the assumptive bases of people's lives. They serve to caution the social scientist to be sensitive to "the architectural principles by which others build" (Geertz in Rohlen, 1974, p. 261), and to maintain "a self-conscious skepticism about the adequacy of our own social science language" (Rohlen, 1974, p. 27) for the descriptive task at hand.

Cognitive processes are functional cognitive systems as described in Cole and Scribner (1974) and include matters of cognitive style, as defined by field-independence and field-sensitivity (Berry, 1971;

Ramirez & Castaneda, 1974; Witkin, Moore, Goodenough & Cox, 1977), and of cognitive flexibility and complexity in social situations, as demonstrated in the ability to describe in a rich and complex fashion oneself and familiar and unfamiliar others (both physically and emotionally), social situations, one's past, one's present, and alternative futures for oneself (see Adams-Webber, 1969; Crockett, 1965; Ezekiel, 1968; Metzler et al., 1966; and Ogbu, 1978).

The cognitive style most conducive to an acute ability to appraise social situations is field sensitivity. A person with this cognitive style tends to see things in context rather than abstracting the thing being investigated from its context. This more ecological view is a very congenial one to Native Americans.

Descriptions of a constantly changing natural environment based on acute observations is an ability which traditional native education emphasizes (Robbins, 1985). Fred Young (Begay), a Navajo physicist at Sandia Labs, says that Navajo language and thought processes are more congenial to the world view of post Einsteinian physics than English language thought processes. However, forcing Navajo children to master English language and thought processes at an early age interfers with the development of their innate ability in physics (Arne Vanderberg, 1987, personal communication).

Native American children must be enabled to expand out of their centers, not have their centers eradicated and be forced to grow out of a foreign place.

Cognitive flexibility and complexity, as demonstrated in the ability to make rich descriptions of social data, tend to develop from the outside in. That is, the ability to make physical descriptions of social subjects precedes the ability to describe emotions (Seelye & Wasilewski, 1981). Again, as with the sense of personal coherence discussed above, people who write their own life histories or tell them to others tend, as a population, to be cognizant of context and to be able to make the kind of rich and complex descriptions of social phenomena required of people who have a high ability to appraise social situations.

As regards the ability to describe alternative futures, just as it is the responsibility of every Native American person to remember his or her personal and collective past, so it is his or her particular responsibility to image alternative futures for tribal people in national and global society. It is the proactive, envisioning process which up until now has been poorly attended to because the tribes have continually been overwhelmed with dealing with crises generated by the constant intrusion of Euro-American society into tribal life.

Affective processes are also functional systems and include role-taking (Feffer, 1966, 1967; Lowenberg & Feffer, 1969) and empathic ability (Lerner, 1958), as defined by the ability to see the other point of view and by Piaget's concept of decentering extended from the cognitive to the interpersonal domain. Role-taking ability and decentering are subsumed under empathic ability. One cannot be empathic without being able to see where the other person is coming from, without being able to see the other's point of view.

What has emerged in the autobiographies, however, is that good copers and adapters do not fall prey to what Leslie Gray called the empathic fallacy (1981). The emphathic fallacy gives the other person's point of view more importance than one's own. To be in touch with reality, one must be able to assess the points of view of others. One must maintain premeable boundaries so that one is open to new information; however, new information or information based on the assessment of others is not necessarily "better" than one's existing information.

Thus, one must maintain one's sense of judgment, one's own locus of choice - the ability, in essence, to choose oneself when faced with pressures to conform to another's views (Wasilewski, 1979b). Those individuals who are able to make tough decisions based on their own sense of what they had to do in the situation, rather than making the decision to please a parent or some important other, have been able to cope effectively, even if the consequences of their decision were very difficult (Wasilewski, 1982).

Native Americans are not so much empathic as they are non-judgmental of other people's behavior and respectful of other people's felt experience and of other people's life ways. You cannot judge another person until you have "walked a mile in his moccasins." You cannot be human without making mistakes. Negative as well as positive experiences have lessons to teach, and experiential learning is a major pedagogical method in traditional learning. Advice may be given, but usually only if requested, and there is no obligation to follow it.

Their respect for other points of view and other life ways is built on the assumption that culture is "multiform" (Working Commission Report, 1983), that it emerges out of each people's place and that each of these manifestations is valuable. They are not proseletizers, and the idea that any one people would want to eradicate the life ways of another people is a completely foreign concept. It is the conceptual equivalent of trying to turn a horse into a dog or an apple into an orange. Why would anyone want to do that? Each kind of life makes a valued contribution to the whole. If something disappears, the cosmic balance is upset. Why would one want to eradicate even one's enemies? Without worthy adversaries one cannot be brave.

Although during the period of contact these assumptions did not allow Native Americans to protect themselves very effectively from Euro-American depredations, these same concepts, are the very ones needed from which to evolve the paradigms for multicultural global society in the 21st century.

Ability to transform reality. One outstanding ability to emerge from the autobiographies is almost alchemical in nature. It is the ability to transform the negative energy of bitterness into some kind of positive energy. This positive energy enables survival and eventually creates new cultural space. This ability does not depend on ignoring reality, but on assessing situations realistically, on enduring and struggling with dignity, and on refusing to hate.

The Cherokee Trail of Tears in the last century is illustrative of this transformational kind of dynamic. The removal of the Cherokee from their Eastern woodlands homeland to Oklahoma was not called the Trail of Tears because the Cherokee cried:

> Granma and Granpa wanted me to know of the past, for "If ye don't know the past, then ye will not have a future. If ye don't know where your people have been, then ye won't know where your people are going." And so they told me most of it....
>
> How the government soldiers came, and told them to sign the paper. Told them the paper meant that the new white settlers would know where they could settle and where they could not take the land of the Cherokee. And after they had signed it, more government soldiers came with guns and long knives fixed on their guns. The soldiers said the paper had changed its words. The words now said that the Cherokee must give up his valleys, his homes and his mountains. He must go far toward the setting sun, where the government had other land for the Cherokee, land that the white man did not want.
>
> How the government soldiers came, and ringed a big valley with their guns, and at night with their campfires. They put the Cherokees in the ring. They brought Cherokees in from other mountains and valleys, in bunches like cattle, and put them in the ring.
>
> After a long time of this, when they had most of the Cherokees, they brought wagons and mules and told the Cherokees they could ride to the land of the setting sun. The Cherokees had nothing left. But they would not ride, and so they saved something; and they would not ride. They walked.
>
> Government soldiers rode before them, on each side of them, behind them. The Cherokee men walked and looked straight ahead and would not look down, nor at the soldiers. Their women and their children followed in their footsteps and would not look at the soldiers.
>
> Far behind them, the empty wagons rattled and rumbled and served no use. The wagons could not steal the soul of the Cherokee. The land was stolen from him, his home; but the Cherokee would not let the wagons steal his soul.
>
> As they passed the villages of the white man, people lined the trail to watch them pass. At first, they laughed at how foolish was the Cherokee to walk with the empty wagons rattling behind him. The Cherokee did not turn his head at their laughter, and soon there was no laughter.
>
> And as the Cherokee walked farther from his mountains, he began to die. His soul did not die, nor did it weaken. It was the very young and the very old and the sick.
>
> At first the soldiers let them stop to bury their dead; but then, more died - by the hundreds - by the thousands. More than a third of them were to die on the Trail. The soldiers said they could only bury their dead every three days; for the soldiers wished to hurry and be finished with the Cherokee. The soldiers said the wagons would carry the dead, but the Cherokee would not put his dead in the wagons. He carried them. Walking.

> The little boy carried his dead baby sister, and slept by her at night on the ground. He lifted her in his arms in the morning, and carried her.
>
> The husband carried his dead wife. The son carried his dead mother, his father. The mother carried her dead baby. They carried them in their arms. And walked. And they did not turn their heads to look at the soldiers, nor to look at the people who lined the sides of the Trail to watch them pass. Some of the people cried. But the Cherokee did not cry. Not on the outside, for the Cherokee would not let them see his soul; as he would not ride in the wagons.
>
> And so they called it the Trail of Tears. Not because the Cherokee cried; for he did not. They called it the Trail of Tears for it sounds romantic and speaks of the sorrow of those who stood by the Trail. A death march is not romantic.
>
> You cannot write poetry about the death-stiffened baby in his mother's arms, staring at the jolting sky with eyes that will not close; while his mother walks.
>
> You cannot sing songs of the father laying down the burden of his wife's corpse, to lie by it through the night and to rise and carry it again in the morning - and tell his oldest son to carry the body of his youngest. And do not look...nor speak...nor cry...nor remember the mountains.
>
> It would not be a beautiful song. And so they called it the Trail of Tears (Carter, 1986, pp. 40-42).

This Native American experience of having everything dear, especially the land, consistently taken away, has left a negative legacy in that sometimes today there is a fear of making anything Indian, but especially Indian land, too attractive for fear that it well be taken away again.

Again, that the communities have survived at all is to be celebrated, not that they continue to manifest stress in the form of violence, suicide, substance abuse and diabetes. These manifestations of the dynamics of antagonistic cultural contrast will continue until each community creates its own transformational process, like the people at Alkalai Lake (Chelsea, 1986), in which they "reinvent" a tribal identity which accomodates Euro-American ideas and technology (Auerbach, 1987).

Behaviors/Performance Skills

Behaviors or performance skills are observable behaviors actually performed in particular situations. The four most important behaviors for coping and adapting in a multiple cultural context are: the ability to deploy behavior appropriately, the ability to choose oneself in the face of pressures to go along with another's viewpoint, the ability to accept help or support from the mainstream or dominant culture, and the ability to be a multitalented nonspecialist (Wasilewski, 1982). These skills, along with their subcomponents, are discussed below.

The ability to deploy behavior appropriately. The ability to deploy behavior appropriately in multiple cultural environments depends on flexibility in interpersonal interaction, on flexible coping strategies, and on speaking appropriately in each linguistic environment.

Flexibility in interpersonal interactions can be described in terms of Ruben's interaction skills (1976), of the intercultural skills identified through the experience of the Experiment in International Living (Gochenour & Janeway, 1978), and of the abilityto negotiate rules and meanings (Bateson, 1972; Pearce & Harris, 1980).

The ability to negotiate rules and meanings is a crucial one for a person or a community who is able to make the environment adapt to themselves, who are able to create new cultural space, space tolerant of a person's or of a community's diversity. A tribal community has to negotiate this space vis a vis the dominant community, and often times an individual Native American has to do this negotiation, not only with the dominant community but vis a vis his or her own community as well, because acquiring new behaviors that enable him or her to function in the dominant society has caused members of his or her own community to consider that person as no longer quite full community members.

In traditional times, however, if you were in another people's territory it was expected that you were to behave according to their etiquette. The problem for Native Americans has been trying to maintain any space at all vis a vis the dominant society where they can behave according to their own norms.

> "My own father, Fools Crow's grandfather, was killed many winters ago in a pointless raid on one of the forts on the Big River east of here. Many of you have also lost relatives in the long-ago. At that time Pikunis did not know the power of the Napikwans [white people]. They thought to drive out these strange creatures, so they loosed their arrows and lances, rode into battle with axes and knives and were killed mercilessly by these new sticks-that-speak-from-afar. Many women and children were left to cry. It became apparent to our long-ago chiefs that they must make peace with the Napikwans, or the Pikunis would disappear from their mother's breast. It has been almost thirteen winters since the big treaty with the bosses from the east. I remember the council on the banks of the Big River. At that time the Pikunis gave the Napikwans some land in return for promises that we would be left alone to hunt our ranges. We were satisfied, for our ranges still extended beyond where sky touches earth. We in turn promised that we would leave the white ones alone. Four winters ago, we signed a new paper with the Napikwans, giving them our land that lies south of the Milk River. Again, we promised to let them alone. We thought that would put an end to their greed. Last year they brought us a new paper and our chiefs marked it. We were to get commodities to make up for our reduced ranges and our promise to live in peace with them. Our chiefs were to receive some of the white man's money. These things never came to pass. And so we have every reason to hate the Napikwans."
>
> The warriors began to speak at once, their voices filled

with anger. Young Bird Chief stood and the talk died away. "You say well, Rides-at-the-door. We know you speak the truth and we respect you as a coming-together man. But sometimes we think you and the other leaders do not see with the sharpness of your hearts. Do you not notice the whitehorns grazing on Pikuni soil to the south and east of us? Soon the Napikwans will take that land from us. Did you not see how the seizers, led by Joe Kipp and Captain Snelling, rode undisturbed right into our camp on our own land? Did they ask permission, send kind requests and gifts? No, they demanded we tell them the whereabouts of Mountain Chief's people so they could kill them off. How long before they turn on the Lone Eaters and decide that we too are insects to be stepped on? Are we to go quietly to the Sands Hills, to tell our long-ago people that we welcomed death like cowards? That is not the way of the Pikunis. If we must go to the Shadow-land, we will go with our heads high, our spirits content that we have fought the Napikwans to death....."

Rides-at-the-door had listened to Young Bird Chief with an open mind. In many ways the young brave was right. Napikwan had his hands around the Pikuni throat and was tightening his grip. Soon there would be nothing left of the people but their strangled bodies. Would they not be justified in joining the spirit of Owl Child and his gang in their growing resistance to the whites? Perhaps if the Pikuni numbers were strong, they could drive the Napikwans from their land - or at least obtain on honorable treaty. Wouldn't that be better than sitting like old blackhorn bulls, waiting the end? Even as he thought this, Rides-at-the-door knew how it would be. The Napikwnans would use the excuse of war to exterminate the Pikunis. He felt obliged to speak again.

"Haiya! Listen to me, warriors. Much of what Young Bird Chief says is as true as the stem of the medicine pipe. Our hearts are full of anger, and I have no doubt we could inflict a great blow on these Napikwans. It would not be difficult to drive these individuals from our lands. Perhaps we could burn down the trading forts and the white settlements. Many scalps would hang from our lodgepoles. It would make our people feel good to do these things. It would make me feel good, for no one hates the presence of the Napikwans more than I. In my youth I was a member of Bird Rattler's party that killed the steamboat men on the Big River. But that was long ago. There weren't many of the Napikwans in those days.

But now things are different. The great war between the Napikwans far to the east is over. More and more of the seizers who fought for Ka-ach-sino, the great Grandfather, have moved out to our country. More come still. If we take the war road against the whites, we will sooner or later encounter great numbers of them. Even with many-shot guns we couldn't hope to match their weapons. Or their cruelty. We have heard what they did to our old enemies, the Parted Hairs, on the Washita: rubbed them out. So too would they do to the Pikunis. We are nothing to them. It is the ground we stand on they seek. These fourleggeds they would have for their own meat. Our women and children would wander and starve - those that were left" (Welch, 1986, pp. 174-177).

Having continually less space and having almost always to behave according to other people's norms is utterly exhausting, especially when the metastructures of each system are so contrastive. One contemporary Indian worker lost his job because he aggravated his co-workers so much when he consistently refused to say thank you. Saying thank you was not a norm in his own community, and he was simply tired of having to do everything the white man's way all the time.

Today part of the Native American elite is trying to create institutions where creative thought and work can take place according to Indian norms so that the perceptions of tribal people can be refined and shared with the larger society and world.

Flexible coping strategies fall into two categories, those that are general in nature and those that are specifically cultural. Peck et al. (1979) and Diaz-Guerrero (1979) describe general coping styles as active/self-assertive, passive/self-modifying, or a hybrid coping style involving both active and passive elements. Active coping strategies include some of the interaction skills discussed above, e.g., the ability to negotiate the rules governing an interaction and the ability to adapt the environment to oneself. Perhaps the most important active strategy, however, is the ability to behave with chutzpah. An extremely important passive coping strategy is the ability to withdraw in order to heal. Hybrid strategies include the ability to stand up for one's rights, as well as to apologize if necessary; or the ability to disagree, as well as to respect.

Native peoples during the contact period have been nothing if not flexible. James Welch's newest book, Fools Crow (1986), documents both the active and passive strategies selectively and purposely utilized to deal with the onslaught of European migration.

> ".....we must fend for ourselves, for our survival. That is why we must treat with the Napikwans [white men]. You are brave men, and I find myself covered with shame for speaking to you this way. But it must be so. We are up against a force we cannot fight. It is our children and their children we must think of now...It has taken great courage to speak these words to you, and so we should listen with our heads, although our hearts say otherwise. It is natural for Pikuni men to wish to fight. We have always fought our enemies. We now engage in the biggest fight of all - the fight for our survival. If we must do it without weapons, so be it. But if the Napikwans mistake our desire for peace for weakness, then let them beware, for the Pikunis will fight to the death. That too is natural...But let there be no more killing of Napikwans. Let the Lone Eaters be known as men of wisdom who put the good of their people before their individual honor" (Welch, 1986, pp. 177-178).

However, there is work still to be done in the area of purely cultural coping and adaptation. Because of the acute cultural contrast between Native and Euro-American cultures, each person and community, working from their own perspectives has to resolve the clash, make their own

decisions as to which cultural elements they will maintain, which they will change and which new elements they will create. There is no recipe. The meaning of self-determination is that each person and each community works this out for themselves.

It is very important that they are conscious, however, of the kinds of cultural choices available to them.

Seelye and Wasilewski (1979a) suggest a nonhierarchical (or hetrarchical) taxonomy of choices for cultural coping, which includes choices of adherence, subsitution, addition, synthesis, and a "proionic" (Christakis & Broome, 1987) option where the result of combining two or more cultural elements is something completely new, a new cultural possibility, just as when oxygen and hydrogen combine to become a new element, water.

This means that a person or a community can adhere to first culture elements, substitute second culture elements (elements borrowed from the dominant, other minority, or other national cultures) for first culture elements, add second culture elements, synthesize first and second culture elements and/or create completely new cultural space.

It is also important to understand that these five functional choices (adherence, substitution, addition, synthesis and creation) are not monolithic choices. A person or a community can decide to make different choices in regard to different cultural elements. For instance, one can choose to adhere to traditional religion, to substitute cars for horses as a means of transportation, to add facility in English to facility in one's tribal language, to synthesize dress styles (in the dance regalia worn by Native Americans today one can often trace the history of their contacts, not only with different European groups, but with other indigenous groups as well) and to create a new entrepreneurial style which is communal rather than individualistic in orientation.

There is one dysfunctional choice, and that is subtraction, that is giving up a cultural behavior before having anything with which to replace it. This is the functional equivalent of going around naked, and it is usually a forced choice, a choice made as the result of oppression, as when Native American children at BIA boarding schools were punished for speaking their own languages (even on the playground with their friends) even before they had a chance to learn English.

This ability to speak appropriately in each of one's linguistic communities, in terms of both language and rhetoric, is a crucial dimension of effective coping. The effective acquisition of multiple dialects and languages in the autobiographies was always done as part of an additive strategy, part of a responsive, interactive mode of life that involved a strong desire to communicate with the human beings in one's environment.

Dalby (1977) suggested that a proper linguistic model for human beings in a plural society would represent each person by a blinking light, and the color of the light would change as the person changed languages or dialects as he or she moved through various cultural settings.

In a plural society, there can be no single answer to the question of whether the populace should be mono-, bi-, or multilingual. Native Americans are concerned with the preservation of their tribal languages, many of which have no standard written form. There is no great move for a written literature in the tribal languages, but there is a great concern with preserving the oral history and songs of the tribes.

It is necessary to differentiate between individual and communal orientations regarding the acquisition of languages. Communal cultures, such as the Native American, have often made the choice of having selected members remain monolingual, particularly if they were to be inheritors of sacred ceremonies. Certain members who had been selected to be the next medicine men were protected from the inroads of white civilization so that they could receive the sacred culture, the heart of Native American life, in as pure a state as possible. This may have been somewhat dysfunctional for the individual so selected, if the major critierion for evaluating this strategy were the individual's ability to move broadly in the larger world, but it enabled the community to maintain a cultural reservoir during the long ban on Indian ceremonial life during the first three decades of this century. Keeping such a pristine reserve makes good sense for the insurance of cultural continuity when the cultural community in question has no reservoir of cultural knowledge elsewhere in the world (Mails, 1979).

Language also involves using the proper rhetoric in various circumstances. Each cultural community has its own rules for arguing, negotiating, praising, etc. Fred Kabotie (Kabotie & Belknap, 1977), when he was negotiating with tribal members for land upon which to build the Hopi Cultural Center on Second Mesa, had to do so using a line of argument that dealt with land-use rights based on ceremonial criteria, and it had to be promised that electrical lines for the Center would avoid shrines and sacred places.

The incidence of high levels of these interpersonal, intercultural, coping and linguistic skills is evident thoughout the autobiographies across male, female, old, young, famous, and ordinary people. People seem to have no difficulty acquiring these skills if they are allowed to do so. Difficulties occur when false problems are erected in their way, the most fundamental of which is forcing them to make a false decision, such as choosing whether to speak English or Navajo, when it is perfectly within the realm of human possibility to be multilingual. Most of the people of San Ildefonso were already bilingual in Tewa and Spanish when the whites/Anglos arrived (Marriott, 1948). This was accomplished without elaborate schooling, the impetus being the desire to communicate with others in the human environment. Some environments are simply less nurturing of this desire to communicate.

The Ability to Choose Oneself

At critical moments in their lives, the people in the life histories elected to dance to their own music (e.g., Qoyawayma & Carlson, 1964). This choosing of oneself in all one's complexity and diversity, even in the face of opposition, is a rare dimension in the dominant society but is actually very similar to the Native American concept of each person's having a path to walk in life. Elders and peers can give advice if it has been requested, but the ultimate decision about how to behave rests with the person and his or her concept of what his or her way has to be.

The Ability to Accept Help from the Dominant Culture

It is also imperative that minority peoples be able to accept help from the dominant culture when it is offered, in spite of its often inappropriativeness and of repeated disillusionments with such help: "Nothing is that simple, you don't write off all white people, just like you don't trust all the Indians" (Silko, 1977, P. 128). There is no way to isolate oneself and one's community from the dominant culture. In fact, in Indian Country the discontiniuties in the different "helping" fads that have been foisted on the communities in this century have often been in their own way as destabilizing as outright oppression. This does not mean that those in the dominant culture who are at least moving in the direction of assisting minority peoples should be discouraged in their efforts. However, "helpers" must involve community members in identifying the kind of help that is needed.

Being a Multitalented Nonspecialist

A last behavioral manifestation of skilled persons in the autobiographies is that so many of them seem to be multitalented nonspecialists. Fred Kabotie (1977) was not only an artist but a musician, a teacher, and a community organizer as well. For 20 years he was so busy creating contemporary institutions for Hopi cultural life that he had no time to paint. But for the Bicentennial in 1976, he sat down and produced a painting about the pueblo revolt in the seventeenth century with no diminution in his skill as an artist. Polingaysi Qoyawayma (Elizabeth White)(1964) was the first college-educated Hopi woman and a teacher who, when she retired from teaching, became a potter. She was also a very capable singer and pianist. The orientation of these people, when faced with a new situation or a new skill to learn, is one of "Why not?" instead of "I can't."

This completes the presentation of all the domains, dimensions, and elements of the framework.

The Six Powerfully Recurring Sources-of-Variance

Wasilewski's (1982) study of the autobiographies of visible minorities identified six recurring dimensions as being particularly powerful in enabling effective coping and adaptations by people of color in the United States.

From the environmental domain, the important elements were:

1. The presence of a superodinate goal or purpose, an element of subjective reality.

2. The characteristics of the interpersonal mazeway, particularly the presence of models and mentors, for no one makes a multiple adaptation alone.

In the competencies domain, the important elements were:

1. The self-system, particularly how a person organizes his or her internal diversity in a diverse world, an element of the ability to appraise social situations.

2. The ability to transform negative energy into positive energy, especially how to deal with bitterness.

In the behavioral domain, the following elements were important:

1. Flexible coping, the ability to behave appropriately, whether with chutzpah or withdrawal, and the ability to use the complete taxonomy of cultural coping strategies.

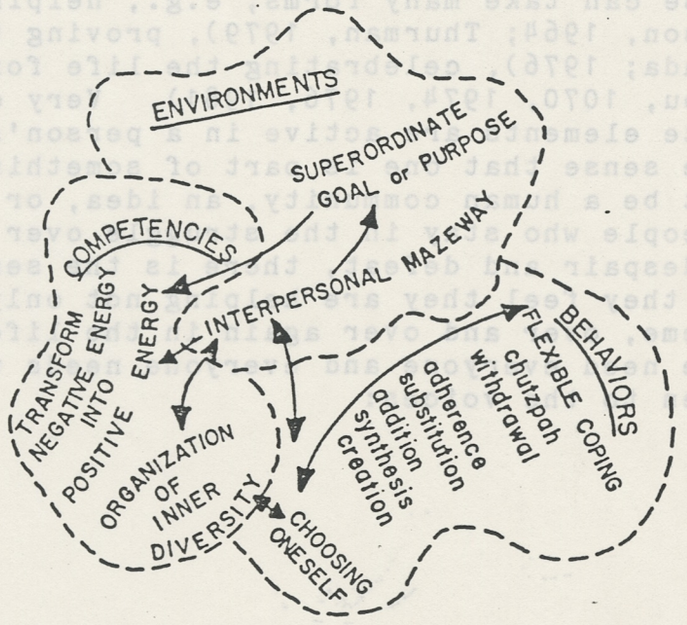
2. The ability to choose oneself, to act in accordance with all one's diversity in the face of cultural and interpersonal pressures to conform to another's standards or to simplify.

These six dimensions kept recurring with powerful impact, often at turning points in the person's life, and they emerged regardless of group of origin and seemed to be associated with a consistent pattern of effectiveness across an entire life span.

Figure 3 presents a schematic view of these six elements.

Figure 3

Powerfully Recurring Sources-of-Variance



It will be noticed that in Figure 3 the internal and external boundaries of this "coping creature" are both permeable and flexible, resembling an organic molecule or an amoeba. This representation indicates that the structure is always changing shape and dimension in relation to the external environment and that the proportion and shape of each of the internal domains (environments, competencies, and behaviors) are also constantly changing as appropriate behavior for different settings and purposes is produced.

The elements in each of the domains also seem to interact with each other. For example, the participants in one's interpersonal mazeway affect the presence or absence of superordinate goals in one's life, whereas the presence or absence of a superordinate goal is strongly related to one's ability to turn negative energy into positive energy; e.g., in overcoming bitterness. Likewise, having flexible coping strategies (especially the ability to behave both aggressively and passively) is connected to one's ability to choose oneself in all one's diversity, and the diversity that one chooses has much to do with the organization of one's inner diversity and vice versa. This question of organization of diversity and choice of diversity then cycles back to the tolerance for that diversity in one's interpersonal mazeway.

Thus, Figure 3 tries to convey some sense of the interactive simultaneity of effective coping and adaptation strategies in people of color. Simultaneity and flexibility are the key concepts underlying this schema of interaction. It interacts in a far more complex dynamic than one of mere linear reciprocity.

Each of the six elements listed above will be discussed separately under the domain headings: environments, competencies, and behaviors.

Environments

Having a superordinate goal or purpose. Whether one has a superordinate goal or purpose is closely connected with how effective one is at transforming negative energy into positive energy.

The goal or purpose can take many forms; e.g., helping one's people (Qoyawayma & Carlson, 1964; Thurman, 1979), proving the American Dream (Acosta, 1972; Okada; 1976), celebrating the life force (Anaya, 1972, 1976, 1979; Angelou, 1070, 1974, 1976, 1981). Very often several of these superordinate elements are active in a person's life. The key seems to be in the sense that one is part of something larger than oneself, whether that be a human community, an idea, or some primal life force. For the people who stay in the struggle over the long run and never succumb to despair and defeat, there is the sense that by living their lives well, they feel they are helping not only themselves, but everyone. The theme, over and over again in the life histories, is that ultimately we need everyone and everyone needs us to make the world work. Listen to the voices:

From John Okada's No-No Boy (1976, orginally published in 1957, pp. 250-251):

> He wanted to think about Ken and Freddie and Mr. Carrick and the man who had bought the drinks for him and Emi, about the Negro who had stood up for Gary, about Bull, who was an infant crying in the darkness. A glimmer of hope - was that it? It was there, someplace. He couldn't see it to put it into words, but the feeling was pretty strong.
>
> He walked along, thinking, searching, thinking and probing, and, in the darkness of the alley of the community that was a tiny bit of America, he chased that faint and elusive insinuation of promise as it continued to take shape in mind and in heart.

From Miracle Hill: The Story of a Navajo Boy by Emerson Blackhorse Mitchell with T. D. Allen (1967, pp. 222-223), written when Mitchell was in his late teens (this quotation is not written in standard English, and Allen did not edit it into standard form for fear of losing some of its poetry of expression):

> Broneco, blinking his eyes, watched the great standing rock, remembering again of his youthful days. "I used to think that distance standing rock when I was young and away from the civilization. I guess I was still untame, living among the nature's gift and half wild yet."
>
> When he was five and a months old, he used to think and wonder of the far standing rock in the shade of heavy ash color, intercepting the clear horizontal prairie. Isolated and alone it stood, yet known to all its surrounding. "Yes, I was young then," he thought.
>
> He transposed his eye vision into a distance where he couldn't see no farther. Going beyond this point, Broneco, curious of his yonder mountain, then thought, "If I ever reach that far mountain, there will be another mountain."
>
> Now, on this hill, Broneco knew that he must be going on to explore something more valuable than the first. Coming to the top of this small ordinary gray and sun-baking arid desert hill of his traditional life, Broneco was amazed. It was there - another mountain.
>
> "At last, I know a little, I have accomplished, and achieve the knowledge and wisdom of my distance friends. Ever I shall use their tongue to understand and to communicate, exchange gifts, for their tongue is the barrier of destruction to my people. Now I have learn their signs and ways of living, I can see another mountain."
>
> Now, Broneco turned, leaving his footprints on the Miracle Hill. The wind blew for once again, blowing, singing the ancient songs.
>
> The birds in the near treetop of the yard sang their best melody of music. Broneco left the hill thinking, "It's been a lonely years. Miracle Hill, in the glory of hope, I thank thee. I will always return and share the nature's airy freedom upon you."

Leaving the hill behind in a far distance, showing its merry sight. No longer after, Broneco ever would be lonely. Till this present day, the wind still whispers, singing the songs of the old ones. This is the Miracle Hill, and Broneco walks on, learning about the world beyond hand's reach.

Today a graduate of the University of New Mexico, Mitchell is an active writer and teacher in Navajo Indian studies.

From Tortuga by Rudolfo A. Anaya (1979, pp. 41-188):

In the barren and dark desert I heard Salomon say:

...Why question the ways of the creation. Know only that every man, in one way or another, must cross the desert. Life is such a thin ribbon, so fragile, so easily transformed.

...Don't you see that punishment would give meaning to our existence. If we could say we're being punished then it would follow that God is punishing us, and we would be worse off than we were before...we would go on fabricating lie upon lie....It's very difficult to accept the fact that our existence has no meaning to the absent god. The only meaning it has is the meaning we give it...we can't blame the gods. That's too easy, but natural. Man has always taken his fear and pain and suffereing and made strange gods from those shadows of his soul. Those gods are shadows... reflections of our weakness...I have read all the myths, and that's how it's been....

Even Christ, in his triumphant hour upon the cross...he fails us, he turns and blames his father who has forsaken him. So even the new myths are incomplete. Our heroes have not been able to suffer alone. In their last moment of anguish and pain they turn to the shadows dancing on the wall...turn to the past and the darkness....Don't you see, his punishment would be complete if he did not curse the gods...if he could walk alone! Only then could he be free!...

...No...we are beyond all the heroes of the past...we have come to a new plane in the time of eternity...we have gone far beyond the punishment of gods. We are beyond anything we have ever known, and the past is useless to us. We must create out of our ashes. Our hero must be born out of this wasteland, like the phoenix bird of the desert he must rise again from the ashes...and he must not turn to the shadows of the past. He must walk in the path of the sun...and he shall sing the songs of the sun.

...I sang and filled myself with hope, a hope against the dark fear which returned to haunt us and force us into dark shells...

Is everyone here? I looked around and saw everyone was with us...we were all there, climbing and winding down the trail to the river, crossing the bridge over the evening waters and finding [the] path up the mountainside...

When we reached the top we found a wide meadow and in the middle of the meadow a giant juniper tree. We joined hands and [we were] led...like a winding vine around the tree, dancing a May dance in the spring night...We turned and saw that the mountain was rising...into the starry sky, while behind us the earth thundered and exploded as the forces of the fire and water dashed over the land to make it new again...we all cheered, because we were rising like a glowing sun into the indigo night, rising to take our place in the spermy string of lights which crowned the sky...so the earth was the beach that we had crossed...and what we should have known is that we had to join hands and cross it together, because it was only for an instant that the sun bathed and fed us with its love...then the night came and around us the roaring suns of prior ages welcomed us into our new destiny....

The following morning I woke early. For a long time I sat thinking about the dream, then I got up quickly, because I knew that as beautiful as it was I could not remain in it...I had to move out into the world.

From Daddy King by the Reverend Martin Luther King, Sr., with Clayton Riley (1980, pp. 92-214):

So many of us had come from places where Negroes were not regarded as part of the human race. We knew better. And we knew that in time everyone else in this country would understand our struggle, our patience, our anger, and our spiritual power to change not only our own condition but that of the rest of the nation. Nothing would ever overwhelm us. We could be set back, knocked down, and kicked around. But we'd live. And in our living, America would discover its future....

...The survival of Negroes was basic to the survival of this country. And for this reason our battle could not end quickly; there were so many issues connected to the unity of people in this country. Divisions had brought us close enough to disaster. Negroes could not move forward without the rest of America moving in the same direction. Whites did not always think of us as patriots, but that's what the Civil Rights Movement really was made up of...men and women who believed in the society when it did not believe in them...

...The lie kept on devouring us as a country because we would not slay the dragon that it was, we would not move to the basic truth that until all of us were full citizens, none could be, and that any who thought otherwise played on themselves a terrible deception.

We could end the deception. But as a people we'd have to be stronger than we'd ever been before....

I am asked why I continue to believe in nonviolence, and I answer that it remains not one of the ways but the only way to victory over the forces of evil in this country. If we live for a sense of oneness, we will not have time for the violence of revenge or oppression. We have outlived war as man once knew it; Vietnam should have shown us that. We're left, whether anyone likes it or not, to work for world peace as the only insurance of our survival through this century.

> And whoever carries this word must make the word flesh by living out the terms of sermons and prayers so that people can see love as action.
>
> ...As long as an idea lives, we are all still alive. For myself, I continue to look toward a day when we shall have one world and one people, when far will not be far and long will not be long, when we will live together, neither black nor white, but one.

From Ceremony by Leslie Marmon Silko (1977, pp. 125-151), where the part Navajo, part Mexican medicine man is doing a curing ceremony for a part white, part Laguna young man after World War II:

> "We have been waiting for help a long time. But it never has been easy. The people must do it. You must do it...." He wanted to yell at the medicine man, to yell the things the white doctors had yelled at him - that he had to think only of himself, and not about the others, that he would never get well as long as he used words like "we" and "us." But he had known the answer all along, even while the white docotrs were telling him he could not get well and he was trying to believe them: medicine didn't work that way, because the world didn't work that way. His sickness was only part of something larger, and his cure would be found only in something great and inclusive of everything...
>
> "...I wonder what good Indian ceremonies can do against the sickness which comes from their wars, their bombs, their lies?"
>
> The old man shook his head. "That is the trickery of the witchcraft," he said. "They want us to believe all evil resides with white people. Then we will look no further to see what is really happening. They want us to separate ourselves from white people, to be ignorant and helpless as we watch our own destruction. But white people are only tools that the witchery manipulates....
>
> "...he flexed the old chants and the beliefs like a mountain-oak bow. He had been watching the sky...the planets and constellations wheeling and shifting the patterns of the old stories....
>
> "He reasoned that because it was set loose by witchery of all the world, and brought to them by whites, the ceremony against it must be the same....
>
> "This is the only way....It cannot be done alone. We must have power from everywhere. Even the power we can get from whites."

Or, as Ultima says in Rudolfo Anaya's Bless Me, Ultima (1972, p. 113):

> "You have been seeing only parts...and not looking beyond into the great cycle that binds us all."

The interpersonal mazeway, or no one does it alone. The strong emphasis on the potential power of the human community, so clearly voiced by the authors of the life histories, underlines the importance of the interpersonal mazeway as the major source of variance in all coping and adaptation. As described earlier, it is in this mazeway that we find our models, teachers, and mentors, first learn our skills and how to dream, and it is in these particular mazeways that we play out the drama of our lives. Other people are the pathway to any possible future.

This interpersonal mazeway has many forms, some extremely complex, as the framework suggests, but one very effective form has been that provided by the Black church for the Black community. Thurman (1979, pp. 17-18) explains the real danger in being a "sinner" in the eyes of the church of his childhood:

> In the fellowship of the church, particularly in the experience of worship, there was a feeling of sharing in primary community. Not only did church membership seem to bear heavily upon one's ultimate destiny beyond death and the grave; more than all the other communal ties, it also undergirded one's sense of personal identity. It was summed up in the familiar phrase, "If God is for you, who can prevail against you."
>
> The view that the traditional attitude of the religion of black people was, or is, otherworldy, is superficial and misguided. "Take all the world but give me Jesus" is a false and simplistic characterization of our religion. A "saved soul," as symbolized by conversion and church membership, gave you a personal validation that transcended time and space, because its ultimate guarantor was God, through Jesus Christ. It was nevertheless of primary importance to the individual living in "real" time and "real" space, because membership in the "fellowship of believers" provided the communal experience of being a part of a neighborhood and gave the member a fontal sense of worth that could not be destroyed by any of life's outrages.
>
> Hence, the "sinner" was a unique isolate within the generally binding character of community. It was this ultimate isolation that made the sinner the object of such radical concern. (pp. 17-18)

Again, certain microecologies stand out in the life histories as being espcially nururant of minority achievement: the Black community in Atlanta (King & Riley, 1980; Thurman, 1979); that of Native American artists in the Taos-Santa Fe-Scottsdale triangle (Kabotie & Belknap, 1977; Mitchell & Allen, 1967; Momaday, 1966, 1976); the Japanese American community in Seattle (Okada, 1976; Sone, 1979); and the Chicano community in New Mexico (e.g., New Mexico is the only officially bilingual state in the Union, and Spanish Americans have been politically active there for years)(Anaya, 1976; De Tevis, Garcia, & Rivera, 1979).

The Hopis also have been very effective in building up their own communities and in eliciting support from the dominant culture in order to achieve their goals. Both Fred Kabotie (1977) and Polingaysi Qoyawayma (1964) are creators of the contemporary way to be a Hopi in the world. When one examines their interpersonal mazeways in terms of the framework developed by this study, one discovers that they extended to all levels: communal, local, regional, national, and international. Although both spent long periods of time away from their communities (14 and 7 years, respectively), so that they could learn the white man's ways, they both eventually elected to return to their communities. They maintained their communal relationships while at the same time extending their relationships to inlcude regional, national, and international figures, politicians, administrators, writers, artists, scientists, etc., and, as Qoyawayma said, other

"Indian-conscious" people. For years Qoyawayma took paying guests who wanted to visit Hopiland into her home, and Fred Kabotie was responsible for the new Cultural Center and motel in Second Mesa, and he dreamt of a four-year high school in Hopiland, so the children would not have to go to boarding school. To make these dreams come true, Kabotie's appointment calendar at the Craft Guild (which he also founded) included Tiffany Foundation meetings in New York, teaching in California, judging exhibits at the Gallup Inter-Tribal Ceremonial, Hopi Cultural Center board meetings, and Tribal Council meetings (Kabotie, 1977, p. 138). Meanwhile Qoyawayma (1967, pp. 178-179):

> dreamed of higher educational opportunities for Indian youth. No longer are the Hopi isolated. Black-topped highways thread the reservations of the West. The world finds it easy now to reach the mesas and the desert lands, and the Indians can no longer ignore the world. They are of it and must come into harmony with it, the sooner the better. There is no other way than to go forward. Education is necessary for living a full life in this era, and specialization requires training.
>
> ...From this basis begun turning in her mind the thought of setting up some sort of a scholarship fund for worthy high school graduates. If Indian-conscious friends could be persuaded to contribute even small sums per year...and if a few boys and girls could take advantage of an opportunity to receive higher learning....
>
> Two talented writers, a husband-wife team, visited...one summer at her big home...they volunteered to start the fund.
>
> ...Meanwhile the founder went to a Hopi friend...
>
> "It's time we Hopi people began standing on our own two feet...it's good to get help, but not if we hang back and refuse to help ourselves. Why should white people finance this movement entirely when it is for the good of our youth? If we want something done, let's do it ourselves..."
>
> ...She called her friends together, outlined plans for a food and gift sale, and had them all working together immediately. The event was a social and financial success....
>
> The rapidity with which the movement blossomed...still makes it seem a trifle unreal to her, but a great satisfaction lies in the fact that through the cooperation of college authorities and white friends the world over, and the loyal efforts of her own people, doors of higher education have been opened to Hopi young people, and will continue to be open to them for years to come.

It goes without saying that having Fred Kabotie and Polingaysi Qoyawayma as models in the community was a tremendous asset. Thus the interpersonal mazeways of one generation provide models for the emergent mazeways of the next.

Competencies

Self-system, or the organization of diversity. The central problem for the people in the autobiographies, re the organization of their self-system, can be characterized as the organization of plural or diverse selves in a plural or diverse environemnt. There is more than one way to resolve this problem; there is a range of resolutions, some highly individualized and some communal.

One of the central conlficts of this resolution, however, is that many minority persons come from communities that "produce" family members whereas the dominant society favors the "production" of individuals. In the autobiographies, Native Americans and Hispanic Americans have often succeeded as extended kinship units (e.g., Anaya, 1976; Falk, 1976; Sekaquaptewa & Udall, 1977; Hernandez family in Wolf, 1978). Black and Asian Americans have more often succeeded as larger community units (e.g., units of organization extended to people not related by blood, for instance, Black church and Japanese prefectural organizations) (Davis, 1974; Houston & Houston, 1973; King & Riley, 1980; Miyakawa, 1979; Sone, 1979; Thurman, 1979).
One of the most interesting groups of people to flourish as a family unit are the Lelooskas, "a unique Indian family of Cherokee descent, crossing tribal boundaries to research, create, and devleop the art and culture of the Northwest Coast" (Falk, 1976, p. 9). They are artists and educators in the most expansive use of those terms, painters, woodcarvers, dramatists, and folklorists. In the sixties, disturbed by the uncertain future of the "Cedar and Salmon People" of the Pacific Northwest, they devoted their energies to the preservation and development of this cultural community. One of their most interesting activities is the presentation of living history programs for tourists during the summer at their family compound in Ariel, Washington. It is interesting that a group of people descended from one of the most radically displaced tribal peoples in this country, the Cherokee, are now sharing their "survival" skills with another threatened tribal people.
Another instructive group of Cherokee families lived until recently in Los Angeles:

> In that multiplicity of Angles lived a group of Cherokees. Some of the families were well established and some were well to do. They were all Los Angeles boosters; for they had done well enough and lived quite happily.
>
> Yet the hills of eastern Oklahoma of the Cherokee Nation haunted them. "Twelve years ago a group of Indians, many of us children, or grandchildren, of Oklahomans, decided to 'put down a fire' in California," said Dr. John Harris Jeffries, a lawyer and chiropractic doctor who was a leader of these Los Angeles Cherokees. He explained that to "put down a fire," in the Cherokee tradition, meant just that. A ceremonial ground was prepared and a fireplace dug in the earth. There a stomping ground for religious dances was established around the fire.
>
> In the city of Los Angeles, the Western Keetoowah Society was founded. The Keetoowah Society is the nativist religious group of the Cherokees. Its traditional worship, with masks and robes and rites, was not only sacred, but in the urban frenzy was an island of the Indian spirit. Though the city Cherokees were separated by miles of freeways, they held regular religious ceremonies and prayers. In the kinship families they kept their matriarchal clans intact. The old customs of the tribe were practiced, and the children given Cherokee names in the traditional way.

> One of the Western Keetooway Society of Los Angeles members was a lawyer. One was an insurance salesman. One was the owner of an electrical firm. One was a professional golfer. One was a professional artist. And yet - business suites off, ties loosened, brief cases left in the foyers of the suburban houses - they were traditional Indians.
>
> "Suddenly we began to think about coming home," Dr. Jeffries said. "I don't know with whom the idea orgininated. We knew we wanted to get out of the rat race in Los Angeles. There just wasn't any discussion about where we should go. It was Tahlequah."
>
> And so to Tahlequah, Oklahoma, the old capital of the Cherokee Nation, the families began to come. In the beginning just seven families moved. Then four more came. Soon forty of the Cherokees had come. Dr. Jeffries expected that in all one hundred and fifty would come home.
>
> "It was home instantly," he said. "No one has mentioned moving back." Somehow it was as though they had never left.
>
> The coals of the sacred fires that they had "put down" in Los Angeles were unearthed. In their cars the coals were carefully carried halfway across the continent, once more to be buried, but this time in the earth of their Cherokee homeland. Once more, the fire would flame (S. Steiner, 1968, in David, 1972, pp. 191-192).

On the more individual end of the spectrum there is a tightrope to be walked, especially by the individuals who are changing the old culture, developing an appropriate way to be Navajo or CHicano or Asian American, or whatever, in the twentieth century. As Thurman (1979) mentioned above, it is dangerous for a minority person to become an isolate, yet often the person who is the pathfinder, who takes out new cultural space, maintains minority status in most of his or her social networks, often including the family (Laing, 1967). There is a senation within these people that in some sense they are always different, always standing on the outside looking in.

> Living in Riverbank was no different than living in a strange, foreign town. I was an outsider then much as I am now. Particularly during the first three years, Bob and I had to defend ourselves against the meanest and toughest boys on the list because we were considered "easterners." They said we weren't real Mexicans because we wore long black patent leather boots and short pants, which my mother bought for us in Juarez just before we boarded the Greyhound bus to join up with my father, who'd left the year before to seek the riches of California's golden peach orchards.
>
> California, then, was a land of Pochos. These California Mexicans were not much higher than the Okies with whom they lived. They spoke English most of the time, while we looked upon life "out west" simply as a temporary respite from the Depression.... So, when we left El Segundo Barrio across the street from the international border, we didn't expect the Mexicans in California to act like gringos.
>
> But they did. We were outsiders because of geography and outcasts because we didn't speak English and wore short pants. And so we had to fight every single day (Acosta, 1972, p. 77).

Oscar Zeta Acosta, the author of the passage above, later became a lawyer and an organizer of the Chicano community in East Los Angeles, although there continued to be times in his life when he teetered on the edge of isolation.

Polingaysi Qoyawayma also came from a minority position within her community. Her father, although a conservative, had worked for the Mennonite missionaries in the village. Half derisively the Hopi people had called him Bahan-ko-wa-ko-hoya, 'little white man rooster,' and Polingaysi was left with "one consuming desire: to achieve a good life, independent of both white people and her own Hopi people, but esteemed by both" (Qoyawayma & Carlson, 1964, p. 127). Most important, though, she always remained a part of her community, even though she spent long periods away from the mesas seeking education.

James Welch (1974), however, in Winter in the Blood, tells the story of a true isolate, a young man who was alienated from the community because of his family's history in the community, a history of which he was unaware as he was growing up and which is revealed only in the course of his life, and then too late. It was thought by the people that his grandmother, the youngest wife of the chief, an outsider and a great beauty, had brought the death and destruction that visited them with the coming of the United States cavalry. Or there is Marcus Savage in Gordon Park's The Learning Tree (1963), who also inherited his alienation, this time from his father. Isolates seem to have scattered lives, lives with random destructive happenings and no meaning. Nothing ever matches. Nothing ever adds up. They not only feel defeat, they are defeated. One can fight, and even if one loses the fight, it is possible to feel that one has fought the best fight possible with the weapons available. Isolates are denied this sense of esteem, however, because they do not know why or what they are fighting. They have no sense of the fact that they are part of an historical struggle. They only suffer. One of the Japanese-American internees in the stockade in Tule Lake (Miyakawa, 1979, pp. 211-212) expressed it this way:

> "Jumping Jiminy. They never told me anything. My old lady never told me why they came to this country. I don't know when they married, how they got here. Don't know anything about what they did, how come I was born here, and how come I had to go to Jap school. How come they always want me to learn English when they're always talking Japanese at home? Holy Moley!...I don't know nothing."
>
> "You got any brothers and sisters?"
>
> "Yeah....that kind of stuff I know. Three. Two sisters and a brother. I only know about 'em, though, 'cause outside of my youngest sister I never got a chance to meet 'em except for when I was still a little kid. They were born in Japan and live there with my old man's side of the family. My old man's there with 'em now 'cause he got caught in Japan when the war broke out. They won't let him come back. Doesn't make much difference either 'cause we never seem to have had much of a family life. We worked all the time while my old man sat and drank his sake."

> "Son of a Gun...If we're gonna live like this, we might as well do it for the right side. We could be getting medals, citations, back pay...But shit! Somebody's gotta take care of my old lady and my sis. Can't just leave 'em in this nut house."

Here is a person with a conflict between filial duty, which his cultural community holds as a dominant value, and public duty (fighting with the Nisei unit, the 442nd in World War II), which the national society holds as a dominant value, yet he is in a social position in which (1) he does not understand what his conflict is about, (2) his conflict is trivialized because of his lack of understanding, and (3) there is no support network to help him deal with this conflict. This is a person who has been raised to be a good family member whose family has "forgotten" how to support him.

Hamaguchi (1981) has suggested an alternative position to individualism that he terms "contextualism."

> The fundamental attributes of contextualism are mutual dependence, mutual reliance, and regard for interpersonal relations as an end in itself. This is in diametrical opposition to individualism, which focuses on ego-centeredness, self-reliance, and regard for interpersonal relations as a means.
>
> Contextualism is practiced not by the individual but by a contextual person, who recognizes his or her existence first and foremost in relations with other people....Such a person does not possess an immutable self....The contextual person is characterized by a quality that can be termed joint autonomy (Hamagouchi, 1981, p. 53).

One might say such a person is capable of "responsible autonomy" (Stewart, 1987, personal communication).

So many of the autobiographies, whether in terms of individual persons or of communities, were exclamations saying, "Hey, my history is a very complex one! I am the product of complex dynamics. Do I fit anywhere in the world? Does the world have room for my paradoxes?" (Kingson, 1976, p. 108).

Transforming negative energy into positive energy, or dealing with bitterness. For a minority person this is probably the most crucial dimension in the entire framework. Yet in order to have this ability, the environmental dimensions are crucial; i.e., having a supportive interpersonal mazeway and/or a superordinate purpose or goal.

This alchemical ability is not necessarily a new one in the history of human development. The Hopi tenet of nonresistance has long promoted harmony in Hopi communities:

> Don't fight. Don't think spiteful things about others. Don't try to get even when they hurt you. To seek revenge is to hurt yourself more than you hurt them (Qoyawayma & Carlson, 1964, p. 155).

In the hierarchy of sins in the Catholic Church, despair is the greatest sin. And so it is among the autobiographies read for Wasilewski's (1982) study:

> "Ay," she tried to smile, "life is filled with sadness when a boy grows into a man. But as you grow into manhood you must not despair of life, but gather strength to sustain you - can you understand that?"
>
> The rest of the summer was good for me, good in the sense that I was filled with its richness and I made strength from everything that happened to me, so that in the end even the final tragedy could not defeat me. And that is what Ultima tried to teach me, that the tragic consequences of life can be overcome by the magical strength that resides in the human heart (Anaya, 1972, p. 234).

> It seemed so unfair. But it had been God's decision. We had all been through such times before. And we'd learned...I think, that life gets harder and harder as we move along. You can only continue and be what you can best be, and never give up trying to be better, no matter how many times you are pushed down (King & Riley, 1980, p. 209).

> George was dead, and the deeply personal pain I felt would have strangled me had I not turned it into a proper and properly placed rage. I could not dwell on my own loss. Any individual gnashing of teeth could bring me to my knees. Personal sadness in that still gray cell under the hateful eyes of my jailers might break the cords of will that held me together. George's death would be like a lodestone, a disc of steel deep inside me, magnetically drawing toward it the elements I needed to stay strong and fight all the harder. It would refine my hatred of jailers, position my contempt for the penal system, and cement my bonds with other prisoners. It would give me courage and energy I needed for a sustained war against the malevolent racism that killed him. He was gone, but I was here. His dreams were mine now (Davis, 1974, pp. 319-320).

> "Wilkie, I can't see any reason for living...I'm so unhappy...."
>
> He held me until I finished my babbling.
>
> "Are you finished? Are you finished?" His voice was stern and unsympathetic.
>
> I said, "Well, I guess so."
>
> "Sit down at that desk."
>
> I sat.
>
> "Now see that yellow tablet?...See that pencil?"
>
> I saw it.
>
> "Now, write down what you have to be thankful for."
>
> "Wilkie, I don't want silly answers."

"Start to write...and I mean start now! First, write that you heard me tell you that. So you have the sense of hearing. And that you could tell the taxi driver where to bring you and then tell me what was wrong with you, so you have the sense of speech. You can read and write. You have a son who needs nothing but you. Write, dammit! I mean write."

I picked up the pencil and began.

"I can hear.
I can speak.
I have a son.
I have a mother.
I have a brother.
I can dance.
I can cook.
I can read.
I can write."

When I reached the end of the page I began to feel silly. I was alive and healthy. What on earth did I have to complain about?...What the hell was I whining about?

Wilkie said, "Now write, 'I am blessed. And I am grateful.'"

I wrote the line.

"It's time for you to go to work" (Angelou, 1976, p. 236).

"The sky of Barelas has always been dark for our people!" Hector snarled.

"No, not always," old Manuel reminded them, "the laughter of our children and our music have lighted up many a day, and the love in our families had made the sky bright. Yes, we have lived under the shadow of injustice for a long time, but we have not allowed injustice and poverty to make our existence drab and meaningless. We must remember that in these hard times --" (Anaya, 1976, p. 204).

It concerned me that people were about to become too black, when they knew very well that some people had hurt us because they were too white for too long...you and I know these are bewildering times we live in, but don't lose your way and don't ever let it get so dark you cannot promote a song (King & Riley, 1980, p. 208).

Behaviors/Performance Skills

Flexible coping, general and cultural. When a whole life is reviewed, particularly a life that has been lived in difficult circumstances, it becomes self-evident that a flexible coping style, which includes both passive and active strategies, withdrawal as well as chutzpah, but which is compulsively neither, gives the best chance not only for survival but for a kind of creative flourishing.

Flexible coping is a paramount characteristic of effective minority persons. How well one learns to cope and how flexible one's repertoire of coping behaviors is depends on one's interpersonal mazeway in two ways: (1) for models of effective coping and (2) for number, kind, and variety of experiences. The number, kind, and variety of

experiences one has affect one's ability to cope and adapt simply because coping and adaptation are learned skills and can be improved with practice, and the easiest way to learn these skills is to be surrounded by people who can model these behaviors. As Maya Angelou (1982) stated, she is a survivor because she grew up surrounded by people who knew how to survive.

There is not one person in the entire sample who throughout his or her life functioned effectively in all cultural settings at all times. It takes a lifetime to come to terms with plurality, variety, and diversity. The revelation about how to do it comes one moment at a time (Wasilewski, 1979a, b).

> "Understanding comes with life," he answered, "as a man grows he sees life and death, he is happy and sad, he works, plays, meets people - sometimes it takes a lifetime to acquire understanding, because in the end understanding simply means having a sympathy for people" (Anaya, 1972, p. 237).

And during a lifetime different behaviors are appropriate at differnt times in different circumstances:

> Someday we must forgive just as we must fight now (Miyakawa, 1979, p. 259).
>
> When white people are indiscriminately viewed as the enemy, it is virtually impossible to develop a political solution...I was learning that as long as the Black response to racism remained purely emotional, we would go nowhere. Like the playground fights at Parker High, like the sporadic headless anger of those who fell under police clubs in Alabama - it would solve nothing in the long run (Davis, 1974, p. 148).
>
> Once as a young preacher I worked hard at preaching to move people. Now I want to preach and have people think (King & Riley, 1980, p. 207).

There are times when people acted with great chutzpah, as when Martin Luther King's grandmother beat up a white man who had given Martin Luther King's father a beating when he was a boy. This was in rural Georgia at the turn of the century (King & Riley, 1980, pp. 33-34). Yet this terribly assertive act had to be followed by an extremely passive strategy.

> Too many people had seen how it happened. The only way the mill owner could live it down was just to say no more about it, just let it go. He sure didn't want it around that a farm woman had come up to his mill and whipped him in a fair fight. He knew none of his workers were going to say anything. They had their jobs to think about. So when Mama pulled me away from the mill, I think most of the people there just wanted to pretend that what they'd seen had never happended....
> ...[Mamma] explained to me that any talk about this could mean death. And I knew she was serious. I knew that Negroes had been killed for a lot less (King & Riley, 1980, pp. 33-34).

Sometimes it is necessary to withdraw completely in order to come back and fight another day. After Maya Angelou was raped as a child she was silent for five years, and it was hearing poetry read out loud that finally enabled her to speak again (Angelou, 1970). It is interesting that today her definition of a poetic life is one where the person "takes responsibility for the time they take up and space they occupy on this bit of spit and sand," and that such time and space should not be devoted to lives of "useless virtue" but to the work of human liberation (Angelou, 1982, p. 18).

Ben Senzaki, the "no-no boy" of Tule Lake, withdrew when he was in the stockade even before the hunger strike in order to survive in very hostile conditions (Miyakawa, 1979); the boy called Tortuga withdrew from unspeakable anguish only to emerge again with renewed strength and understanding (Anaya, 1979); and the Chicano lawyer, Acosta, dropped out of the mainstream in order to reintegrate his past and present and a possible future (Acosta, 1972). These withdrawals are times of healing, but they are often misunderstood by a fundamentally assertive national society.

The criterion for choosing an active or passive strategy in a particular situation is ultimately survival: Daddy King's "hardline" between "self-esteem" and being "surrounded by the enemy" (King & Riley, 1980), and Maya Angelou's explanation that most of what the younger generation of Blacks calls "Uncle Toming" was motivated by the need to keep someone else alive, a family, a mother, or a child, and that this bespoke an "incredible love" (Angelou, 1982, p. 20)

The same kind of flexibility with the same choice criterion is required of purely cultural coping. The optimal dynamic is to flow appropriately between the cultural choice strategies identified by Seelye and Wasilewski (1979a), between adherence to first culture patterns, substitution of other culture patterns, addition of other culture patterns, synthesis of several culture patterns, and creation of new cultural space. The only strategy that appears never to be appropriate is subtraction, that is, to give up a cultural behavior and leave a vacuum. Educational policy in the United States has consistently put Native American and Hispanic children into the position of making an unnecessary choice between using tribal languages or Spanish and English, as if it were beyond the realm of human possibility for a person to use more than one language effectively. Native Americans often deal with this schizophrenic false choice by running away or withdrawing into silence (Anaya, 1979; Mitchell & Allen, 1967; Qoyawayma & Carlson, 1964).

Two or more languages can be acquired and maintained. The dynamics for doing this, however, is a matter that must be articulated for each particular situation (Wasilewski, 1979a). Plural societies cannot have universal solutions, solutions that are effective regardless of circumstances. And the decision-maker who chooses among alternative responses and solutions must be the person doing the coping and adapting, not some agent outside the person's experience. Fred Kabotie (1977) illustrates this. He decided to attend public high

school in Phoenix instead of continuing at the Indian School because he wanted to speak standard as well as "Indian-School-English." The central orientation was a wish to be effective in his participation in all his linguistic communities.

It becomes apparent that acquiring alternative cultural patterns, both linguistic and behavioral, is definitely more successful when it is seen to be an additive strategy that increases one's range of possible responses, thus enabling one to walk on many paths. Geronimo, for instance, was so adept at acquiring alternative patterns that he quickly developed a cunning business sense a la the white man and, while in captivity at Fort Sill, began producing bows and arrows to sell to earn "pocket money" (Ball, 1980, Barrett, 1970). This new behavior did not make him any less Indian, it helped ameliorate the quality of his life in captivity, both financially and as a relief from boredom.

Over and over again, the additive strategy emerges as an effective means of coping and adapting. The idea of having at one's disposal a whole repertoire of behaviors that enable one to participate in life far beyond the boundaries of one's natal community, but without giving up the behaviors that make one effective in that community as well, is healthy.

Choosing oneself. To "choose" oneself is the behavioral analogue of the competency labeled "organization of diversity." It is the act of behaviorally acting out one's diversity and of enabling one's environment to accept the diversity inherent in a culturally plural person.

This is a dual process, occuring vis a vis both the minority community and the larger society, and it requires each person's choice about how to order his or her own diversity. This process cannot be carried out according to the dictates of some exterior agent, be it minority community elders or peers or mainstream mentors.

Avoidance of the "empathic fallacy" (Grey, 1981) underlies the ability to choose oneself. Japanese Americans during World War II who were interned and then asked to make choices between registering as loyal or disloyal, as willing or not willing to fight, did much better if the person chose according to his own dictates and not according to those of his parents or friends (Houston & Houston, 1973; Miyakawa, 1979; Okada, 1976; Sone, 1979). This maintenance of a "centered" locus of choice was even more important because the choices were imposed from the outside by people who were not cognizant of the conflicts these "choices" were causing regarding filial and public duty, a fear of having to fight relatives, and a refusal to participate in registration at all because not only it but the act of "relocation" itself was perceived to be unconstitutional.

When one chooses to act on one's own sense of oneself, sometimes one is breaking a stereotype, choosing a new way of being in the world. Very often the minority person in the United States is caught between false alternatives.

"It's either California, or going to work on the highway...."
"Bullshit!...Why does it have to be just those two choices?"
(Anaya, 1972, p. 62).

Which is why Maya Angelou dedicates the third volume of her autobiography "to the other real brothers who encouraged me to be bodacious enough to invent my own life daily" (1974).

Sometimes the minority community is as intolerant of enlarged behavioral repertoires as the dominant society is of "different" behaviors. Polingaysi Qoyawayma's (1964) decision to build a big house caused endless comment on second Mesa:

> Everyone had been working on her house - the boys, her father, sister Anna. Still it went up slowly, partly because Polingaysi was not content with a small "Hopi" house. She wanted room, lots of room, in her home.
>
> The village gossips had a field day with her latest venture, the piano purchase.
>
> "Where will your proud daughter put a piano?" they asked her mother. "Will she carry it around with her?"
>
> "Maybe she will make you carry it on your back, as you would carry her babies if she had any," another wit said slyly.
>
> The story got around and the villagers laughed. One wag, with nothing more constructive to do, drew a picture on a rock near the village. It showed an old Hopi woman bent beneath the weight of a piano. Sevanka was humiliated. Polingaysi was furious. She knew only too well that the villagers, unable to influence her directly, were taking out their spite on her by persecuting her defenseless parents.
>
> The attitude of the villagers made her the more determined to provide well for her parents....
>
> Polingaysi sometimes realized that she was forever on the defensive, both with her own people and the white people...
>
> "Let my people laugh," she thought defiantly,..."I'll show them. I'll reach my goals in spite of them."
>
> They laughed, looking at the size of the house she was building - she, an unmarried woman. They laughed harder when she added a bathroom to her floor plan and had pipes laid for water. "Where's she going to get water for that big house of hers?" they asked each other. "There's no water in the other houses of the village, and no one knows when it will be brought to the village."
>
> Polingaysi's reaction was to build a kitchen sink and install lavatories in each bedroom. Many years later water was brought to the village. Polingaysi was one of the first to apply for a permit to use it. "You white people taught us sanitation," she told the government authorities, "now make it possible for us to practice it. My house is ready for water. Please connect it with the supply."
>
> But Polingaysi was not happy in her house. She moved her piano into the living room and took her housekeeping with pride, but the look of the house bothered her. Its hip roof of galvanized iron was not in harmony with the village of flatroofed rock houses. They blended into the landscape like extensions of the rosy earth itself. Her house stood out, raw and unlovely.

> Besides, it was not large enough. Within a year or so she had the roof torn off, added more rooms, and found new joy in it when it began to look like a pueblo dwelling.
>
> "The first design was a resisting of Hopi culture," she told herself in a moment of enlightment. "It didn't belong here., This one does. But it is still not large enough. I shall add more rooms...someday" (Qoyawayma & Carlson, 1964, pp. 133-135).

She was made to feel that by acquiring other behaviors and goals, behaviors and goals not previously or at least not widely held by the community, she was somehow abandoning the community.

In her efforts to be a bridge between the white and Hopi worlds, Qoyawayma often went through periods when everyone was displeased with her. The Hopi called her a "two-heart," a witch, someone who brings disharmony to the people. Her white friends accused her of being an ungrateful backslider when she would not condemn her people as devil worshipers. Yet she persevered, taking the best of both worlds:

> I tell all young people this: "Your foundation is in your parents and your home, as well as in your Hopi cultural patterns. Evaluate the best there is in your own culture and hang on to it, for it will always be foremost in your life; but do not fail to take also the best from other cultures to blend with what you already have. We are not a boastful people, so do not allow your educational advantages to make you feel contempt for the older ones of no education who have made your progress possible. Give them credit for the good there is in them and for the love they have in their hearts for you. Don't boast, but on the other hand, don't set limitations on yourselves. If you want more and still more education, reach out for it without fear. You have in you the qualities of persistence and endurance. Use them" (Qoyawayma & Carlson, 1964, p. 180).

Sometimes, the decision to be oneself is a wrenching one involving one's closest interpersonal relationships. At other times it is a demand by a minority group person for reconceptualization on the part of the mainstream society of that group's experience in the United States. Occasionally the decision to be oneself is a quiet statement of inalterable fact. A fortunate few are enabled to be self-choosing from birth, not egotistically, but affirmatively. Tomato, a character in Miyakawa's Tule Lake (1979), is one such person.

> I think of Tomato. His gift is to see, and to see truly: what he sees is not oppressive, but reassuring...
>
> Peripherally, I see movement...
>
> It is Tomato, dressed in Khaki. He stands at attention, arm in a mock salute. "Joined up so I could get a uniform, be loyal, visit a disloyal friend. My ticket to decency, good red-blooded Americanism." With his salute hand he raps himself gently on his chest. He points to his arm. "And wouldn't you know it too, corporal stripes from the beginning! None of that private stuff for this ol' Boochie."
>
> "How did you get that uniform so quick? You haven't been to boot camp yet?"

"Travel uniform. Makes it easier for a Japojin to get from place to place. Army don't want any of their doggies getting lynched on the road."

"And the corporal stripes?"

"Had to work for it. When I bring up the matter of age and year of upper education they just sort of look at me like I'm some kinda pesky mosquito. They being too lazy to get up and squish me, they try to do it by lookin' as evil as they can. Then further down they come to my record as master welder, rivet rupturer, fillet weld welder, metal melter...that's me, I tell 'em. Proficient in all them arts. So they give me rank. None of that rags-to-riches-startin'-from-the-bottom-stuff."

I look him up and down, noting the distance between shoe and pants cuff..."Oh! The pant legs. You got to excuse my old lady for that. She ain't exactly had long and meritorious service when it comes to washing and ironing doggies' uniforms. She tossed the whole wool works in the extra hot water...To compensate I try to keep the waist at half-mast without losing the whole works!...When I bring the pants in, a guy at supply says we got the shortest pants in the whold damned U.S. Army for you monkeys and first thing you do is go out and make 'em even shorter. Pygmy length, the guy calls it. So that's me - Corporal Tomita reporting in his pygmy pants."...

"Where are they headed?"

"Monterey Army language school. They need interpreters for the Pacific theater. Want to help American win the war, but don't want to end up killing any relatives"...

There are no traces of humor now..."It's time to move on, but it'll sure feel strange to leave this place [the "relocation" camp at Tule Lake] and become an interpreter against my own relatives and ancestors."

"You don't have to worry about the ancestors. Besides, the war will end soon."

"I think you're right. And then maybe, I'll get a chance to find out myself what this true Japanese business is all about. Maybe I'll end up a soldier in Japan."

"A lot safer way of going back than renouncing."

"Amen. This way I can be sure of getting back where I belong."

..."What you going to do, Ben? Stick it out here?"

"Have to. There's going to be a lot of broken lives to help pull together."

"There'll be that, okay," Tomato says. "Lots of questions to be answered, for us, for our kids. Well, it's going to blow over some day, and we're gonna go back where we came from and start all over again."...

He is gone. Through the door passes the last vestige of pre-war Nihonmachi (Miyakawa, 1979, pp. 323-328).

One thing that health workers can do to nurture this "seeing truly," this affirmative stance, inb their clients is to come to terms with their own diversity themselves, to have fought battles against simplification in the name of administrative efficiency, to have themselves

decided to catch Portillo Trambley's "full colors of life" (1975, in Mirande & Enriquez, 1979). It is then that they will best be able to facilitate a healing environment that will hold public stereotypes, orginating in both minority and dominant communities, at bay while allowing people to process, to be in touch with their whole experience, and to manifest the complex patterns of their own uniqueness, a uniqueness as intricate and idiosyncratic as their thumbprints.

Conclusion: The Critical Issue In Native American Coping And Adaptation

The critical issue in effective Native American coping and adaptation is that the community continues in the contemporary world. Each Indian community exists nowhere else in the world. If a community "disappears," it and its communal wisdom are lost to humankind forever.

On the personal level this translates into the problem of how to be a contemporary tribal person. This remains largely pioneer work. Role models are still scarce.

For the young this is a particular challenge. After long years of education they have to come back to the community and create new roles for themselves, roles that did not exist in traditional culture, and, traditionally, new roles were certainly not initiated by the young.

Yet contemporary Indian demographics are revolutionizing Indian society all by themselves. The fact is that the young vastly outnumber the elders. How are the elders going to continue the one on one, experiential, observational learning of old? What affect will the necessity of socializing these vast numbers of young people have on cultural continuity? "Indian school marriages" (marriages between two people from different tribes who met at Indian boarding schools) and the fact that over half of all Indians today live in urban communities further complicates this issue of cultural continuity.

But the greatest threat to the continuation of tribal communities remains the 500 years of contact with a highly contrastive cultural system. Native societies have been in a state of intense spiritual crisis, spiritual "dis-ease," if you will, because traditional medicine could not cure European diseases (which often wiped out indigenous leadership structures literally overnight) and because traditional technology was no match for the European variety (see Wallace, 1970; Welch, 1986).

> "Sun Chief favors the Napikwans [the white people]. Perhaps it's because they come from the east where he rises each day to begin his journey. Perhaps they are old friends. Perhaps the Pikunis do not honor him enough, do not sacrifice enough. He no longer takes pity on us" (Welch, 1986, p. 177).

However something strange is happening...It is as if the linear reality of Euro-American thought has bumped against the curvature of Einstein's universe, circled back on itself and is now ready to entertain the cyclic reality of traditional Native American thought with

its idea of maintaining balance within a dynamic, but finite system. At last Europe is ready to negotiate its rules and meanings because, although these rules and meanings seem functional in the short run, in the long run they are proving to be dysfunctional. The cosmic cycle is poised for another level of integration.

EPILOGUE

During the work on this and earlier studies the researcher (Wasilewski, 1979a, b; 1982; Seelye & Wasilewski, 1979a) became confirmed in an already growing suspicion that there exists a profound misunderstanding of plural societies. The complexity of the varying communal experiences in such societies is consistently underestimated. In fact, by first characterizing the framework as "a sources-of-variance framework of coping and adaptation by minority people in a plural society with a dominant group," the situation was oversimplified. It should properly be characterized as "a plural immigrant society that has aboriginal first peoples and a dominant group."

It was in contact with those aboriginal first people who were already living in a plural society that eighteenth-century European thinkers developed their ideas about democracy (Deloria, 1979). Redfield's (1935) 100-year cycle of two cultures in contact (where the subordinate culture accepts the dominant culture, is in turn rejected by it, then withdraws, and finally demands participation, culminating in mutual innovation and transformation) seems to characterize accurately the dynamics we have seen take place in the autobiographies. However, the time for the cycle to complete itself would seem in many cases to exceed 100 years.

The autobiographies also make it self-evident that adaptation is indeed mutual; e.g., Hopis are moving into the geographically more extensive temporal white world, whereas whites are increasingly interested in the esotric cosmic world of the Hopi. It is a moot point to discuss which world is "larger." True adaptation takes place reciprocally, with minorities acquiring new behaviors to participate in dominant group activities (especially economic ones) and with the dominant group also acquiring new behaviors to allow increased participation by different "others." A minority culture is "not a problem to be solved, but rather an integral contribution to the understanding of the entire human experience" (Lindborg & Ovando, 1977, p. 212), and when the understandings of each cultural group in a plural society are shared, everyone is enriched.

As minority peoples write both their individual and communal histories, our national history becomes increasingly rich and complex because we are gradually piecing together the story of how we all participated in that history, not just a few Puritans on the northeastern coast.

Scott Momaday in his autobiography, Names (1976), and Leslie Marmon Silko in her autobiography, Storyteller (1981), present us in the form of collages the stories of their complex heritages, Cherokee, white, and Kiowa on the one hand and Laguna, Anglo, and Spanish on the other. Each of these stories contributes to the emerging fractal history of our plural society, that is, a history characterized by fringed interfaces, not by clean, hard boundaries.

Simultaneously, Maxine Hong Kingston (1975, 1980) and Shawn Wong (1979) are writing the story of the Chinese in America, creating

> legends with spirit....We are buried in every town; Cascade, Tamarack, Cisco, Emigrant Gap, Blue Canyon, China Ranch, Shady Run, Dutch Flat, and Gold Run....Each town is a day in a journal, an entry in a diary, a letter, a prayer (Wong, 1979, pp. 112, 114).

For when Wong's great-grandfather finished building the railroad, the Chinese were chased back to San Francisco, and "they burned their letters, diaries, poems, anything with names" (Wong, 1979, p. 2) for fear of deportation. Was there really a Chinese "bone-hunter" sent by the Tong to send the bones of Chinese who died building the railroad back to China, and did he really marry a Native American in the Southwest, leaving Chinese Indian descendants in Acoma Pueblo (Wong, 1979, pp. 96-98)? There are other alternatives to being "a Chinese foreigner or a fake white American" (Chin, 1976, in Okada, 1976). As Miyakawa (1979) admonishes, speaking of the Japanese Americans interned during World War II:

> Within the boundaries of the "farthest corners" is a diversity of people few Caucasians understand (Miyakawa, 1979, p. 114).

Seelye and Wasilewski's (1981) research with Hispanic children indicates that one of the most effective aids to coping and adaptation a person can have is a strong sense of personal history, a coherent personal narrative. The story does not have to be one without problems, but rather one in which experience is articulated and given context. An environment that allows a person to articulate all aspects of his or her reality is potentially a potent agent of empowerment. And most of the particular stories of members of the approximately 700 remaining groups of people whose names for themselves simply mean "The People," the histories of all these communities of Native Americans, Aleuts, Eskimos and Alaska Natives currently living in the United States are still yet to be shared with the larger society.

Yet the plural history of this country is so much more interesting than its homogenous version; it is a saga of how diverse peoples struggle to find ways of cooperating with each other, of living with each other synergistically. It is a sense of this struggle, this superordinate goal, that empowers.

APPENDIX I:

Materials Used

Adair, John
The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmiths

Ashton, Robert, Jr.
"Nampeyo and Lesou"

Ashton, Robert, & Ashton, Sharon
"The Indians of Paul Pletka"

Ball, Eve; Henn, Nora; & Sanchez, Lynda
Indeh: An Apache Odyssey

Barrett, S. M.
Geronimo: His Own Story

Bartimus, Ted
"Lost Tribe, All-but-Forgotten Kickapoos Scratch Out a Life in Limbo"

Bell, Robert C. (Ed.)
Nihinaa Hozhqqgo Ndaniitin: In Beauty We Teach

Bennett, Kay*
Kaibah: Recollection of a Navajo Girlhood

Benton, William
"T. C. Cannon: The Masked Dandy"

Blair, Wink
"Lelooska"

Boyd, Doug
Rolling Thunder

Brody, J. J.
Indian Painters and White Patrons

Carter, Forrest**
The Education of Little Tree

Coffer, William E. (Koi Hosh)
Phoenix: The Decline and Rebirth of the Indian People

Collins, John E.
Hopi Traditions in Pottery and Painting Honoring Grace Chapella, Potter

Culley, Lou Ann Faris
"Helen Hardin: A Retrospective"

Deloria, Vine
The Metaphsics of Modern Existence

Dyk, Walter (Recorder)
Son of Old Man Hat: A Navajo Autobiography

Edmunds, R. David (Ed.)
Studies in Diversity: American Indian Leaders

Ellison, Rosemary
"The Artistry and Genius of Julius Caesar"

Falk, Randolph**
Lelooska
Fox, Nancy
"Rose Gonzales"
Frisbie, Charlotte J., & McAllester, David P.
Navajo Blessingway Singer: The Autobiography of Frank Mitchell, 1881-1967
Halifax, Joan*
Shamanic Voices: A Survey of Visionary Narratives
Hess, Bill
"The White Mountain Apache: Seeking the Best of Two Worlds"
Highwater, Jamake
Anpao: An American Indian Odyssey
The Sweet Grass Lives On: Fifty Contemporary North American Indian Artists
Hurst, Tricia
R. C. Gorman: The Posters
Jones, David E.*
Sanapia: Comanche Medicine Woman
Josephy, Alvin M., Jr.
Red Power: The American Indians' Fight for Freedom
Kabotie, Fred, & Belknap, Bill***
Fred Kabotie: Hopi Indian Artist
Kandarian, Sally M., & Hardin, Helen
"Santa Fe Indian Market"
Katz, Jane B. (Ed.)
I Am the Fire of Time: The Voices of Native American Women
Kerr, Jennifer
"Indian College Reaches Firm Ground with Grant"
Laird, Carobeth
Encounter with an Angry God
LeFree, Betty
Santa Clara Pottery Today
Link, Martin A.
Treaty Between the United States of America and the Navajo Tribe of Indians with a Record of the Discussions That Led to Its Signing
Locke, Raymond Friday
The Book of the Navajo
Luckert, Karl W., & Cooke, Johnny C., Navajo Interpreter
Coyoteway
Lupe, Ronnie
"The Apache: At Peace with the Past, in Step with the Future"
Lurie, Nancy Oestreich (Ed.)*
Mountain Wolf Woman: Sister of Crashing Thunder: The Autobiography of a Winnebago Woman

Mails, Thomas E., & Dallas Chief Eagle*
Fools Crow
Marriott, Alice
Maria: The Potter of San Ildefonso
Maxwell Museum of Anthropology
Seven Families in Pueblo Pottery
McNickle, D'Arcy*
Wind From an Enemy Sky
Medicine, Bea
The Native American Woman: A Perspective
Minge, Ward Alan
Acoma: Pueblo in the Sky
Mitchell, Emerson Blackhorse, & Allen, T. D.**
Miracle Hill: The Story of a Navajo Boy
Momaday, N. Scott**
House Made of Dawn
The Way to Rainy Mountain
The Names: A Memior
Momaday, Natachee Scott
Owl in the Cedar Tree
Monthan, Guy, & Monthan, Doris
Art and Indian Individualists: The Art of Seventeen Contemporary Southwestern Artists and Craftsmen
"Larry Golsch: Earth, Sky, Nature, Life, Man, Time, Art"
"Ha-So-De: One of First Individualists"
"Dextra Quotskiyva Nampeyo"
"Helen Cordero"
"John Hoover: Aleut Sculptor"
"Daybreak Star Center"
"The Unpredictable R. C. Gorman"
Moon, Michael E.*
John Medicinewolf
Nelson, Mary Carroll*
"Pablita Velarde"
Newcomb, Franc Johnson
Hosteen Clah: Navajo Medicine Man and Sand Painter
Ortiz, Simon J.*
A Good Journey
Perlman, Barbara
"Paladin: Dream Image Painter"
Peterson, Jack
"The Making of a Series: PBS's American Indian Artists"
Qoyawayma, Polingaysi (Elizabeth White), & Carlson, Vada F.
**No Turning Back: A Hopi Indian Woman's Struggle to Live in Two Worlds*
The Sun Girl

Quintero, Nita
"Coming of Age the Apache Way"
Richards, Tally
"Indian in Paris"
Robbins, Pearne L.**
"What is an Indian?"
Rosen, Kenneth (Ed.)*
The Man to Send Rain Clouds: Contemporary Stories by American Indians
Salero, Nan F., & Vanderburgh, Rosamond M.
Shaman's Daughter
Sanchez, Thomas*
Rabbit Boss
Native Notes From the Land of Earthquake and Fire
Savala, Refugio*
Autobiography of a Yaqui Poet
Scholder, Fritz
"Scholder on Scholder: A Self-Interview"
Sekaquaptewa, Helen & Udall, Louise**
Me and Mine
Shaw, Anna Moore**
A Pima Past
Silko, Leslie Marmon**
Ceremony
Storyteller
Simmons, Leo W. (Ed.)*
Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian
Spicer, Edward M., & Thompson, Raymond H. (Eds.)
Plural Society in the Southwest
Stacey, Joseph
The American Indians of Abelita..."His People"
Dan naminga, July 1-July 17
Standing Bear, Luther*
My People the Sioux
Steiner, Stan
**"The New Indians"
The Vanishing White Man
Spirit Woman: The Diaries and Paintings of Bonita Wa Wa Calachaw Nunez, an American Indian

Tabor, Gail
"Going Across Cultures to Offer a Healing Hand: Vikki Stevens and Dennis Little"

Tanner, Clara Lee
Southwest Indian Painting: A Changing Art

Weaver, Thomas (Ed.)
Indians of Arizona; A Contemporary Perspective

Weisman, Alan
"Paladin's Modern Vision"

Welch, James**
Winter in the Blood
Fools Crow

Wells, Helen Pinion
"The Heard Museum"

Wilson, James
The Original Americans: U.S. Indians

Winters, John A.
"The 16 Tribes" (Pima, Papago, Paiutes, Chemehuevi, Yaqui, Tewa, Havasapai, Walapai, Yavapai, Mohave, Quechan, Cocpah, Maricopa, Hopi, Navajo, Apache)

Witt, Shirley Hill, & Steiner, Stan (Eds.)*
The Way: An Anthology of American Indian Literature

Wright, Barton
"Book Review: Hopi Painting: The World of the Hopis by Patricia Janis Broder"

Young, Joe Nathan
The Pottery Jewels of Joseph Lonewolf

Young Bear, Ray
Winter of the Salamander: The Keeper of Importance

"Indian Groups Sue for 20% of New York State"
Arizona Indian Now: The Voice of Arizona Indians
The Navajo Times
Pueblo News: Tesuque, Zia, Zuni, Acoma, Cochiti, Isleta, Jemez, Laguna, Nambe, Picuris, Pojoaque, Sandia, Santa Ana, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Taos

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Note: The items listed in this figure constitute the original universe of life history materials used in this study. A single * indicates that that item (or all the items listed under a particular arthor) was a part of the sample used to construct the sources-of-variance framework. Two ** indicate that the item was used both as part of the sample to construct the sources-of-variance framework and as a part of that used to identify powerfully recurring sources of variance.

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APPENDIX II

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS

SUMMARY OF DIALOGUES WITH HEALTH CARE PROFESSIONALS AND COMMUNITY WORKERS ON MARKERS FOR FUNCTIONALITY AND DYSFUNCTIONALITY IN INDIVIDUALS, KINSHIP NETWORKS, AND COMMUNITIES IN INDIAN COUNTRY, PARTICULARLY AS REGARDS THE MANAGEMENT OF DIABETES, ALCOHOL AND OTHER SUBSTANCE ABUSE AND SUICIDE.

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It is a matter of transitions, you see; the changing, the becoming must be closely cared for. You would do as much for the seedlings as they become plants in the field (Ceremony, Silko, 1977, p. 130).

i must be like a bridge
for my people.
i may connect time; yesterday
today and tomorrow - for my people
who are in transition, also
i must be enough in tomorrow, to give warning -
if I should.
i must be enough in yesterday to hold a cherished secret.
Does it seem like we are walking as one?
(Bridge Perspective, Irene Nakai, To'ahani, 1986)

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INTRODUCTION

For the past year LaDonna Harris, President and Executive Director of Americans for Indian Opportunity (AIO) and Dr. Jacqueline Waskilewski, AIO's Assistant for Policy, have been dialoguing with health care professionals and community health workers in Indian Country (see Appendix I) exploring the question, "What are the key markers for functionality and dysfunctionality in individuals, kinship networks and communities in Indian Country, particularly in the management of diabetes, alcohol and other substance abuse and suicide?" These dialogues have taken place face-to-face, on the telephone and as part of AIO's annual meeting and as part of helping to organize a National Red Cross Conference on outreach to Indian youth and a National Indian Health Conference on health promotion and disease prevention. What follows is a listing which attempts to synthesize and summarize the ideas and concepts generated in these discussions. Hopefully, no one's contribution has been misrepresented. Dr. Wasilewski tried to remain as true to each person's comments as possible while at the same time underlining patterns of convergence. This is a working paper, an exercise in thought clarification.

A list was created in an attempt to clarify the interconnected dynamics of what initially looks like a viscious circle. The main pattern is that persons who do not get diabetes, do not have a problem with alcohol or other substance abuse or who do not attempt suicide feel that they are in control of their own destinies, that they are powerful. People who recover from the above maladies also feel the same way. Thus, any intervention in Indian Country ought to deal primarily with issues of power and powerlessness, with the individual's and community's power to change "conditions which are outside any person's control, but not beyond the power of individuals to overcome" (Gordon, Indian Youth in America, 1986, p. 2). From whence does this empowerment come?

Indian people have a great understanding of circles, and the image of the Medicine Wheel, the Great Circle of Understanding, the Spinning Hoop of Life gives some clues on how to break into viscious circles.

> "The pattern begins in the North and ends there. Thus the words to the left and right of North are 'Peace' - N - 'Sensitivity.' The arrow ends up somewhere in the NW and must also arc. This is the point at which energy/perception is introduced from outside to modify the Earth-drawn Medicine Wheel into the Great Spinning Hoop of Life.
>
> I'm not sure how to image this, but the rest of the story is that in dancing with the direction of the Hoop you are dancing the Great Circle of Understanding. At some point you spin with the Hoop in such a way that you are one with it. At that point centripital force can, if you select to dis-

> enage yourself from the Circle Dance, carry you into the Center of the Hoop in a Spiral Dance in which Center lies Understanding. This is how you Pass Through the Center of the Circle of Understanding, becoming one with this New Perception . . and move briskly on to the next question!
>
> Sensitivity & Perception -
> Communication & Respect -
> Community & Individuality -
> Energy --> Conflict & Peace -
>
> You see how it is. How sensitivity leads to perception which is the focus of the East and yet it doesn't stop there, for perception also enables communication; as respect enables community; as individuality leads to conflict. It is at this point that the energy is symbolized by the stroke of the stick which impells the Great Spinning Hoop of Life. The energy is part of the circle, enabled by individuality, yet the arrow, the stroke, the stick comes from outside -- meaning that we must always get outside of our comfortable circle to enable its progression. Eagle vision..." (Spencer, 1986).

Or a paradigm shift.

LARGER SOCIAL CONTEXT

1) The larger social context in which Indian individuals, families and extended kinship networks, communities and tribal governments must function is

> "one of oppression...Loss of one's traditional way of life and lack of control over one's present situation causes deep anger, grief, confusion in identity and injury to self-worth, both as single persons and as a whole people" (Dessel, 1986, p. 4).

When this larger social context is not actively oppressive, it is ignorant or oblivious to Indian realities.

2) High rates of change and/or instability cause high levels of stress in low status individuals which produce profound endocrinological changes (Albee, 1986, p. 892). These changes are related to increased incidence of physical disease, anxiety, depression, obesity, etc. Kerr (Rauseo, personal communication, 1986) traced patterns of earlier onset of cancer and diabetes in each succeeding generation of high risk families.

3) However, individuals, families and extended kinship networks, communities and tribal governments which are able to function effectively in what is basically a pathological national and/or local social environment see themselves as self-determining, as able to obtain what they need...as powerful. They have the ability to address underlying dynamics, real issues, not just symptoms.

4) People who recover from alcoholism and who manage their diabetes through exercise and proper nutrition also see themselves as being in control of their own lives.

5) Exercising such control re the management of alcoholism and diabetes is empowering in other areas.

6) Primary prevention and intervention programs, therefore, must deal first with issues of perceived power and powerlessness.

ASSERTION/FAMILY SYSTEMS PERSPECTIVE

1) The well-being of Indian people and communities, however, cannot await the transformation of the larger society. Rather it will be Indian communities asserting their own self-determination which will help transform the larger society.

2) Part of this assertion is articulating the micro-histories of each Indian individual, family and kinship network, community and tribe. The dominant society says this is not important, but such narratives are profoundly linked to the positive self-esteem generated by understanding one's own pattern of complex interactions in a plural society like ours.

3) The family systems perspective with its emphasis on differentiation enables people to pull-up or increase their functioning, to be profoundly assertive, while remaining connected, while continuing to relate.

4) An indicator of greater Indian power/self-determination is the creation of the National Center for American Indian and Alaska Native Research in Denver with federal funds under Indian leadership.

MULTICULTURATION/GRIEF WORK

1) The highest functionality of Indian individuals, families and extended kin networks, communities and tribal governments depends on their being able to deal effectively with the interface between tribal and Euro-American worlds, depends on their being functional in both worlds. It is an and-and strategy, not an either/or strategy. Such highly functional persons have two discrete domains and can move fluidly between them. Linguistically, for example, the tribal language is the language of family love and English is the language of the market place.

2) Medium functionality is achieved by a person who is functional either in tribal or Euro-American culture.

3) The worst case is the person who can function effectively in neither culture.

4) High functionality is a process, not of "deculturalation" and/or assimilation, but of bi-or multiculturation (with the balance between and pattern of Indian and Euro-American elements determined by each person/family/community).

5) The question is how to make the transition between traditional and contemporary tribal culture in as functional a way as possible. It is a creative act and involves the transformation of symbols and metaphors. Even where tribal religion and language have been badly eroded or even lost, something Indian still remains, often in a hybrid form. There are often cultural renaissances, and new creations occur like the Native American Church.

6) Since every Indian community has sustained a loss (a loss of culture - usually relgion and/or language, a loss of leadership - historically often because of disease, and a loss of its traditional economic base - for example, the buffalo), the communities are engaged in a grieving process with each community at a different place in the process, particularly as regards the interaction between loss and anger.

7) Where each community is in the grief cycle depends on

   a) its acculturation dynamics;
   b) the time elapsed since it suffered disruptions in its traditional culture; and
   c) the multiplicity and extent of disruptions suffered.

8) A community's present acculturation dynamics with the combined stresses of deculturation (loss of traditional culture), acculturation (learning a new culture), cultural maintenance and the creation of new cultural space depend on

   a) Generational Pattern
      The contact generation remains most at home in traditional world.
      The second generation is rapidly acculturating, is often ashamed of being Indian, but has trouble functioning in the Euro-American world.
      The third generation is often more comfortable in the Euro-American world, especially if raised in an urban area (often as a result of the post World War II "relocation" program) and has trouble functioning in the traditional world unless their parents made sure they spent adequate time in both enviroments.

The third and fourth generation are often engaged in a search for their "roots." These individuals, when they return, are often disruptive in reservation communities.

All the above is historically exacerbated by a 25-35% adoption rate outside the community and the boarding school system.

The goal is to be able to function appropriately in both cultures, to achieve true bonding in the tribal community without having to be there all the time, to, as an Oneida friends says, "be able to walk on both legs."

b) Geograpnical Pattern

Indians in the East are more acculturated than Indian in the West (e.g., the Navajo are where the Menominee were two generations ago, however, the size and relative isolation of the Navajo community has influenced this slow acculturation rate).

c) Historical Pattern

Communities have proto-historical and historical patterns of culture change from being hunter/gathers to warrior/raiders to pastoralists to farmers (not necessarily in that order).

Some groups made previous adaptations to Spanish and French culture before having to adapt to Anglo culture.

A group's ability to adapt successfully in the past influences their ability to adapt presently.

Historically, the most vulnerable elements to acculteration pressure, those most easily eroded, are religion and language.

COMMUNITY MARKERS OF FUNCTIONALITY

1) The community believes it can solve its problems, including overcoming the "small pie" syndrome (wonawizi in Lakota, or jealousy), where leadership factions in the community fight over wealth, prestige and power which is perceived to be scarce.

2) All local leadership becomes involved in resetting the community's norms in those cases where dysfunction has become the norm either because old controls are not functioning or there never were traditional controls for a new set of dynamics.

3) The matriarchal system reasserts itself in community affairs and particularly in health care in such a way that it is positive and constructive rather than disruptive. The strength of the CHR program is in the manner in which it has empowered Native American women, not only in their own communities but in the Euro-American community as well.

4) Meaningful male roles begin to be created, role appropriate for contemporary tribal societies, especially in the old warrior societies.

5) Present leaders bring along future leaders.

6) Community pride and power are reflected in public buildings, particularly those for use by children and the elderly, the community's most vulnerable members. Private housing is also in good condition but this is secondary. The federal government's Indian policy was articulated architecturally. Those communities which were built around forts and whose public buildings still reflect that format still do not belong to their members and usually exhibit an air of communal depression. Those communities where the tribe is doing a lot of building do belong to their members. This architectual design activity resonates with the institutional design activity reflected in moves to adapt IRA Constitutions to community values and preferred modes of organization.

7) The community has achieved some continuity in its economic life.

8) Alcohol and substance abuse have declined.

9) The general formal educational level has risen.

10) Many different kinds of achievement are honored in the community. There are benefit dances for finishing college as well as boot camp.

FAMILY/KINSHIP NETWORK MARKERS OF FUNCTIONALITY

1) Leadership is devoted to the support and/or recovery of the kinship network (network of people related by blood and/or marriage, the tiyospaye in Lakota).

2) Members of the kinship network cease to function as "enablers" in AA terms.

3) What does the previous generation look like? How was this generation parented? There are multigenerational patterns of function and dysfunction. For instance, suicides often have "violence clusters" in their backgrounds, and this generation's leaders are often the children of the last generations leaders.

4) Intervention, however, is more difficult with high status families.

INDIVIDUAL MARKERS OF FUNCTIONALITY

1) There are two questions. Who never gets sick? Who gets well?

2) Positive

Internal locus of control - control own life and own recovery.
Able to articulate, verbalize.
True bonding with tribal community whether there all the time or not.
Have someone to talk to.
Have someone they can trust.
Have models and mentors.
Strong self-identity amidst multiple roles (or identity encompasses all roles, and/and model).
Strong cultural ties.
Strong traditional ties.
Strong spiritual base (seems to innoculate against bitterness); participation in traditional activities does not necessarily mean deep spirituality; more of a marker in communities which have lost a lot of their culture; must resolve white/Indian spiritual values clashes.
Commitment to positive change.

Negative

Passive anger.
Hostile dependency.
Isolated/no intimacy/percieved parental rejection*.
Poor school performance.
Negative world view: helpless, hopeless.

*Is experiencing alienation within family or tribe more damaging than experiencing alienation vis a vis the larger society?

LANGUAGE AND HEALTH CARE

1) The English language's subjunctive way of dealing with the future is a problem for many speakers of Indian languages, i.e. "If you take your medicine, then you'll get better," "if....., then....."

2) This is a particular problem with chronic conditions (like diabetes), conditions that will never be cured. Traditional medicine cures ratner than controls.

3) Traditionally any imagining of a negative future can be fraught with danger, as it might bring misfortune.

4) These linguistic problems contribute to the health care professional's habit of defining a patient who does not follow directions as a "bad" patient.

DESIGNING INTERVENTIONS

1) The community must be the unit of analysis, the client, the patient. Indian cultures have socialism (valuing the tribe over the individual) and personalism (valuing persons over things) as primary values as contrasted to Euro-American culture which has individualism (valuing the private individual over the social group) and materialism (valuing things, profit and property, more than people) as primary values.

2) Prevention, promotion and treatment programs must involve local leadership from the beginning.

3) They should enhance individual/tribal control and emphasize that the individual/tribe can solve its problems.

4) They should build on community/tribal values, not on negatives and not on external values (the strength and flexibility of tribal communities is exhibited in their continued existence).

5) They should approach health holistically, including physical, mental and spiritual dimensions, especially those that resonate with traditional concepts such as the body's needing to be in balance.

6) To get the individual's or the community's attention you must appeal to them where they are, according to their values, and build on their logic. One cannot tell by looking at someone what their experiences and conceptions are, one must ferret them out.

7) Programs should enable learning by example and emulation, through sharing personal stories, role playing, ceremonies, music, drawing, through movies, video and other audiovisual materials to enhance communication with people coming from oral traditions (e.g., have VCR's in waiting rooms to convey health messages).

SALIENT CHARACTERISTICS OF MODEL INTERVENTIONS

1) Alkalai Lake

   a) It is a model community, group therapy experience.
   b) One single, clear focus on a narrow, concrete problem that united the community, enabling them to be one for all and all for one.
   c) Leadership of one family in classic NTL fashion: developed motivation for the community, conceptualized a plan for the future and took incredible risks; began with the women.
   d) Effort proceeded one by one and eventually included all the leadership.
   e) Leaders changed their behavior and acted as models for others: have to be sober to be a leader.
   f) Small group of people (about 450).

g) Relatively isolated: removed from intense outside influence (although not out of reach of bootleggers, and Mrs. Chelsea did not even know what kind of Indian she was while growing up) and not under outside scrutiny during the 15 years the community was turning around.
h) Achieved outside social validation of recovery, the surrounding white community and the chief of police acknowledged the change.
i) Diffusion of effort to other communities is proceeding by example and sharing (visits, video tapes, etc.).
j) One question is whether the process of recovery can be speeded up to less than a generation.
k) Filming the video tape was a unique experience. There was no formal script. The community just shared its story dramatically.

2) Zuni

a) There is no traditional way to handle diabetes since it did not exist in traditional life.
b) There is no pain at the onset of the disease.
c) Good example of attracting people to a better level of functioning by motivating through social marketing:
   - although running is traditional, the rewards for running (T-shirts, etc.) are thoroughly contemporary, as is the very fact of personal, public recognition.
   - the concept of the body being in balance and harmony is a traditional value which assists in the management of diabetes.
d) Other dimensions: the quality of the relationship between the community and health care providers with the result that many Anglo health care providers leave two years at Zuni able to do a work up in the Zuni language.

3) Youth

"There is so much more pressure being Indian because you're an Indian and you go to a white school, and you live a white life. Like you have to cross a border every day and when you cross that border you gain new problems over there so the pressures can get really, really...they can really build up.

The pressure comes from a lot of things...there is prejudice around, and we see ourselves as stereotyped as being dumb and incompetent in so many things. That's the thing I don't like. A combination of being thought of that way at school and when you're around different people like Spanish or white. But it's very hard to live in both worlds, as an Indian in a white man's world" (Army, 1986, 1&4).

Successful youth programs.

a) Incorporate traditional learning (in tribal language and culture) into educational life.
b) Involve parents in community schools.
c) Have many activities for kids (sports, art, trips, etc.), sometimes even a youth center; these activities are not just to entertain or keep busy but to develop qualities the community needs and values and qualities the children need for their own success.
d) Provide positive role models to emulate.
e) Help kids create positive roles for themselves.
f) Enable youth to work on community's problems, including problem identification, thus facilitating positive participation in the community instead of giving in to negative peer pressure.
g) Build youth participation into permanent tribal structure through youth development offices, tribal youth councils and youth representation within tribal governments.
h) Two poems from Indian youth of America summer camp experience:

NY-MU-MAH

Together, we put up tepees
And, for a while at least,
Put down roots, lay
On the ground and watched
The poles rise from their big circles,
Branching through the smoke holes
Toward the moon. Together,
We sat around the fire
After dark and told tales
To children hungry for their
History. Together, we practiced
Our native crafts and played games,
Sometimes remembering a ball
Is sacred because it echoes
The roundness of the earth.
Earth supports all life, and the cooks
Prepared her gifts; we ate salmon,
Deer, fry bread; sacred songs began
To fill our ears. Thanking the food
We remembered creatures chose to die
That we might live. The old truths
Remained and grew in us as we
Drank from and washed in
The clean water of the river.

We heated rocks, sat in the
Sweatlodge and watched them
Glow incandescent in the dark
Sprinkled rocks with water
And innaled the water's breath.
Sweat beaded like dew upon
Our flesh and we gave away
The impurities that lived
In our skin. The medicine
Plants on mountainsides stood
Before us, delicate and full
Of life. We fed them with
Our breath, were grateful
That we could give them
This simple gift. Summer
Fed us with her warmth,
And we, growing full of care,
Loved one another. The Nations
Were renewed.
And when we left,
We made our journey back
Bearing that gift of love
To our peoples who have
Never forgotten how to share.

Gail Tremblay
Arts and Crafts Director
Camp Ny-Mu-Mah '79

I.Y.A. COUNSELOR'S CREED

What a cast of characters
Navajo, Pueblo, Kiowa, Apache, Pima, Papago,
Dakota, Lakota, Ojibwa, Assiniboine, Shoshone,
All different shades of brown,
All the same color in the soul.
The pride here is a tangible thing
Moving gracefully through the air
Like a bright cloud that carries away
Bad feelings and longings for home
Sprinkling happiness and togetherness.
Making us strong in the knowledge
Of who we are as individuals and as a people.
Making us unafraid in the truths of what that means
We have come from desert, mountain, plain and city,
But our bonds are deep inside of us,
Not seen or felt until we come together
And discover that, together, as equal parts of a whole
That we can do anything and can give so much to our people
Through the children that will come here and experience our power.
We must always remember that WE will shape the world that
Our children will grow into.
With that in mind, our duties, and their importance, are made clear.

Mike Culter
Buffalo Ranch Camp '86

Note: The boarding school experience has greatly affected today's adolescents. For generations adolescents were educated and reared outside the community. The old ways of dealing with this age group are often lost and even where they still exist are no longer completely appropriate. Also boarding schools were frequently used as warehouses for incorrigibles.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1) Share results of interviews with:
   All who participated in interviews
   Mental health area branch chiefs
   Aberdeen office in preparation for meeting in September or October.

2) Develop an Indian specific genogram for family systems work.

3) Develop mechanisms for sharing success stories at individual, kin, communal and tribal levels.

4) Create a "map" of community leaders, clinicians and administrators involved with effective programs.

5) Enable communities to do self examinations and strategic planning.

APPENDIX I: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Steven Adelsheim
Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, Resident, University of New Mexico Hospital

Omie Baldwin
Counselor, University of Wisconsin

Michael Biernoff
Mental Health Chief, Albuquerque Area Office, Indian Health Service

Michael Bird
Project Officer, Albuquerque Area Office, Indian Health Service

Evelyn Blanchard
Social Worker, Portland Area Office, Indian Health Service

Christine Brown
Child Abuse, Bureau of Indian Affairs

Mary Jo Butterfield
AIO Board Member (Makah)

Andy and Phyllis Chelsea
Community Leaders, Alkali Lake, British Columbia

Mike Christie
Group for the Advancementof Psychiatry, Atascadero State Hospital, California

J.R. Cook
Director, United National Indian Tribal Youth

Tom Curtis
Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, Professor, University of North Carolina

Myra DeBruyn
Research Director, Albuquerque Area Office, Indian Health Service

Phyllis Eddy
Alcoholism Program Consultant, Indian Health Service

Dorothy Gohdes
Diabetes Program, Indian Health Service

Pat Gordon
Director, Indian Youth of America

Don Hammersley
Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, Deputy Medical Director, American Psychiatric Association

Al Hiat
Research Director, Albuquerque Area Office, Indian Health Service

Bill Hunter
Mental Health, Headquarters West, Indian Health Service

Travis Jackson
President, Native American Research and Technical Assistance Group

Emery Johnson
Former Director, Indian Health Service

Jerry Kinkade
Santa Fe Service Unit, Indian Health Service

Milton Kraemer
Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, Professor, University of Cleveland

Bruce Leonard
Director, HealthNet, New Mexico

Grace McCullah
AIO Board Member (Navajo)

Jill McMannus
Video Specialist, New York

Larry Morningstar
Native American Health Promotor, Johns Hopkins University

Native American Research Information Service

Scott Nelson
Director, Mental Health, Headquarters East, Indian Health Service

Phyllis Old Dog Cross
AIO Board Member (Mandan-Hidatsa)

Dorothy Parron
Director, Minority Programs, National Institutes of Mental Health

Elma Patterson
AIO Board Member (Tuscarora)

Nettie Peratrovich
Superintendent, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Nome, Alaska

Louise Rauseo
Counselor, Georgetown University Family Center

Everett Rhoades
Director, Indian Health Service

Bill Richards
Chief, Mental Health/Alcohol, Alaska Area Native Health Service

Nicky Solomon
CHR Program, Headquarters East, Indian Health Service

Maria Stetter
Program Officer, Headquarters West, Indian Health Service

Craig Vanderwagon
Director, Patient Care, Headquarters East, Indian Health Service

Dale Walker
VA Hospital and University of Washington, Seattle, Washington

Ada White
CHR Program, Crow Agency, Montana

Jake Whitecrow
Director, National Indian Health Board

APPENDIX II: POSSIBLE COMMUNITIES IN WHICH TO DO FAMILY SYSTEMS INTERVIEWS

Barrow
Bethal
Choctaw (Alabama)
Coleville
Fort Hall
Fort Peck
Fort Totten
Jemez
Kake
Kotzebue
Metlacatla
Navajo
Poarch Band of Alabama Creeks
Pueblos
Red Lake
Rosebud
Sacaton
Seneca
Sisseton
Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa
Unalakleet
Zuni

APPENDIX III: NAMES FOR FUTURE REFERENCE

Joe Kline Appleby (from Hammersley)

Ed Bates (with DeBruyn and Hiat)

Tom Becker, University of New Mexico Hospital School of Medicine

Larry Emerson, To Sing Our Own Songs, Former Director of Shiprock Alternative High School

Gene Gerber (domestic violence)

Stanley Ghachu, Mental Health Worker, Zuni Comprehensive Community Health Center

Karen Humbaugh (Barrow & Albuequerque)

Sally and Ken Hunt, University of New Mexico Medical School, Pediatries, Teen Centers at Laguna

Indian Health Service, Mental Health Area Office, Branch Chiefs

Yvette Joseph, Senator Evans Office

Judy Kitsus, Albuquerque Area Office

Gerald Levy, University of Arizona at Tuscon, Anthroplogy (Hopi and Navajo suicide)

Donald Ian MacDonald, Director, ADAMHAA

Spero Manson, National Center for Native American and Alaska Native Research

Ann Metcalf (presenting symptoms, from DeBruyn and Hiat)

Zelma Minthorn, Phelp Stokes

Al Samuelson

Margie Seciwa - CHR instrumental in developing Zuni program, Zuni Comprehensive Community Health Center

Fran Starkalursey (IHS, outreach, New Mexico)

Sandra Taylor (community needs assessment - Hopi, Mescalero, Jicarilla)

UNITY, Council of Eagles: Rose Abraham, Don Hoagland, Vivian Juan, Darrell Mease, Arvo Mikkanen, Mary Kim Titla.

APPENDIX IV: PROGRAMS TO INVESTIGATE FURTHER

Cherokee Tribal Health Department
Documentation of Model Primary Prevention Programs

Copers Matching Program, Santa Fe Service Unit (Jerry Kinkade)

Diabetes - Seven Model Sites (Dorothy Gohdes)

Good Indian Leaders Are Healthy Indian Leaders Workshop, August 27 & 28, 1987, Health, Urban and Community Programs, The University of Oklahoma (Michael Bird)

HealthNet, New Mexico (Indians included in state program, Bruce Leonard)

Kotzubue Alcohol Program

Plains Research Project (Michael Bird)

Red Road Approach to Alcohol Treatment (8 hour immersion workshop out of Rosebud)

Stockbridge Munsee Alcohol Program

APPENDIX V: MATERIALS

Research Materials:

Claymore, Betty. Mental Health Branch Chief, Aberdeen Area Office, Indian Health Service. Videotapes of natural leaders identifying their core values.

DeBruyn, L. and C. Lujan. Family Alcohol Abuse and Child Abuse and Neglect: An Intergenerational Study of the Native American Population Served by the Santa Fe Service Unit, Indian Health Service, Albuquerque, N.M., Albuquerque Area Office, IHS, 1987.

Dr. Echohawk. Work on effects of boarding school on parenting.

Elliott and Eisdorfer. Stress and Human Health: Analysis and Implications for Research. New York: Springer, 1982 (from National Academy of Sciences on stress and physical disease, anxiety, depression, obesity, etc.).

Garmezy, Norman. Work on resiliency.

Hamburg, Elliott, Parron. Health and Behavior: A Research Agenda in the Bio-Behavioral Sciences. Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1982 (on diabetes and alcohol)

Heckler, Margaret. Report of Secretary's Task Force on Black and Minority Health, Vol. I-VIII. Washington, D.C.: Department of Health and Human Services, 1985 (on suicide, violence, alcohol, diabetes, etc.).

LaFramboise, Teresa. Professor of Counseling Psycholgoy, University of Nebraska - Lincoln. Work on bi-cultural competence and assertiveness training.

Jackson, Travis. Locate relocation research.

Manson, Spero. Materials from the National Center for American Indian and Alaska Native Research in Denver, Colorado
- New Dimensions in Prevention (1982)
- Health and Human Behavior: A Research Agenda (modeled on Hamburg et al. above)
- new journal, American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research (takes up where White Cloud Journal left off).

Trimble, Joseph. Professor of Psychology at Western Washington University, Bellingham, Washington. Work on adaptive strategies to life-threatening and problematic events, use of behavior-cognitive mediated strategies in mental health and substance abuse prevention and intervention.

_____. Proceedings of suicide conference held in Gallup in April or May of this year.

Educational/Progammatic Materials:

Alkali Lake Videotapes
"In the Honor of All."
Order from: Phil Lucas Productions, Inc.
P.O. Box 1218
Issaquah, Washington 98027
(206) 392-9482

Four World Development Project (to end substance abuse in Native populations in Canada by year 2000).
Many materials for community use.
Order from: Phil Lane
Coordinator
Four Worlds Development Project
4401 University Drive
Lethbordge, Alberta, Canada TIK 3M4
(403) 329-2435/2184

Indian Youth of America, materials used in leadership training for youth.
Me and My Tribe Workbook
Career Awareness and Placement Service
Order from: Pat Gordon, Director
IYA
P.O. Box 2786
Sioux City, Iowa 51106
(712) 276-0794

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Albee, George. "Toward a Just Society: Lessons from Observations on the Primary Presentation of Psychopathology," American Psychologist, 41:8, August 1986, 891-898.

Army, Maria. "No One Knows Why Youth Killed Himself," Albuquergue Tribune, September 7, 1986, 1 & 4.

Dessel, Hal. "Two-Sided Coin: Healthy Economy and Recovery from Alcoholism," Alcohol Problem. St. Francis, South Dakota: Office of Social Concern, St. Francis Mission, 5:1, May 1986, 4.

Gordon, Pat. Indian Youth of America brochure. Sioux City Iowa: IYA, Inc., 1986.

Nakai, Irene. "Bridge Perspective," Navajo Literature, 1986.

Silko, Leslie Marmon. Ceremony. New York: Viking, 1977

Spencer, Paula. "Native American Parenting," Unpublished Manuscript, September 27, 1986.

APPENDIX III

CHRONOLOGY

APPENDIX III - Chronologies: An Overlay of Histories

Global History	U.S. History of Indian Policy			Tribal History			Clan History	Tribal History
	Overall	Education	Economic	Health	Education	Economic		
				Oral history Proto history (disease, material, culture-weapons, horses)				
1500 "Discovery to 1776 Colonial Period	Treaty Period			1500 Invasion				
to 1800 Revolutionary Period								
1830's Jacksonian Period	1830's Removal Supreme Court rules tribes as "sovereign domestic dependent nations"			1830-1860 Winnebago moved 10 times				
to 1860's Westward Movement and establishment of forts								

Global History (Cont.)	U.S. History of Indian Policy (Cont.)	Tribal History (Cont.)	Clan History	Tribal History
to 1860-64 Civil War				
	1870's-80's Indian Wars/Extermination			
	End of Treaty Period			
	Incarceration on Reservations			
	1890's Superintendent all powerful			
	Boarding schools (not allowed to speak languages)			
	Allotment (90,000,000 acres of Indian land passed into white hands - wanted to make Indians individual farmers)			
	Missions took over management of reservations and boarding schools from the War Department (differences in Catholic and Protestant schools)			
	Ceremonies discouraged			
Mexican-American War				
1914-18 WWI		1914 No diabetes (?)		
1920's	Attempt to outlaw Indian religion			

Global History (Cont.)	U.S. History of Indian Policy (Cont.)	Tribal History (Cont.)	Clan History	Tribal History
1930's Depression	1930's IRA constitutions Ceremonies allowed			
1939-45 WWII	1941-45 Military service (code talkers, Oklahoma 45th Division, etc.)			
195?-? Korean War	1950's Relocation/Termination (forced assimilation)			
Cold War				
1960's-70's Civil Rights War On Poverty Great Society Vietnam Peace Environment	1960's Federal Programs Day Schools Self-Determination			
		1980's Alcohol epidemic		
	1982(?) President reactivates government to government relationship between federal government and tribes			
	1983 Presidential Commission identifies intra-community conflict as constraint on economic development			

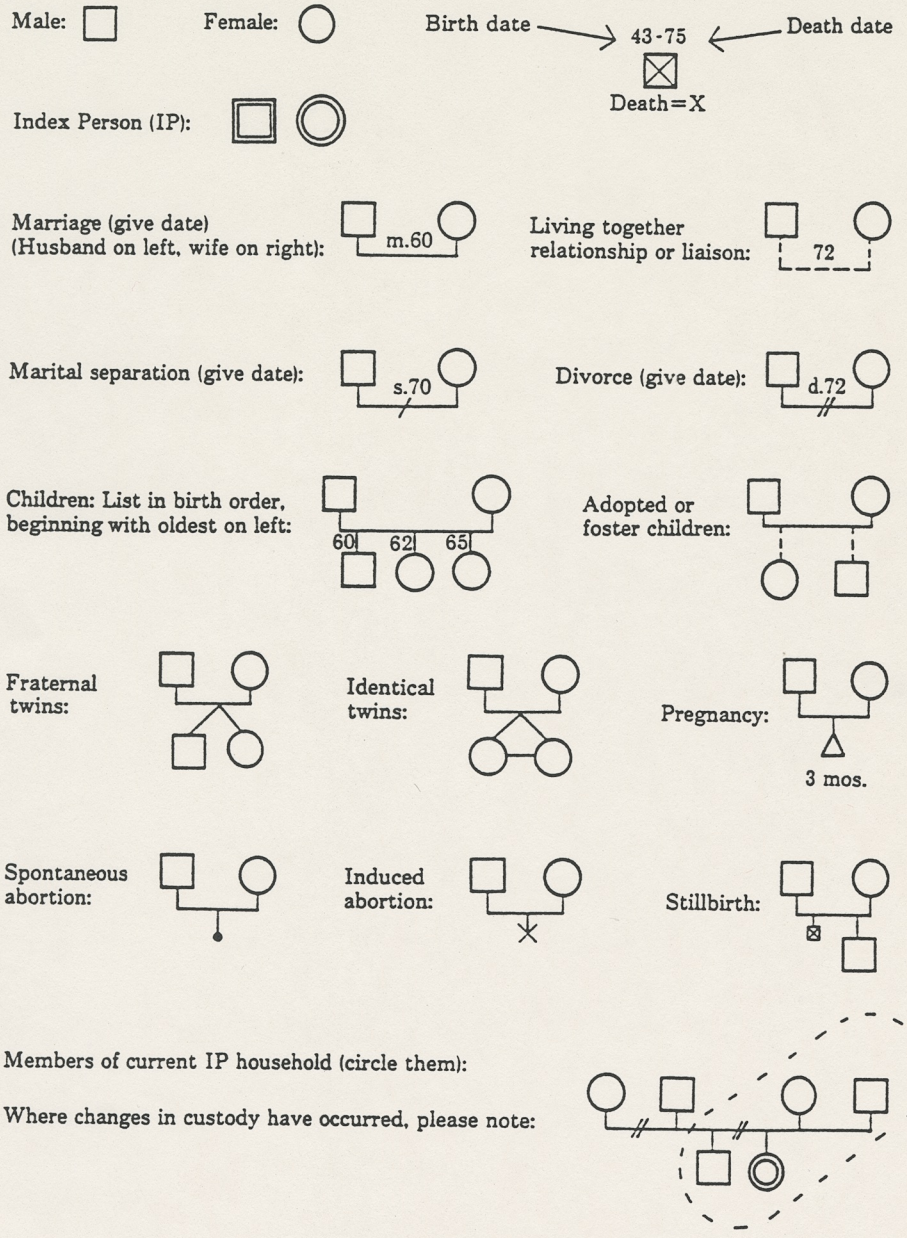
APPENDIX IV

FAMILY DIAGRAMS

(GENOGRAM FORMAT, FORM AND OUTLINE)

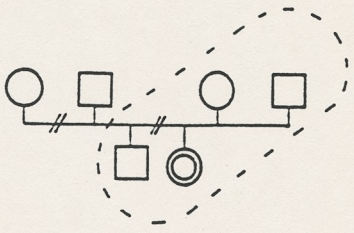
PART 1: GENOGRAM FORMAT

A. Symbols to describe basic family membership and structure (include on genogram significant others who lived with or cared for family members – place them on the right side of the genogram with a notation about who they are.)

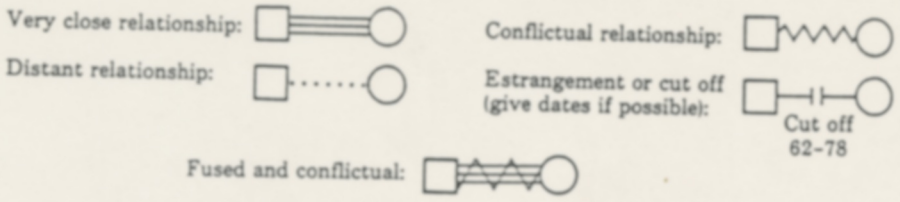


Members of current IP household (circle them):

Where changes in custody have occurred, please note:



B. Family interaction patterns. The following symbols are optional. The clinician may prefer to note them on a separate sheet. They are among the least precise information on the genogram, but may be key indicators of relationship patterns the clinician wants to remember:



C. Medical history. Since the genogram is meant to be an orienting map of the family, there is room to indicate only the most important factors. Thus, list only major or chronic illnesses and problems. Include dates in parentheses where feasible or applicable. Use DSM-III categories or recognized abbreviations where available (e.g., cancer: CA; stroke: CVA).

D. Other family information of special importance may also be noted on the genogram:

1) Ethnic background and migration date
2) Religion or religious change
3) Education
4) Occupation or unemployment
5) Military service
6) Retirement
7) Trouble with law
8) Physical abuse or incest
9) Obesity
10) Smoking
11) Dates when family members left home: LH '74.
12) Current location of family members

It is useful to have a space at the bottom of the genogram for notes on *other key information*: This would include critical events, changes in the family structure since the genogram was made, hypotheses and other notations of major family issues or changes. These notations should always be dated, and should be kept to a minimum, since every extra piece of information on a genogram complicates it and therefore diminishes its readability.

PART 3: OUTLINE FOR A BRIEF GENOGRAM INTERVIEW

Index Person, Children and Spouses

Name? Date of birth? Occupation? Are they *married*? If so, give *names of spouses*, and the *name* and *sex* of *children* with each spouse. Include all *miscarriages, stillbirths, adopted* and *foster children*. Include *dates* of *marriages, separations*, and *divorces*. Also include *birth* and *death dates, cause of death, occupations* and *education* of the above family members. Who lives in *the household now*?

Family of Origin

Mother's name? *Father's* name? They were which of how many children? Give *name* and *sex* of *each sibling*. Include all *miscarriages, stillbirths, adopted* and *foster siblings*. Include *dates* of the *parents' marriages, separations*, and *divorces*. Also, include *birth* and *death dates, cause of death, occupations* and *education* of the above family members. Who lived in *the household when they were growing up*?

Mother's Family

The names of the *mother's parents*? The mother was which of how many children? Give *name* and *sex* of *each of her siblings*. Include all *miscarriages, stillbirths, adopted* and *foster siblings*. Include *dates* of *grandparents' marriages, separations*, and *divorces*. Also include *birth* and *death dates, cause of death, occupations* and *education* of the above family members.

Father's Family

The names of the *father's parents*? The father was which of how many children? Give *name* and *sex* of *each of his siblings*. Include all *miscarriages, stillbirths, adopted* and *foster siblings*. Include *dates* of *grandparents' marriages, separations,* and *divorces*. Also include *birth* and *death dates, cause of death, occupations* and *education* of the above family members.

PART 2: GENOGRAM FORM

FAMILY NAME _____

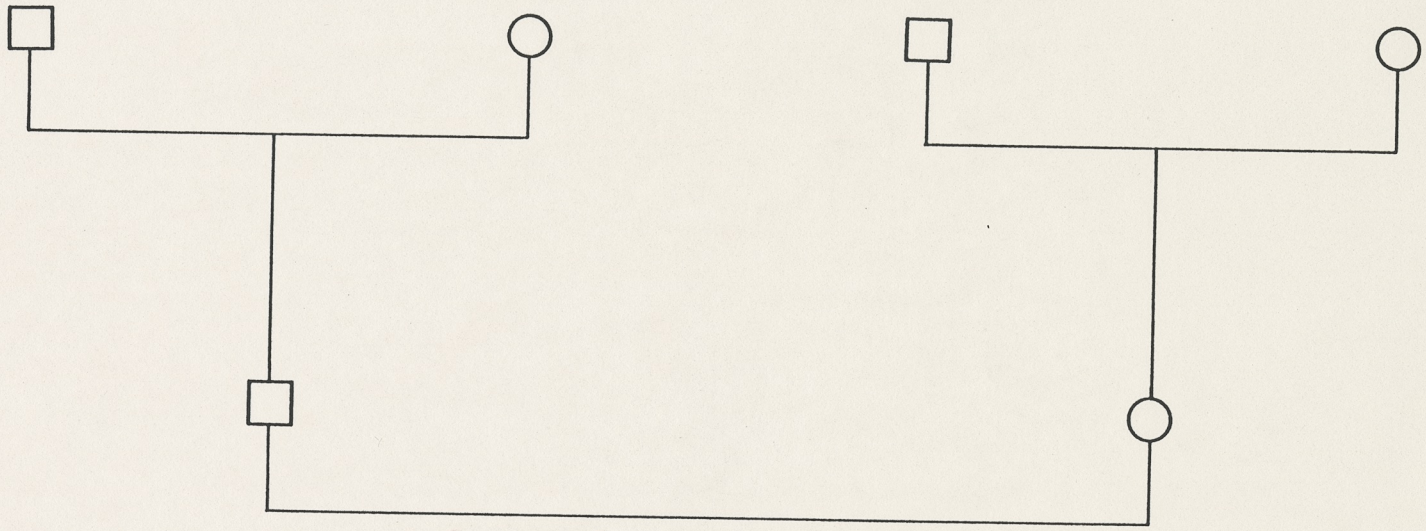
Date Filled In _____

Filled In By _____

Family Address _____

Key Hypotheses & Life Events

Significant Others



Ethnicity

Give ethnic/religious background of family members and the languages they spoke if not English.

Major Moves

Tell about major family moves and migrations.

Significant Others

Add others who lived with or were important to the family.

For All Those Listed, Indicate Any of the Following:

serious medical, behavioral, or emotional problems;
job problems;
drug or alcohol problems;
serious problems with the law.

For All Those Listed, Indicate Any Who Were:

especially close;
distant or conflictual;
cut off from each other;
overly dependent on each other.

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

Allen, Paula Gunn. The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions. Boston: Beacon Press, 1986.

Bowen, Murray. "Theory in the Practice of Psychotherapy," Family Therapy. New York: Gardner, 1976.

Kerr, Michael E. "Family Systems Theory and Therapy," Handbook of Family Therapy. New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1981.

McGoldrick, Monica and Gerson, Randy. Genograms in Family Assessment. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1985.

Toman, W. Family Constellation. New York: Springer, 1961

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PAGE 1 OF 1 PAGES

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AUGUST 13, 1987		7-650414	MHB-87-045

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USPHS INDIAN HEALTH SERVICE
HEADQUARTERS WEST
2401 12TH STREET, N.W. - ROOM 3N
ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO 87102

6. SHIP TO: (Consignee and address, ZIP Code)
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17. SCHEDULE (See reverse for Rejections)

ITEM NO. (A)	SUPPLIES OR SERVICES (B)	QUANTITY ORDERED (C)	UNIT (D)	UNIT PRICE (E)	AMOUNT (F)	QUANTITY ACCEPTED (G)
1.	TO DEVELOP AND CONDUCT PRELIMINARY TESTING OF A FAMILY ASSESSMENT INTERVIEW PROTOCOL WHICH WILL ASSIST IN ASSESSING HOW FAMILIES COPE IN FUNCTIONAL AND DYSFUNCTIONAL COMMUNITIES FOR UTILIZATION BY THE SPECIAL INITIATIVES TEAM AND IHS MENTAL HEALTH PROVIDERS AS A RESOURCE METHODOLOGY IN WORKING WITH INDIAN COMMUNITIES PER ATTACHED SCOPE OF WORK: PERIOD OF PERFORMANCE: AUGUST 17, 1987 THROUGH OCTOBER 1, 1987 SMALL BUSINESS SET-ASIDE	1	JOB		4,950.00	

SEE BILLING INSTRUCTIONS ON REVERSE	18. SHIPPING POINT	19. GROSS SHIPPING WEIGHT	20. INVOICE NO.		17(H). TOT. (Cont. pages)
	21. MAIL INVOICE TO: (Include ZIP Code) ATTN: VOUCHER AUDIT	USPHS INDIAN HEALTH SERVICE 505 MARQUETTE N.W. - SUITE 1502 ALBUQUERQUE, NM 87102		4,950.00	17(i). GRAND TOTAL

23. NAME (Typed)
BERNADETTE L. CALLAHAN (505)766-5557
TITLE: CONTRACTING/ORDERING OFFICER

OPTIONAL FORM 347 (10-83)
Prescribed by GSA
FAR (48 CFR) 53.213(e)

DESCRIPTION AND SCOPE OF WORK

I. PURPOSE

The purpose of this contract is to develop a model assessment protocol for determining how families cope in Indian communities functional or dysfunctional. The contract will provide information vital to the Special Initiatives Team function of consultation to IHS Areas, mental health providers and Indian tribal programs. This protocol would be the first Indian-specific model available for use by IHS mental health providers.

II. METHODOLGY

a. Develop critical criteria which can be used to determine functional and dysfunctional Indian families and communities building on the famiiy coping mechanism identified by American for Indian Opportunity, current literature and historical data, and other relevant sources.

b. Develop a family assessment interview protocol suitable for use by the Special Initiatives Team and IHS mental health staff which will assist in assessing how Indian families cope in functional and dysfunctional Indian communities utilizing criteria developed in (a) above.

c. Conduct preliminary testing of the assessment instrument in the Aberdeen Area through family interviews (four families from functional and five families from dysfunctional communities). Testing should be conducted in two interview sessions.

d. Review and report findings and recommendations for family and community intervention for IHS, tribes, and others.

III. REPORTS

a. Contractor will provide a brief summary to Project Officer of progress of development of assessment protocol when claiming payment during contract. Summary due September 1, 1987.

b. Contractor will deliver completed report of findings and recommendations to Project Officer by the end of contract period along with claim for final payment no later than October 1, 1987.

c. Contractor will be in touch periodically with Project Officer by phone regarding the progress of the assessment protocol and advise the Project Officer of any problems/delays with the project.

DATE: June 2, 1987

TO: Craig Vanderwagon

FROM: Jacqueline Wasilewski, AIO

RE: Second Family Systems Contract and 5 Year Planning for Mental Health Using Issues Management

We understood that the second contract would look something like this:

1) reviewing the work of the first contract at a meeting of IHS health providers, AIO and Louise Rauseo (it was suggested that this meeting be held outside Albuquerque since it is seen as getting more than its share of resources);

2) identifying functional and dysfunctional communities in which to do the family systems field testing, and

3) developing the guidelines for the larger project.

However, we feel confused by Maria's suggestion that the second contract consist of convening two community groups to discuss "Understanding Violence in Indian Communities," i.e. family, death and dying, the latent meaning of death, living and dying in Indian values and how these translate into dealing with family violence. One group would be run with Issues Management, the other would be run as a regular community meeting. Maria saw this as supportive of the Special Task Force's orientation toward community analysis. It would test Issues Management's ability to be effective at the grassroots level.

The difficulties we have with this is that it seems to change the focus of our original theme, i.e. the identification of functional and dysfunctional communities and families re substance abuse, suicide and diabetes. Also it is too expensive to use Issues Management on a piecemeal basis. If we plan to use Issues Management in the Family systems initiative we will have to write it into the larger contract. Also, there is a problem with the Hawthorne Affect - one could predict that just because the Issues Management community group had outsiders paying attention to it and outside resources going into it, it would perform better.

A separate question is the use of Issues Management to facilite the IHS Mental Health 5-year Planning Process.

Enclosures: Original Family Systems Project Concept (p. 1)
Scope of Work for First Contract (p. 2)
Proposed Description of Work for First Contract (p. 3 & 4)
Possible Future Projects (p. 5)

Project Title:

Effective Native American Coping Mechanisms and the Family/ Community Systems in Which They Are Learned.

Project Purpose:

The purpose of this project is to identify functional Native American mechanisms for coping with the stress of having to function in more than one culture, paying particular attention to the family/community systems in which they are learned.

Background and Need:

At the turn of the century Indians died of infectious diseases. In this era they die of stress manifested in the epidemic incidence of alcohol/substance abuse, suicide and diabetes. Using family systems theory to identify physical, emotional, and social dysfunctions, diabetes, alcohol/substance abuse and suicide can be used as markers of stress. We hypothesize that much of this stress is caused by the unresolved clash of Native and Euro-American cultures.

Objectives:

Therefore, the objectives of this project are:

1) to identify those coping mechanisms which enable Native American people to deal effectively with this stress and

2) to identify those family/community systems in which those mechanisms are effectively learned and how this is accomplished.

SCOPE OF WORK

DESCRIPTION AND SCOPE OF WORK:

THE OBJECTIVE OF THIS EFFORT IS TO RESEARCH AND IDENTIFY COPING MECHANISMS WHICH ENABLE NATIVE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH THE STRESSES OF LIFE TODAY.

IN PERFORMANCE OF THIS PROCUREMENT THE CONTRACTOR WILL SPECIFICALLY CARRY OUT THE TASKS LISTED BELOW:

TASK 1: MEET WITH APPROPRIATE IHS STAFF INCLUDING MENTAL HEALTH PROGRAM STAFF, TO IDENTIFY AND CLARIFY ISSUES RELATED TO THE WORK TO BE PERFORMED AND TO AGREE UPON DEFINITIONS OF THE EFFORT. WORK TO BE DONE IN ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO.

TASK 2: CONDUCT A REVIEW OF AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE OF EFFECTIVE NATIVE AMERICANS IDENTIFYING NATIVE AMERICAN COPING MECHANISMS AND THE FAMILY/COMMUNITY SYSTEMS IN WHICH THEY ARE LEARNED. THIS JOB TO BE DONE IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

TASK 3: INTERVIEW 30-50 PSYCHIATRIC RESEARCHERS, FAMILY PROFESSIONALS IHS HEALTH CARE PROVIDERS AND COMMUNITY HEALTH REPRESENTATIVES.

INTERVIEWS WILL ALSO INCLUDE PRINCIPALS IN KEY COMMUNITY GENERATED PROGRAMS SUCH AS THE MUNSEE PROGRAM, RED ROAD APPROACH TO ALCOHOL REPRESENTATIVES.

7-650310

Description of Work:

Effective Native American coping mechanisms for dealing with stress as manifested in high levels of alcohol/substance abuse, suicide and diabetes and the family/community systems in which effective coping mechanisms are learned will be identified through the following activities:

1) review autobiographical literature of effective Native American persons and

2) interview 30-50 psychiatric researchers, family systems professionals, IHS health care providers (both professionals and CHR's) and principles in key community programs:

a) interview the following researchers
- Tom Kauley (NARIS data base)
- Delores Parron (NIMH data base);
- Dale Walker (University of Washington research on Alkalia Lake)

b) interview family systems professionals, especially those who are familiar with family systems work in cross cultural perspective
- Bill Hunter's 3 consultants (Tom Curtis, University North Carolina, etc.)
- Louise Rauseo (Georgetown Family Center)
- Omie Baldwin (Navajo student counselor, University of Wisconsin at Madison)

c) interview appropriate IHS health care providers, both professionals and CHR's, to begin organizing the enormous amount of anecdotal evidence within IHS on effective coping and family/community systems:
- Bill Hunter
- Judy Kitsus
- Dorothy Goedes
- Myra DeBruyn
- Al Hiat
- Michael Bird
- Eleanor Robertson
- Eva Smith
- Key CHR's in Albuquerque Area Office.

d) interivew principles in key community generated programs
- Travis Jackson (University of Oklahoma, American Indian Institute, Community Care Program)
- The Chelseas (Alkalai Lake)
- Craig Vanderwagon, Bruce Leonard and CHR's (Zuni)
- J.R. Cook (Wind River Youth Council)
- Nettie Peratrovich (Alaska Native Anti-Suicide Strategies)
- Pat Gordon (Indian Youth of American After School Program)
- High Plains Program (ask Michael Bird)
- Stockbridge-Munsee Program
- Red Road Approach to Alcohol Abuse

e) other interviews
- Christine Brown (BIA, Suicide Task Force)
- Larry Morningstar (John Hopkins University, Public Health)
- Don Sepulvado (University Texas Medical Center, Dallas)

Deliverables:

1) Review of autobiographical literature identifying effective Native American coping mechanisms and the family/community systems in which they are learned.

2) Summary of interviews identifying effective Native American coping mechanisms and the family/community systems in which they are learned.

3) Oral debriefing of selected IHS professionals and CHR staff.

4) Provide recommendations for follow-up.

Time:

30 - 60 days or sooner.

Amount:

$4,950.00

1) With the consultation of IHS health professionals and community health representatives (CHR's) review IHS records in the Albuquerque Area Office catchment area to determine communities with high and low levels of stress as manifested in alcohol/substance abuse, suicide and diabetes.

2) Do preliminary family interviews (5 families with high and 5 families with low incidence, 2 interviews each, a week apart, 1½ - 2 hours long).

3) Develop multigenerational family assessment interview protocol suitable for use by combined IHS professional and CHR teams to identify effective coping mechanisms within family/community systems.

4) Develop multigenerational family computer database.

5) Field test the protocol by interviewing at least 5 members of family systems already in care with high incidence of alcohol/substance abuse, suicide and/or diabetes and at least 5 members of families with low incidence of the above. A high/low pair should be selected from at least 4 different tribes occupying different ecological nitches and having different forms of social organization (sedintary and nomadic hunter/gathers; pastoralists, agriculturists and warrior/raiders; etc.) with different patterns/experiences of culture contact.

6) Analysis of results by combined AIO/IHS/CHR team.

7) Field test the use of issues management process to discuss findings in communities from which data was gathered and to create a strategic action plan for dealing with stress and its symptoms/manifestations in that community in terms of creating supportive networks in which effective coping mechanisms can be learned.

8) Evaluation and revision of protocol by combined AIO/IHS/CHR/American Psychiatric Association/Georgetown Family Center team.

9) Develop three year joint AIO/IHS/CHR/APA/Georgetown Project to train IHS personnel in family systems approach and implement family systems based interventions in at least 12 Indian communities. (Develop an independent evaluation track?)

10) Train IHS professionals and CHR teams to use the protocol (the professionals and CHR's should be from/working in the communities chosen in #11).

11) Interivew at least 72 members of family systems maninfesting high, medium and low amounts of stress in at least 4 different tribes occupying different ecological nitches, and with different forms of social organization with different patterns/experiences of culture contact.

12) Analysis of results by combined AIO/IHS/CHR/APA/Georgetown team.

13) Use issues management process to discuss findings and create an action plan for dealing with communities' stress (see #5).

14) Hold regional workshops to train IHS perofessionals and CHR's in the family systems interview assessment protocol and in utilizing issues management to create an action plan for implementing the protocol's findings in each community.

15) Track and share the implementation of the strategic action plans as they emerge.

Project Title:

Effective Native American Coping Mechanisms and the Family/ Community Systems in Which They Are Learned.

Project Purpose:

The purpose of this project is to identify functional Native American mechanisms for coping with the stress of having to function in more than one culture, paying particular attention to the family/community systems in which they are learned.

Potential Future Projects:

1) With the consultation of IHS health professionals and community health representatives (CHR's) review IHS records in the Albuquerque Area Office catchment area to determine communities with high and low levels of stress as manifested in alcohol/ substance abuse, suicide and diabetes.

2) Do preliminary family interviews (5 families with high and 5 families with low incidence, 2 interviews each, a week apart, 1½ - 2 hours long).

3) Develop multigenerational family assessment interview protocol suitable for use by combined IHS professional and CHR teams to identify effective coping mechanisms within family/community systems.

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15) Track and share the implementation of the strategic action plans as they emerge.

Background and Need:

At the turn of the century Indians died of infectious diseases. In this era they die of stress manifested in the epidemic incidence of alcohol/substance abuse, suicide and diabetes. Using family systems theory to identify physical, emotional, and social dysfunctions, diabetes, alcohol/substance abuse and suicide can be used as markers of stress. We hypothesize that much of this stress is caused by the unresolved clash of Native and Euro-American cultures.

Objectives:

Therefore, the objectives of this project are:

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AIO
Americans for Indian Opportunity

LaDonna Harris
President

Honorable James Abourezk

Lionel Bordeaux
Rosebud-Sioux

Joan Bordman
Sioux

Edgar Bowan
Coos-Oregon

Mary Jo Butterfield
Makah

Eugene Crawford
Sisseton-Sioux

Phyllis Old Dog Cross
Mandan-Hidatsa

Andy Ebona
Tlingit

Coy G. Eklund

LaDonna Harris
Comanche

Minerva Jenkins
Ft. Mojave

Louis LaRose
Winnebago

Charles Lohah
Osage

Grace McCullah
Navajo

Jerry Muskrat
Cherokee

Elma Patterson
Tuscarora

Joe S. Sando
Jemez Pueblo

Vicky Santana
Blackfeet

Eddie L. Tullis
Alabama Creek

A. David Lester
Creek

June 30, 1987

Ms. Pat Levi
Indian Health Service
5600 Fishers Lane
Parklawn Building
Rockville, MD 20857

Dear Pat:

This is just a note to tell you what a pleasure it was to work with you on the conference. We'll be very interested to see what emerges from all the new energy created by bringing everyone together.

Talk with you soon!

With warmest personal regards,

LaDonna Harris
President/Executive Director

Jacqueline Wasilewski, Ph.D.
Assistant for Policy

1010 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Suite 200, Washington, D.C. 20001 (202) 371-1280

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Jemez Pueblo

Vicky Santana
Blackfeet

Eddie L. Tullis
Alabama Creek

A. David Lester
Creek

June 29, 1987

Ms. Evelyn Blanchard
DHHS/PHS/IHS
1200 S.W. 3rd Avenue
#476
Portland, OR 97204

Dear Evelyn:

At last here are the materials I promised you: 1) AIO's annual report and 2) the paper on effective Native American coping and adaptation I prepared for AIO for IHS. I would really value your comments.

I really enjoyed our evening together. You are, as they say, quite a lady! I hope our paths cross again.

With warm regards,

Jackie

Jacqueline Wasilewski, Ph.D.
Assistant for Policy

JHW/dkm

Enclosures: Annual Report
Coping Paper

p.s.: Just this moment I received your packet as I was looking for your address! The article looks excellent and the poetry is wonderful. Many thanks! You'll here from me soon - Jackie

1010 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Suite 200, Washington, D.C. 20001 (202) 371-1280

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A. David Lester
Creek

June 30, 1987

Dr. Craig Vanderwagon
Indian Health Service
5600 Fishers Lane
Parklawn Building
Rockville, MD 20857

Dear Craig:

One of the best things about the conference was the opportunity to work with you. Kindred spirits are hard to find. We are fascinated to discover what will emerge from the synergy created by bringing everyone together.

Talk with you soon.

With warmest personal regards,

LaDonna Harris
President/Executive Director

Jacqueline Wasilewski, Ph.D.
Assistant for Policy

1010 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Suite 200, Washington, D.C. 20001 (202) 371-1280

Jackie Jake

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A. David Lester
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MEMORANDUM

DATE: July 17, 1987

FROM: LaDonna Harris, Executive Director/President, AIO

RE: Enclosed Discussion Draft of Interviews Project

Enclosed is a discussion draft of the sumamary of the interviews. This is an exercize in thought clarification, and we invite your further comments. If possible we would like to have your comments back by the end of August. Send to: Americans for Indian Opportunity, 1010 Massachsetts Avenue, NW, Suite 200, Washington, DC 20001, Attention: Jacqueline Wasilewski.

A major pattern that seems to emerge is the lack of understanding of our own history at individual, family and community levels, is a major constraint to our sense of empowerment in both psychological and politically.

I hope our collective contributions can overcome this sense of powerlessness. That is Step 1. Step 2, is communicate our new sense of our own reality in the larger social and political communities.

AIO would like to serve as a catalyst to enhance your already major commitment to this vitally important work.

1010 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Suite 200, Washington, D.C. 20001 (202) 371-1280

ORIGINAL CONCEPT PAPER

AIOVIHS/COLORADO TRUST HEALTH PROJECT

PROJECT OUTLINE - 10/29/86

Purpose: To investigate the appropriateness of the family systems approach to the Indian community so that the insights it generates can be brought to bear on the stress components in diabetes, substance abuse and suicide.

Hypothesis:

(1) The major health problems in Indian Country are manifestations of stress caused by the necessity of adapting to rapid changes. What is important to remember in all that follows is that Marsella and Sanborn (1978) at the University of Hawaii showed in their research that adaptations from traditional culture to traditional culture occured all the time without pathology, but that the adaption from traditional to modern culture causes people to go crazy with amazing regularity. One hypothesis for this phenomenon is the extreme (perhaps pathological) state of individuality which modern culture seems to demand. Thus the rapid changes have involved a wide range of elements, including the clash of cultural values, the necessity of communities rapidly creating modern governmental and economic bases for themselves, changes in nutrition and a more sedentary lifestyle.

(2) These major health problems in Indian Country are physical (diabetes), social (substance abuse) and individual emotional (suicide) manifestations of poor coping with the stress described in (1) above. At the beginning of the century Indians died of infectious diseases. Now they are dying of diabetes, substance abuse and suicide. Question: if diabetes, substance abuse and suicide are eradicated without resolving the underlying stress, will the stress just jump to another manifestation?

(3) Bowen's Family Systems Theory (developed at Georgetown University's Family Center), which highlights the multiple mechanisms used to manage emotional intensity, stress, and change, is a cultually appropriate system of analysis for creating alternatives for dealing with the stress described above, for creating alternatives to the poor coping mechanisms manifested in the health problems described in (2) above. Current research indicates functional families have certain characteristics in common across cultures, and Bowen's Theory resonates well with traditional theories about the relationship between imbalances in the community and disease.

Phase I:

(1) Steering Committee meets to review project outline and Bowen interview format.

(2) Review literature and data regarding stress and disease in indigenous communities.

(3) Identify Indian communities in the Colorado Plateau region with high and low manifestations of the three health problems and those communities with no significant health problems.

(4) Identify families in the above communities with high and low manifestations of the three health problems and those with no significant health problems at all. Particular attention will be paid to youth falling in all three categories. Community health workers and traditional medicine people should be involved in this identification process.

(5) The final configuration of communities will consist of 72 families in 12 communities from 4 culture groups (see Figure 1).

(6) Interview the families.

(7) Analyze data for significant contrastive patterns between functional & dysfunctional individuals (especially youth)/ families/communities.

(8) Write report.

(9) Circulate report to Steering Committee for comment.

(10) Integrate comments into final findings.

(11) Share findings at conference involving IHS, community health people and traditional medicine people, BIA personnel, etc. (media people, health workers, educators, Red Cross and other community organizations).

Phase II:

(1) Translate findings into community education/training programs for
- health workers
- educators
- young adults/adults in the community.

(2) Field test education/training program.

(3) Evaluate effectiveness of program.

(4) Revise program.

Phase III:

(1) Disseminate education/training program through
1) media
2) IHS
3) BIA
4) NASEA
5) community colleges
6) Red Cross and other community organizations, especially those serving youth.

Roles:

AIO:
- Locate and coordinate resource people.
- Convene the steering committee.
- Carry out recommendations of steering committee.
- Coordinate the involvement of federal agencies, non-governmental family systems practioners, and tribal communities.
- Facilitate entré into tribal communities.
- Organize logistics of data collection.
- Assist in data collection.
- Assist in data reduction.
- Assist in date analysis from national perspective.
- Write final report.
- Organize conference to share findings.
- Coordinate development of training program.
- Organize dissemination network.
- Match federal and foundation monies with other private monies.

IHS:
- Do literature and data base review.
- Identify staff to collaborate on project.
- Identify communities and families.
- Review final report.
- Assist in organization of conference to share findings.
- Assist in development of training program and dissemination network.

Colorado Trust: Fund project -
- AIO overhead for project management
- salary for non-government family systems practioner
- salary for AIO staff time on project
- travel associated with project.

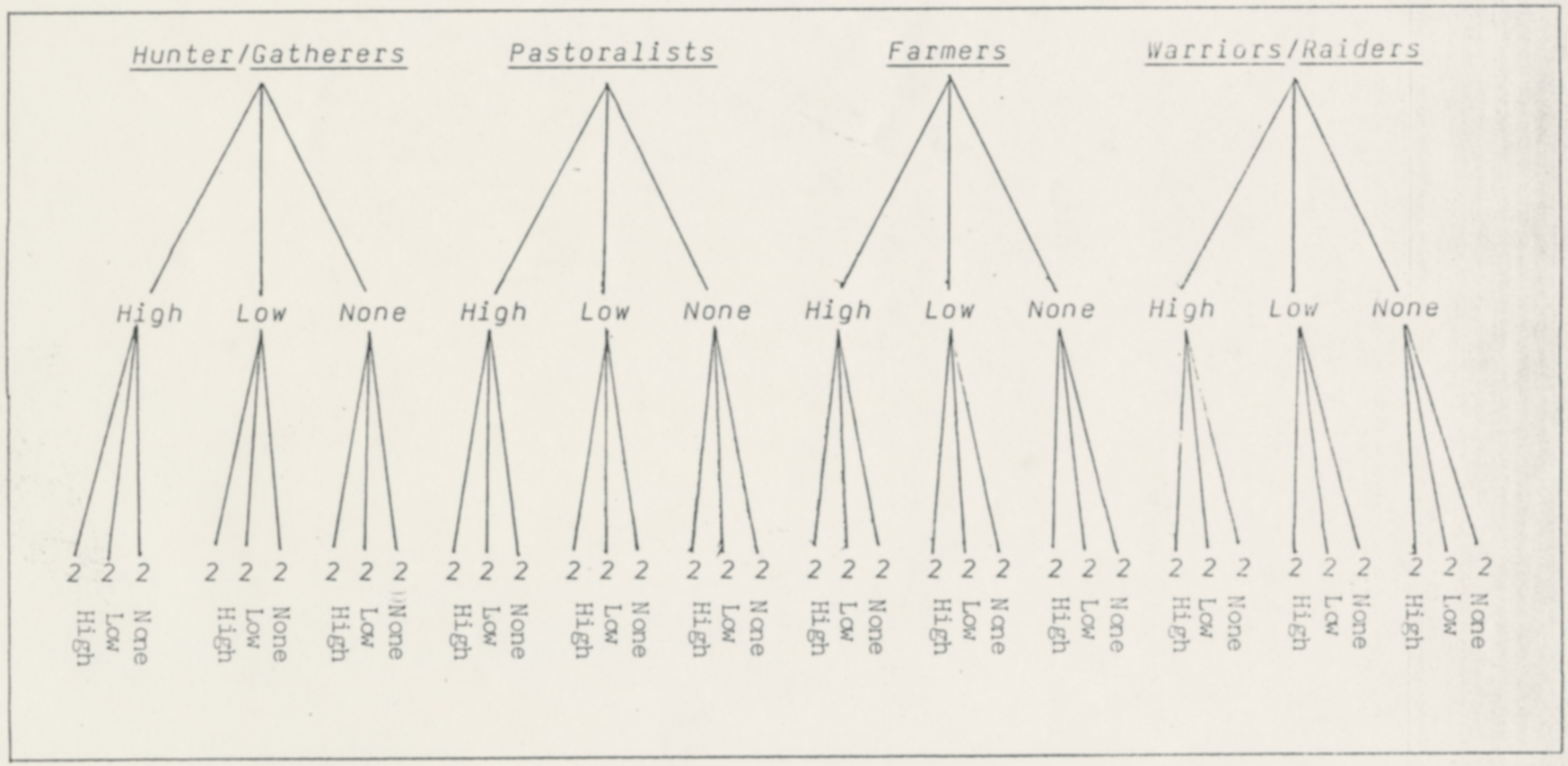
HHS:
- Phase I will generate data on youth, their support systems and skill development needs.
- Support development of a specific youth education/training component in Phase II.
- Assist in the dissemination of the education/training program.

Steering Committee: Five members recommended by participants.

Resource People:
- National Diabetes Foundation people
- LaDonna Harris & Jackie Wasilewski (AIO)
- Phyllis Cross
- Louise Rausio
- Colorado Trust representatives
- Albuquerque people: Judy Kitsus, Dorothy Goedes, Bill Hunter
- Eleanor Roberson (Tuscon)
- Indian Health Board representatives
- Craig Vanderwagon
- National Substance Abuse people (Bud Mason)
- BIA suicide people (Brown in Henrietta's office)
- AAIA representatives
- Red Cross
- Northern Cheyenne Alcohol Program respresentative
- Navajo woman who does family therapy at the University of Wisconsin (Madison)
- Pima/Papago diabetes researchers
- Margaret Clark-Price (NAPA)
- Tom Curtis (University of North Carolina)
- Social education media person we met at the World Affairs Conference
- Educators from NASEA

Figure 1:

Suggested Configuration of Sample



* *Research shows that traditional farmers all over the world have an easier time adapting to modernity than do the other traditional groups.*

** *Please advise on size of sample.*

MEMORANDUM

DATE: October 21, 1987

TO: Scott Nelson and Maria Stetter, Indian Health Service, Mental Health

FROM: LaDonna Harris, Americans for Indian Opportunity

RE: Overview of Background and Next Steps in AIO Mental Health Project

1) When LaDonna Harris and Phyllis Old Dog Cross were on the Presidential Commission for Mental Health in the 1960's and 70's they strongly suggested using the traditional valuing of extended families in mental health interventions in tribal communities. Thus, AIO feels the family systems approach is a positive use of traditional values.

2) The natural/family systems approach also resonates with at least two additional tribal values: a) that the quality of relationships in the community determines the health of the community and b) that humans are part of a natural system and that their role is to co-create/maintain/enhance that system. (In fact, Indians may be innate systems thinkers.)

3) AIO's experience in Winnebago indicates to us that this systems perspective empowers Indian people to address their total multifaceted reality in the context of contemporary tribal societies embedded in larger national and global contexts.

4) In Winnebago the natural/family systems way of thinking seems to have unleashed individual and collective creativity. Since doing the interviews at Winnebago:

   a) the mental health staff has organized a family diagram in-service for themselves through Creighton University because the information which emerged in first interviews in the project was way beyond their normal expectations.

   b) there have been requests for more help and interpretation by project participants.

   c) the Catholic Church has leased a facility to the tribe where families can all be treated jointly utilizing the project methodology.

d) two natural leaders from the two most powerful factions in the community seem to be emerging as potential facilitators in this effort.

It seems that people and communities who are enabled to move toward self-definition have more energy to deal with life's issues.

5. For the future we would like

a) to identify 4-5 more communities in different culture and symptom areas to participate in a stepped project where the experience of one community feeds into the participative planning for entrance into the next community.

b) to create a system for the rigorious analysis, interpretation and sharing of the information generated in each community. This system should conceive of information in terms of

context - protocol for entrance into the community (in Winnebago we entered through the political leadership, immediately included the mental health leaders and expanded to include natural/community leaders)

- protocol for individual interviews

content - the data in the family diagrams

process - the natural/family systems methodology

- how the data is used and shared tribally, intertribally, nationally and academically.

MEMORANDUM

DATE: October 23, 1987

TO: Scott Nelson and Maria Stetter

FROM: LaDonna Harris

RE: Next Project

After leaving you yesterday, Louise, Jackie and I spent some time clarifying the concrete outcomes of our proposed project.

One outcome would be the development of a computerized relational data base which tribal communities could use for the storage and analysis of data collected using the family diagram.

Emphasizing the collection of the family diagram data and the development of the computerized data base would create a supportive process out of the glare of the spotlight for the introduction of this new way of thinking about the health of the community into the community.

Following the procedure we followed in Winnebago (see p. 2 #5 of previous memo) in four or five more communities would give us 50 family interviews in different culture and symptom areas and would enable us to develop a relational data base for use on personal computers. Each tribal community could then establish and maintain their own community profile, a profile which would not only focus on the problems but also on the strengths of the community.

This profile would enable the community to better understand its own emotional process and provide the communities, IHS and AIO a continuous source of information for both policy and resource decisions.

It is AIO's belief that in supporting this systems effort IHS will profoundly contribute to what we all want in and out of government and that is to empower individual Indians and their tribes to take control of their own health and social development.

MEMORANDUM

DATE: November 5, 1987

TO: LaDonna Harris

FROM: Jacqueline Wasilewski

RE: AIO Family Systems Project and DeBruyn/Lujan Report

I just finished reading DeBruyn and Lujan's report on family alcohol abuse and child abuse and neglect in the Indian population served by the Santa Fe Service Unit. I find that our family system project addresses some of the major findings of this report, that is, that abuse

- is not just an individual issue but is part of multigenerational patterns (pp. 31, 36, 39)
- is exacerbated by having a mixed heritage (multi-tribal as well as tribal/white) (p. 14)
- correlates with a substantial amount of "white" education (p. 22)

and that

- family and community strengths must be indentified on which to build prevention and intervention strategies (p. 35)
- community members like Community Health Representatives are the best sources of data about the community (p. 35)
- results will be obtained more readily in the project which supports those community members and serveice providers who are the people who work "beyond their job descriptions," "who get things done" (p. 41).

Our proposed project will enable, not only CHR's, but other community leaders, formal and informal, to systematically document their own multigenerational patterns, positive, as well as negative, strong, as well as weak, to describe, often for the first time, the dynamics of their complex heritages, leaving nothing out, affirming their multiple selves.

As Indian people examine their own experience from their own perspectives, critical dynamics come to light, for example, the effects of Indian boarding schools on parenting skills, especially if in some schools up to 85% of the children were sexually abused (LaFromboise and Lucas, personal communication).

Identifying and grappling with the particular dynamics of one's own family and community and creating alternatives for dealing with them empowers people to take control of their circumstances, to deal with their own problems.

What we are recommending is a community self-analysis using family diagrams to gather the data. While the family systems approach provides a framework for data collection, AIO's work in consensus-based governance provides a process through which family members can share the insights generated from their own family's diagrams with the entire community.

LaDonna Harris
President

Honorable James Abourezk

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Rosebud-Sioux

Joan Bordman
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Joe S. Sando
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Vicky Santana
Blackfeet

Eddie L. Tullis
Alabama Creek

A. David Lester
Creek

AIO

Americans for Indian Opportunity

November 9, 1987

Dr. Scott Nelson and Ms. Maria Stetter
Indian Health Service
Parklawn Building
5600 Fishers Lane
Rockville, MD 20857

Dear Dr. Nelson and Ms. Stetter:

Since developing our Family Systems Project and even since speaking with both of you, it has become increasingly apparent that with the national economy in its present unstable state federal health dollars are going to be increasingly scarce. It is, therefore, even more important that the tribes gain control of their own health affairs.

I believe that we at AIO and all of you at IHS, from Dr. Rhoades on down, all want to leave a particular legacy and that is empowering Indian communities to take control of the identification and interpretation of their own health needs and of the designing and provision of appropriate interventions to meet those needs.

This firm placement of the locus of control within each community is the major lesson of Alkalai Lake and Zuni. Alkalai Lake, in partciular, did not have much money, but they got hold of their problem and marshalled their existing resources to address it, the major resource being themselves.

Based on our Winnebago experience (see Memo of October 21st) we think that introducing family systems will allow each tribe/community to create its own "Alkalai Lake" phenomenon. (A new term is entering the Indian Country vocabulary, "doing an Alkalai Lake...") According to all reports from Winnebago, not only were individuals empowered but so was the entire community. Such empowerment is fundamentally what AIO is all about.

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AIO would like to have the opportunity to introduce family systems into five other communities. Although we feel this systems approach is very close to innate Indian thought processes we still feel the need to further refine and acculturate it to Indian Country.

From our experience as a national organization taking the idea to four or five communities in the various cultural regions enables the tribes to successfully take over the idea as their own. It becomes a product of each community, not an imposition by IHS, AIO or any other outside entity.

Combining this introduction with the development of a computerized relational data base in which the data collected can be stored and manipulated by each tribe for their own long range planning (see Memo of October 23rd) gives each tribe primary control over their own health information.

We have also included an excerpt from Michael Kerr's explication of Bowen's Family System's Theory (see enclosure). Bowen's theory of societal regression precisely describes today's dynamics in Indian communities, especially paragraph #4. AIO is absolutely convinced that Bowen's Family System's orientation will be a key in turning Indian communities around.

I am also very excited about how well our project addresses some of the major findings of the DeBruyn/Lujan report on family alcohol abuse and child abuse and neglect (see Memo of November 5th).

In any case, we here at AIO predict that strategically introducing family systems thinking into four or five additional communities and creating an information system to support it will profoundly contribute to the empowermemt of individual Indians, their families and their tribal governments to take control of their own health and social development.

Warmest personal regards,

LaDonna Harris

LDH/dkm

Enclosures: Final Report
Memos of October 21
October 23
November 5
Excerpt from Michael Kerr's article

AIO
Americans for Indian Opportunity

LaDonna Harris
President

Honorable James Abourezk

Lionel Bordeaux
Rosebud-Sioux

Joan Bordman
Sioux

Edgar Bowan
Coos-Oregon

Mary Jo Butterfield
Makah

Phyllis Old Dog Cross
Mandan-Hidatsa

Andy Ebona
Tlingit

Coy G. Eklund

LaDonna Harris
Comanche

Minerva Jenkins
Ft. Mojave

Louis LaRose
Winnebago

Charles Lohah
Osage

Grace McCullah
Navajo

Jerry Muskrat
Cherokee

Elma Patterson
Tuscarora

Joe S. Sando
Jemez Pueblo

Vicky Santana
Blackfeet

Eddie L. Tullis
Alabama Creek

A. David Lester
Creek

January 15, 1988

Dr. Scott Nelson
Indian Health Service
6A55 Parklawn Building
5600 Fishers Lane
Rockville, Maryland 20857

Dear Dr. Nelson:

Please find our short report enclosed. We tried to incorporate most of the suggestions you made in your meeting with Jackie.

We could not, however, fully respond to your request for a more causitive, less descriptive analysis of our findings. Ms. Rauseo, on the basis of only ten interviews, was not ready to draw any therapeutic conclusions. We here at AIO support her hesitancy in this regard. This is another reason we would appreciate an opportunity to do more interviews in at least four other communities.

However, from our activist perception, the outstanding feature of this project is the manner in which this system's way of thinking about health has released empowering energy in the Winnebago community. In my quarter century of work in public life I have never seen anything like it.

Anything IHS could do to support us in replicating this interviewing process in at least four other communities would be a major contribution to disseminating family systems thinking in Indian Country.

With warmest personal regards,

LaDonna Harris

LDH/dkm

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AIO FAMILY SYSTEMS PROJECT AT WINNEBAGO

INTRODUCTION

The high incidence of alcoholism, diabetes, and suicide among Indian people is a central concern of the entire Indian community. To address this concern AIO proposed a pilot family systems project.

The goal of this project is not conceptualized as either training or treatment in the usual sense. Most intervention programs (including most family therapy) put emphasis on the foreground details, the presenting symptoms of troubled lives. While these programs are able to elicit some change in these symptoms for a time, the background process is often left untouched. It is this background, the basic emotional process in the family that AIO is interested in influencing.

Thus, this project, based on a family systems way of thinking, is not designed to provide a treatment program for symptomatic members of the community. Rather, it is designed to enable the Winnebago people to examine the basic emotional forces in their own families. AIO's hope is that the process of better understanding those forces will eventually affect the functioning of not only individual families but of the entire tribal society.

To get at the background process behind alcoholism, diabetes and suicide, the focus of family systems thinking is on family members' patterns of automatic behavior over many generations. Such patterns of behavior provide clues to the level of anxiety or stress in the family unit, and the family's usual manner of coping with that anxiety or stress. Awareness of these patterns is a first step in changing them. Many tribal people find this systems approach a natural way to go about analyzing health issues, perhaps because of its similarity to traditional thinking on health and wellness which sees "dis-ease" as a manifestation of unbalance in relationships in the community.

PILOT PROJECT

Since the purpose of the project was to learn about the background processes in which families come to have different levels of functioning, and this could be more readily accomplished by examining the difference in levels of functioning among members of a single tribe who have much of their history in common, it was decided to conduct all the interviews at Winnebago.

A family history was obtained from representatives of each of ten Winnebago families. Each family had thousands of details to tell of the many lives of the four generations discussed. The details from each family could fill a book, and in many ways the details were not very different in those families with greater or lesser levels of functioning. The interviews, however, revealed subtle differences.

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS

Based on only ten interviews, this report can do no more than suggest questions and guide further family study in Winnebago for those who want to pursue a family systems orientation to the original questions. However, the differences that emerged appeared consistent over three and four generations.

Both functional and dysfunctional families told of many challenges and problems they had in common; early deaths of parents or children, frequent moves in past generations due to government policy changes, removal of children to BIA boarding schools in some generations, conflicts about religious and cultural values, separations and divorces, alcohol abuse in the family and serious illnesses.

However, it was not the problems families had to face that distinguished functional from dysfunctional families but the manner in which they dealt with the problems. The following are examples of the manner in which functional families dealt with certain difficulties:

1) In cases of marriages between races and tribes, people found a way to be "members" of both the mother's and father's families.

2) People kept personal relationships across several generations in spite of conflicts, geographic distances, or personal differences.

3) People showed resilience in the face of obstacles such as economic failures, loss of parents or partners, racism, etc.

4) Family members did not hide from difficult issues or deny differences in the family.

5) Members of the family provided leadership in the community and beyond the Indian community.

DISCUSSION OF CHARACTERISTICS IDENTIFIED AT WINNEBAGO

The items listed above do not explain the differences in the families but simply describe some aspects of functional families. The question remains, "What are the background processes that influence the differences in functioning?"

Family systems theory provides a lens to see such differences in functioning in terms of the ability of each family member to remain an individual while being part of the group. This is one aspect of an important concept called differentiation of self (Bowen, 1978). At lower levels of differentiation, symptoms of physical, emotional, and social problems are more frequent, chronic, and severe.

In the more functional families, the family units had a way of living less anxious lives even in the midst of severe stress. The individuals in the families were more sure of themselves, even in the face of disapproval or disagreements in the group. The clarity of their self-definition allowed them to live among differences without either giving up self, becoming angry, taking sides within the group, or becoming cut off from the group.

The less functional families were, for generations, more anxious units. The individuals lacked clear definition of self and would react based on the forces around them. Societal, cultural and relationship forces could all elicit extreme reactivity. The behavior associated with such reactivity was not based on real choice. This reactivity often manifested itself in the giving up self, getting pulled into rigid opposition within the family or tribe, or cutting off from the group. All these behaviors resulted in a greater risk of symptoms.

ACTIONS INITIATED BY WINNEBAGO FOLLOWING THE PILOT PROJECT

As a result of the one week of interviews with ten families the Winnebago tribal government, the Catholic church and the local community college have all come together:

1. To provide a physical plant for a Family Center;

2. To offer a training for mental health professionals in conducting interviews to construct family diagrams;

3. To bring in a consultant from the Georgetown Family Center to introduce family systems thinking into the Winnebago community (in conjunction with the community college) and to help analyze and interpret the first interviews; and

4. To begin to develop a system (possibly computerized) to archive the community's emerging collective knowledge of itself.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In AIO's governance work with the Winnebago tribal council alcoholism and physical violence related to alcoholism were identified as major community problems which impact heavily on the tribe's ability to govern. This is why Chairman Snake wanted this family systems project at Winnebago, to look at these dynamics.

Both Chairman Snake and AIO feel that the profiles the interviews gave us contributed not only to understanding the health issues of the tribe but also the tribe's social and governmental functioning. We see a profound relationship between individual health and community functioning.

AIO would like to continue to work with Winnebago to expand their information base, continue the development of their family systems project and contribute to the analysis of their situation. We would also like to replicate doing the family interviews in at least four more tribes, each from a different culture area.

So doing will enable those communities to understand their underlying dynamics, to see the relationship between individual and community dysfunction, to look at those dynamics and relationships in a different way and to create alternatives to existing dysfunctional patterns of behavior.

AIO, as a long-time activist organization, cannot emphasize enough that in its most considered professional opinion the introduction of family systems thinking to Indian Country provides an opportunity for Indian people to look at themselves in a different way than ever before.

HANDBOOK OF FAMILY THERAPY, Gurman & Kniskern, Editors
"Family Systems Theory and Therapy," by Michael Kerr
N.Y.: Brunner/Mazel, 1981

8) Societal Emotional Process

In retrospect, the extension of systems concepts towards a theory of societal emotional functioning seems a logical step. But from the author's observation of Bowen in the 1969-72 period, when much of his earlier thinking about society began to gel, it was then and remains an extremely difficult conceptual leap. Whenever Bowen has spoken on this topic at conferences or even at small meetings of people supposedly knowledgeable about systems, much of the audience is quick to want to engage Bowen in an emotional debate and accuse him of being unduly pessimistic about society.

Basically, the concept of societal emotional process states that forces towards individualilty and togetherness operate to counterbalance each other on a societal level in a manner similar to what exists in individual families. Increasing societal anxiety alters the functional balance of these forces by increasing the activity of the togetherness forces, gradually eroding functioning based on individuality and lowering society's functional level of differentiation. As the togetherness orientation progresses, there are ever-increasing complications or symptoms of the imbalance. The process continues until the complications or symptoms reach such a magnitude that the disturbance or discomfort they create forces the process to level off and move back towards a more differentiated level of functioning. When that turnabout occurs, the symptoms begin to decrease.

Bowen's intial observations about societal process grew, in part, from reviewing clinical cases of families with acting-out adolescents whom he had treated at differenct periods in his practice. He noticed changes during the 1960's in the way the courts and school systems dealt with these families. The changes were in the direction of the courts and schools dealing with the problems more and more like the families did. In the anxious family with an acting-out teenager, the teenager is making increasing demands for his rights. The parents are unsure of themselves and give in to the demands to relieve the anxiety of the moment, but creating a larger problem for the future. Parents get into pleading, coaxing, do-it-for-me postures with their kids, the oppostite of differentiated or well-defined self positon. They are vulnerable to the child's pleas of being misunderstood and alternate between being overly sympathetic and overly harsh when the child makes yet another demand. The child becomes adept at sensing the parent's weaknesses and exploiting them. It is an anxiety-driven process, with the parents putting increasing pressure on the child to be different and the child making increasing demands on the parents. The acting-out symptoms become greater and greater. At this point, the author will leave it to the reader to decide whatever parrallels exist on a societal level.

Presumably, within any group and for society as a whole, there is an optimum balance between the individuality and togetherness life forces. An ideal would seem to be each person being conscious of his/her own autonomy while at the same time being consicous of the overall team effort. In a calm social group, indiviudals insists on their rights as individuals, but at the same time have an interest in the total group. There is a tolerance for differences within the group, and people are not putting emotional pressure on each other to conform in certain ways. As anxiety in the society increases, people sort of implode into subgorups. Concern for the whole is lost and the intensely fused subroups begin to fight with each other. The we-they phenomenon becomes more prominent. Each subgroup insists on its rights and will attack the larger structure with its demands to the point of even destroying the larger structure. The irony is that to a great extent the existence of the subgroups depends on the existence of the structure. The analogy would be a cancer destroying the body even though the cancer depends on the body for its nourishment.

Bowen originally used the phrase "societal regression" to describe this anxiety-driven emotional process in society that interferes with society's abilty to solve its problems. The rising rate of violence, rising diveorce rate, instability of governments and a host of other parameters are symptoms of this ever-intensifying emotional process. Although society has experiences such periods before, Bowen believes this current period is unique. The overpopulation problem, depletion of natural resources, and a sense of no more frontiers to which to flee are creating a level of chronic, intense anxiety that is unique in the history of man.

A Wingspread® Report

Strengthening Families Through Informal Support Systems

Families do not live and function as isolated units, but have informal and complex relations with several networks that provide support and sustenance. These support systems — kin networks, voluntary associations, neighborhoods, self-help groups, ethnic and religious affiliations — were the subject of this Wingspread conference sponsored by the Coalition for the White House Conference on Families, in cooperation with The Johnson Foundation. The conference also discussed informal support systems as structures that mediate between individuals and "institutions of power," celebrated the diversity of American families and American culture, anticipated the White House Conference on Families, and debated the role of social service programs, the limits of government policies, and the relation of families to the state and to the helping professions.

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Report of a Wingspread Conference • The Johnson Foundation • Racine, Wisconsin

I. INTRODUCTION

The family has recently become an object of extensive interest, examination, and concern. Thoughtful observers, noting the statistical evidence, studying the history of the family, and projecting its future, are writing books with titles like *Here to Stay* and *Haven in a Heartless World.* Study groups are attempting to measure the impact of taxation, welfare, and other public policies on American families. Universities, foundations, and government agencies are sponsoring research that may help us decide whether to feel discouraged or hopeful about the state of the family. Certainly the subject is in the air, and nearly everyone is interested in it.

"It is clear that the national government should have a strong pro-family policy, but the fact is that our government has no family policy, and that is the same as an anti-family policy."

The President of the United States is interested. As a presidential candidate, Jimmy Carter said, "It is clear that the national government should have a strong pro-family policy, but the fact is that our government has no family policy, and that is the same as an anti-family policy."

In January 1978, President Carter, carrying through on his earlier statement, announced a first step on the part of the national government: "In order to help stimulate a national discussion of the state of American families, I will convene a White House Conference on Families . . . . The main purpose of the White House Conference will be to examine the strengths of American families, the difficulties they face, and the ways in which family life is affected by public policies."

Thus the federal government, at its highest levels, has decided to encourage and to participate in the national dialogue, now well underway, regarding the family, how poorly or how well it is doing, and what can be done to help.

This is no easy subject, however; it is complex, has many parts, includes snares and pitfalls. Who, for example, can define "family" in a way everyone would accept? Who would make up the agenda for the White House Conference on Families? What items would be on that agenda? Individuals and organizations interested in the family — and these are many — took note of the coming White House Conference, and saw it as an opportunity of great potential usefulness.

Several national organizations concerned with families recognized the opportunity and determined not to let it pass. These included the Family Service Association of America, American Jewish Committee, National Council of Catholic Charities, National Council of Churches, National Council on Family Relations, Parents Without Partners, the YWCA, and the National Urban League. These and several others formed a loose-knit Coalition for the White House Conference on Families. Because the federal government, at its highest levels, is taking an interest in the family, the Coalition wishes to have an impact on the quality and effectiveness of that interest. In forming, the Coalition adopted four basic principles:

- That the White House Conference planners should devise a framework for the participation of various interest groups, professionals, and families themselves in defining the common needs of families;
- That the conference itself should focus on the impact of federal policy on the family;
- That the conference should recognize the impact the other major institutions of society have on the family;
- And finally, that the conference should also consider the informal networks of support that aid families, and how those informal support systems could be strengthened by government policy.

Meeting at Wingspread, the conference center of The Johnson Foundation, in Racine, Wisconsin, representatives of the Coalition's member organizations discussed further what they meant by the fourth principle.

Briefly, "informal networks of support" are the means by which families meet day to day needs and crises. They provide both emotional and material support, and include kin networks, extended families, lodges, clubs, fraternal organizations and other natural communities, neighborhoods, churches and other religious affiliations, self-help groups, and ethnic associations. They are cooperative, reciprocal, natural, and informal. These are often the roots that give life.

"Informal networks of support" are the means by which families meet day to day needs and crises . . . . They are cooperative, reciprocal, natural, and informal. They are often the roots that give life.

In part, the Wingspread conference was called to document the importance of these informal support systems; it was also an attempt to initiate a national dialogue on just what informal support systems are, how they work, and how public policy could support them.

"We recognize their significance," said Joseph Giordano, one of the conference planners, as the meeting began, "but we are still learning what should be included as informal supports. Out of the conference will come a conceptual approach that strongly makes the case that it is important to consider informal supports. After all, they are the means by which families cope."

Irving M. Levine, also a conference organizer, added, "We think that the informal support systems are neglected and ignored."

Running throughout the conference, however, was a tone of somewhat cautious probing, this being new territory, almost unbroken ground. There was confusion, and often a lack of agreement, even on terms as basic as what constitutes a family, or a support system.

Overlying the conference, however, were several key issues, which were not part of the informal-support agenda, but which nevertheless often elbowed their way onto center stage.

There was agreement, however, on the importance of finding answers to basic questions, answers that could be used to guide public policy. Several speakers suggested that the family would be a crucial, perhaps *the* crucial issue of the next decade.

No easy answers came out of the Wingspread conference, and none were expected. Information, knowledge, and experience on a variety of informal support systems — ethnicity, religion, neighborhood, self-help groups — were shared. Dialogue on the issues was started.

Overlying the conference, however, were several key issues, which were not part of the informal-support agenda, but which nevertheless often elbowed their way onto center stage. These issues, about which few conferees felt indifferent, included one's view of the nature of families, what its structure and functions are and should be, and the relation of the family to society's "institutions of power." Another issue not to be denied nor

overlooked was the relation of families to human service professionals, which side public policy should be on, and whether programs and professionals encouraged dependence in the families and individuals being served. Still another issue was the White House Conference on Families and concern about the character of that conference and of the growing government interest in families. That is, the conferees gathered at Wingspread to examine informal support systems, and did talk about these, and other questions, but with an eye always on the coming White House Conference. The Wingspread conference contained some lessons for the later, bigger meeting.

We will look first at these overlying issues, because they determined the shape of the Wingspread meeting, and could well do the same in Washington in 1981.

II. THE STATE OF THE FAMILY

When you get past the headlines, the professional studies and reports, and the cries of concern, what is the "crisis" that besets the American family? It seems to have leapt full blown into the national consciousness, almost as though the family had suddenly been put on an endangered species list, and people were searching for the rules and regulations — the sanctuaries — that would protect and preserve this vanishing "species."

THE FAMILY IN PERIL?

Problems arise at the beginning of any discussion of families. It is difficult to talk about families simply because everybody is part of one. Our own family experiences inevitably shade our view of "the family." One person's family is another's commune.

The family — whether nuclear, extended, traditional, non-traditional, communal, whatever — is as close as our own skin. In his story, "The Purloined Letter," Edgar Allan Poe presented the notion that if you want to hide something, you should put in plain sight. There is some truth to that; things closest to us are often the hardest to see clearly.

Recognizing the difficulty of defining what a family is, and what it means to us, it is still possible to point out areas of concern. Without a doubt, statistics indicate that things are not as they used to be. Consider the following:

- Divorce is up by 700 percent since 1900. For children born in the 1970's, four out of ten will live in a single parent household for part of their childhood.
- In 1950, in 56% of husband-wife homes the man was the sole bread winner; in 1975 the figure had dropped to 34 percent.
- In slightly over a decade, first births to unmarried couples have doubled.

The issues go on and on: juvenile delinquency rates, reported cases of spouse and child abuse, the changing role expectations of family members. But what do the figures mean?

That we, as a society, cannot go back to the world of the "Little House on the Prairie" or "Walton's Mountain" is a reality. Does that constitute a crisis?

Other statistics indicate that while families may be changing, they are not dissolving. Divorces are common, but so is remarriage. Even if the family has experienced difficulty in fulfilling traditional roles, like the socialization of young children, there is little evidence that any other institution has stepped in to replace the family.

"But I also believe that one thing they are not asking for is the negative approach that emphasizes pathology, or illness. They want confirmation of their own ability to care for their own."

THE FAMILY IN CHANGE

If the family is in disarray, in turmoil, or in conflict — does this necessarily mean that it is in dissolution?

The answer that clearly came out of the Wingspread meeting was no. Mr. Giordano echoed a common theme when he said, "Many of us have found a wide variety of groups and individuals asking for a recommitment to family life on the part of institutions in our society.

"I think these groups and individuals are asking for help. But I also believe that one thing they are not asking for is the negative approach that emphasizes pathology, or illness. They want confirmation of their own ability to care for their own."

Added another conferee, "What is family? It may just be that we are in a period of redefining or broadening, or are moving towards something that is even better than what we had before. By accepting 'weakening' and 'deterioration' [as terms describing families] we are taking a very regressive position."

Robert Hill, Director of the National Urban League's Department of Research, said that many studies of black families adopt "the assumption of pathology, weakness, absence of strengths, the absence of self-help, the absence of coping mechanisms among those groups. We feel that this negative approach is the source of a fundamental weakness and deficiency in most policies and programs directed toward low-income people."

The specific focus of the Wingspread conference was on coping strengths of families, not pathology. Because of this focus, however, several participants voiced fears that the real problems families are having would be slighted or passed over. No one denied that families are under pressure, but most did not want to throw up their hands in despair.

After all, others noted, families still exist, despite the formidable pressures that promote disintegration and perplexity. Families have skills to cope, and identifying those skills, particularly the informal coping systems, will assist us in proposing means to strengthen families.

III. WHAT SORT OF HELP DOES THE FAMILY NEED?

There was a word of caution sounded early in the conference and repeated often. "We are as likely as not to be forging chains in these days," John McKnight told the family service professionals and policy planners at Wingspread.

Mr. McKnight, who is Associate Director of Northwestern University's Center for Urban Affairs, noted, by way of warning, that the concept of childhood was a relatively recent one, developed in the 1800's. And once developed, that concept became the basis for a variety of rules, regulations,

controls, and "policies" regarding children.

THE DANGER OF FAMILY POLICY

"Are we going to be answering the question What is a family? in such a way that we will formalize, officialize, create a status around which a set of definitions, standards, and controls can be developed . . . a new basis established for the control of human beings?"

"There is nothing magic about the perseverance of families," Mr. McKnight maintained. "I think families have persevered because they performed vital functions. Family is finally . . . a set of functional relationships. If you take from the family, in the name of benefit to the family, its caring, doing, making, training, learning, resolving — whoever does that is the enemy of the family."

The problem in Mr. McKnight's view is not a lack of family policy. There are in fact a host of government programs, over 250 at last count, that have direct or indirect impact on the family. One problem is too many institutions, agencies of government, family professionals all trying to do things for the family.

"If you take from the family, in the name of benefit to the family, its caring, doing, making, training, learning, resolving — whoever does that is the enemy of the family."

"I think the question is what is *not* to be done," he offered.

That question leads straight to public policy, or what should not be policy. "The policy implications of one who thinks a family is like a cauldron [of personality disorders], as opposed to a haven, are very, very significant," Mr. McKnight said. If families are viewed as schools, perhaps policy will deal with programs, he suggested; if families are like organizations, perhaps what they need is a grant or leadership skills; if the family is an economic entity, then a subsidy or a workshop in management by objectives may be called for; if families are like people, what they need are services and therapy.

In Mr. McKnight's own analogy, families "are the vital center of the society, the reality from which all the rest comes, and for which all the rest exists."

From that perspective, policy should think *from* the family, out to society; not from society, onto the family. In the former view, policy is created to support and nurture families; in the latter, it is created to impose on families.

Families "are the vital center of the society, the reality from which all the rest comes, and for which all the rest exists."

THE FAMILY AS HAVEN

Mr. McKnight called the family the center of "the other America," pitted against the institutions of power. While it is in the character of institutions of power to disallow individuals from doing more than part of a task, or seeing the results of their efforts, families empower and support. The institutions of power depersonalize and dehumanize; families encourage and enfranchise.

> The family is still the context where it is possible to make something and see that it works. It is the place where the world is still understandable . . . it is the place where you can be competent and whole. The institutions of power provide you with the chance to be fragmented and impotent.
>
> The family is the center of those informal networks — to that world it is the vital center. It is the other America. The real, the possible, the reasonable America, the informal America of which it is king and queen.

Family policy should transfer power from agencies already "doing" for the family back to the family itself. Speaking to the conference, he said, "We must take the power away from you. Don't give us more therapy, give us a decent income. Don't give us your treatment; give us your tools.

"Put this way, the issue is not a question that can be put in terms of another policy. The issue is a question of transfer of power in our society. The thing that is liable to come from the White House Conference, I think, is the sort of medical model that will see policy as a way of injecting into the family [more] programs."

Mr. McKnight's comments did not go unchallenged. They sparked a debate over the role of the family service professionals, and highlighted the tension between professionals and self-help groups, between formal and informal systems.

The comments about professionals hit a vital nerve. While many conferees did not disagree with the spirit of Mr. McKnight's remarks, they were not sure just how far he would like to go in empowering families and disempowering professionals. The discussion turned on two points: first, the changing role of the family service professional from doctor-teacher to counselor-facilitator; and secondly, the importance of informal support systems in empowering families.

John Spiegel, M.D., Director of the Ethnicity and Mental Health Training Program at Brandeis University, called Mr. McKnight's remarks, "irrational and unrealistic . . . essentially an anti-professional position.

"I think we have to be concerned with the problems that families have in dealing with their culture, in dealing with the continuity of the culture . . . and the preparation of the child for a changing society. Can that be done by wiping out the professionals?" Dr. Spiegel asked.

While it is in the character of institutions of power to disallow individuals from doing more than part of a task, or seeing the results of their efforts, families empower and support.

THE ROLE OF SERVICE PROFESSIONALS

Do the professionals treat pathology rather than teach coping skills? There was rather widespread agreement with Mr. McKnight on this point.

An informal debate started when one conferee said, "I hope we don't as a group establish a paper tiger and beat the hell out of it — the paper tiger being one description of a counseling process as it existed, as I knew it, in 1954-1960. We can end up fighting against something that no longer exists."

Others took issue with that statement. Irving Levine agreed that professional attitudes might have changed, but "the funding sources and the power sources are still not only heavily into pathology, but are moving more into pathology. The insight from the grassroots has got to be brought to the [centers] of policy."

Even when family service professionals recognize the importance of families, their approach may still be one of teaching and imposing upon families. Said one participant:

> I talked to a good many social workers and therapists who have an enormous appreciation of the importance of the family and therefore are all the more eager to find the techniques whereby they can intervene and impose their goals and agenda. That's exactly the opposite of what we want to get at, which is the real transference of authority to the family or to families in all their diversity, in which the professional sees his or her role

as being ancillary and supportive of that family's agenda.

Other speakers said the tendency to label behavior pathological related particularly to blacks and low-income families and other groups whose family structure or individual behavior do not fit standard norms. When behavior is seen as pathological, coping strengths that might already exist are ignored. The label also may very well have a harmful effect on the person or group so labeled.

Ronald Gold, Staff Assistant with the National Gay Task Force, argued, "If I think of what I have as pathological, then I must go to you and say, 'You must help me with this; I don't know anything about it.' A *problem*, however, is something I can deal with within my family. I can't trust anyone else to decide for me what my pathologies are, or where my mental health lies."

Professionals can offer instrumental, technical support to families, but only families can provide a crucial, more intimate level of support, Mr. Gold said.

"Human inter-relationships are unknown territory for everybody, including the professionals," he said. "Individual human beings and individual human families have to work at these in experimental ways just as everyone of us in this room has got to, whatever our professional credentials. If we pretend to them that we have some information about human beings that they do not have access to, we are destroying their capacity to help themselves."

Dr. Spiegel, on the other hand, cautioned against the loose use of clinical terms. Referring to his experience working with ethnic groups in the Boston area, he maintained:

> We obtained a very good line on the differences between what was normal and what was pathological, and I must say I have a great deal of discomfort with the way this particular contrast and issue has been skirted at this conference, almost as if there were a slogan being sent out that what is pathological is from today on to be considered normal.

What *is* the role of the service professional? As a definition of that role emerged from the discussions, increasing importance was put on the function of informal support systems, both as mediating structures between the family and formal institutions, and as networks through which professionals could work with families, with a better understanding of families' inherent strengths.

Robert Rice, chairperson of the Coalition, commented, "We are now entering another stage, where we're talking about family empowerment, about how to support the power of the family in new and not yet understood ways — in other words, the role of the future therapist . . . . And part of our problem is that we don't know quite what the role is going to be."

Before examining informal support systems, we will look at another broad theme of this Wingspread conference, implicit in the conference itself and alluded to by several speakers. In effect, it was a warning to the planners of the White House Conference.

IV. THE DIFFICULTY OF BEING SPECIFIC ABOUT FAMILY POLICY

Reflecting on the course of the Wingspread conference, William McCready, Senior Study Director of the National Opinion Research Center, said, "It's a hell of a complex issue. The more you get down to concrete issues the more you are going to disagree."

As a possible foretaste of the White House Conference, this meeting offered several object lessons on what is likely to happen at a national conference on the American family. In a word, fragmentation: perhaps to the point where any real progress is prevented.

One person noted that any coalition that includes both the Catholic Bishops and the National Gay Task Force is bound to disagree as soon as the coalition gets down to specifics.

The problem then becomes twofold: family policy is such a new and complex issue that attention is easily distracted to other topics (the roles of women, child welfare, minor rights, non-traditional families, etc.); on the other hand, as soon as deliberations become specific, a variety of constituencies with a variety of agendas soon discover that they may agree only in their general concern for the family — whatever we mean by "family." The woods become obscured by the trees. The interest in the family is like a great noise rising in the land — loud, but unclear and incoherent.

As soon as deliberations become specific, a variety of constituencies with a variety of agendas soon discover that they may agree only in their general concern for the family — whatever we mean by "family."

Voicing this concern, Dr. Rice said, "If the White House Conference proves to be a turmoil, a demonstration of fragmentation in our society, we might lose our whole purpose — strengthening families — and the subject of family policy will become poison for many years to come."

But, he added, if the conference doesn't get down to specifics about family and family policy, "an unthinking family policy will develop that will do more harm than good."

Fragmentation, lack of definition of terms, different agendas — these were all elements of the Wingspread meeting. Remarked one conferee, "If this is what is going to happen at the White House Conference, now I understand why we have the problems we have in the United States with people who are setting [family] policy."

There is not much that can be done to avoid these problems, unfortunately.

Mr. McCready suggested that the White House Conference could be very specific about its agenda, to try to focus the direction of discussion.

Dr. Rice, however, saw the White House Conference as only the beginning of an evolution, not revolution, in public policy attitudes towards the family. He suggested:

> Those of us who are concerned about families and strengthening families, those of us who are service professionals, are going to have to learn new things, if we wish to make a difference in policy towards the family. We will have to live with the anxiety of entering the cauldron of conflicting interests — politics, nasty stuff. We will have to live with the idea of incremental change. We will have to practice the art of the possible.

V. SELF-HELP AS A SUPPORT SYSTEM

The recent proliferation of a whole variety of groups loosely called "self-help" reflects both a malaise in society and, at the same time, the coping strengths of individual families. The best known and one of the oldest and most effective self-help groups is of course Alcoholics Anonymous.

How important are informal support systems? One way to begin the discussion is to note that several conferees were able to attend only because of such support networks. For example, Dr. Rice, whose father was suffering from a back injury, said, "The only reason I'm able to be here is because of a helping network of friends who are taking care of him."

Informal support systems surround us. In dozens of ways big and small they help us to cope, to solve problems, to remain whole. Sometimes these supports are so much a part of our lives that we don't think of them as anything special: the friend, the neighbor, the club, the church — whoever is there to give us a hand when we need it.

How important are these supports? In a series of panel discussions, conference participants looked at some of the informal networks of support.

YOU CAN DO IT YOURSELF

The recent proliferation of a whole variety of groups loosely called "self-help" reflects both a malaise in society and, at the same time, the coping strengths of individual families. The best known and one of the oldest and most effective self-help groups is of course Alcoholics Anonymous.

Said Frank Reissman, Co-Director of the New Human Services Institute:

> The self-help movement arises because there are two simultaneous things occuring. One is a tremendous feeling of alienation regarding what can be done about big structures. [And] not only do we feel powerless,
> to do about the problems that exist at that level. We turn to some areas of life where we can do something, in our small groups, in our self-help groups, in our local institutions, in our families.

These groups are an indication of a "tremendous amount of local ferment . . . decentralized action attempting to achieve some kind of empowerment," Mr. Reissman said.

"These new groups are much more than support. They're survival systems," added Leonard Borman, Director of the Self-Help Institute of Northwestern University.

The self-help movement is also an indication of the limits of, and a growing distrust for, professionalism. Where professional or formal institutions are under attack for being (or seeming to be) too expensive, too distant, uncaring, and inefficient, self-help groups are seen as inexpensive, caring, concerned, and personal.

Mr. Borman worked with a mental health hospital near Chicago. He said he was struck by a common factor among the variety of patient self-help groups he encountered:

> The commonality of many of these [patient] populations is that they have not been able to get the kind of help they needed, either from their traditional support system, or from existing human service agencies and professionals. Although they are a part of families, the family doesn't understand what they are going through.

To some extent, the focus of many self-help groups is the individual, not the family. But to the extent that such groups help an individual deal with stress or cope with a problem, stress within a family is relieved also.

"These might be a new form of extended families, or support systems, that are possibly replacing the tribe, the village, the neighborhood, that don't exist for these people anymore," Mr. Borman suggested. "Small support systems are vital in terms of basic purposes of our society. Many of these groups seem to represent the kind of value system that has slowly been bleached out of our society. They're concerned with commitment."

INDIVIDUAL VS. FAMILY?

This does not mean that self-help groups always bolster the traditional family structure. Where traditional family or social roles are being recast, family members look for support from these outside groups, against the family.

In the area of women's family roles this is particularly true. Jacqueline Gilbert, Assistant Director of Parents Without Partners, said, "People have been forcing their families, their institutions, their religions, their neighborhoods . . . to accept [role changes] because there have been enough of us who were so uncomfortable with what we had to do to gain support that we found a support group that could work with us. We were all kind of a collection of outcasts who could at least speak to the fact that other groups were not bolstering us."

For women who divorced and suddenly found they had no financial status in the community, for abused spouses who were told to go back home, for women questioning their sexual identity, women's groups offer a "safe harbor" that the traditional family and social structure cannot. And while these groups might be disruptive of traditional family structures, one conferee suggested that that might not be "bad if it seems that one member of that family has been subjected or oppressed, or denied the full expression of her humanness."

At the same time, the changing roles of women may in fact make families stronger in the long run, another speaker suggested.

Felicia George, Coordinator of the Non-Sexist Child Development Project of the Women's Action Alliance, reminded the conference that the women's movement was not a new phenomenon, dating back as it does to the early 1800's. Equal sharing of family roles is not a revolutionary idea. Historically, women and men shared equal roles in the family. It was only after the industrial revolution that the role of women within the family diminished, Ms. George maintained.

The women's movement "has spurred men to also reexamine their role and become more involved with the family," she added. "It has redefined women and the meaning of traditional women's roles to give them the kind of status and value that women feel they should have." There is more sharing of parental responsibilities, and a breakdown of sexual stereotypes.

In the long run, while "this has brought about new forms of families that I don't think we can ignore," the family unit will probably be stronger because it recognizes the expectations of all its members, Ms. George said.

Informal support networks discussed at Wingspread cut across all variety of social stratification and classification. They exist to empower people. If self-help groups succeed in doing that, Mr. Reissman noted, then the "de-alienation" of people towards their society might carry over to larger institutions. If that is the case, empowering people at a local level would have far reaching impact on the major institutions of society.

VI. NEIGHBORHOODS AS SUPPORT SYSTEMS

We all had one, and many of us still do: that place where you played stick ball or kick-the-can as a child, went chasing through empty lots or open fields. Its boundaries might have been a few city blocks, or the mile you walked down a country road to your best friend's house.

For many people their definition of themselves is still tied up with the neighborhood they live in. What do we mean by neighborhood? "I like to think of it as one of the levels of systems in this society that I turn to for help, one of the primary sources of help for me and my family," said David Roth, Midwest Director of the Institute on Pluralism and Group identity.

WE LIKE IT HERE

There was an immediacy to Mr. Roth's comments. He said he was able to attend the conference only because of neighbors who were taking care of his nine-year-old daughter while both he and his wife were out of town.

Certainly that arrangement is not an unusual one. But for the Roths it is part of a system within the neighborhood that allows the family to function in ways it otherwise could not. Because both parents work at some distance from the house, neighbors look after the Roth's daughter, sending her to school, and taking her into their home after school, on a daily basis.

"What has happened in a residential development that has turned into a neighborhood is for us an interesting sort of bartering system with people who are rather different from us. In short, this neighborhood has given us a number of options, which are vital to the central maintenance of our family," Mr. Roth said.

Interestingly, Mr. Roth does not live in an older established neighborhood, but in a suburb with a high percentage of young families. It has become almost a fad for families to get street signs from their old Chicago neighborhoods and put the signs in the front lawns of their new homes.

"That says something probably of the view they have of the neighborhood they came from and to some extent also what they hope will happen in the community in which they're living," he added.

Other examples of such evolving neighborhoods were mentioned. In one area where there were mostly elderly and young couples, the young families would provide transportation for the elderly, who in return offered baby sitting services and advice on child rearing.

Columbia University Professor of Sociology and Social Work Eugene Litwak offered a functional definition of neighborhood. "We're talking about lay people," he said. "We are not talking about technical experts or large scale organizations. There is a form of lay knowledge, and activities that occur in every area of life, and these seem to be essential."

THE LADY NEXT DOOR

Examples of lay activity would be elementary first aid, calling the police to report a neighbor's house being robbed, or pulling a neighbor's child out of the street.

"The thing that characterizes a neighborhood is that their lay activities are closely tied to geographic area. In talking about neighborhoods as a support system we [must] first recognize that we are talking about lay knowledge . . . . , that it requires the resources of more than two persons, but not large numbers, that it is tied to geographical proximity," he said.

Mr. Litwak identified four types of neighborhoods:

- *Traditional,* where people have long-term commitments to the neighborhood, and support for each other. In such neighborhoods strangers are distrusted. Because of their distrust for outside groups, such neighborhoods are vulnerable when they have to deal with large-scale bureaucracy.
- Then there is the *mobile neighborhood* where, although there is a large amount of support and sharing, there is no permanent commitment to the neighborhood. These neighborhoods welcome strangers, and can make better use of formal institutions.
- The third type of neighborhood he called *mass neighborhoods,* where there is little exchange of support or commitment to the area, where families have relationships only to larger scale, formal institutions (social services, etc.).
- Finally, Mr. Litwak mentioned what he called *volatile neighborhoods,* areas where two traditional neighborhoods come into conflict because they overlap.

Mr. Roth suggested that neighborhoods have an ability not only to cope, but to define what is, or is not, a problem within the context of that community. Referring to his work with the American Jewish Committee's Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity, Mr. Roth mentioned several Chicago areas with large Appalachian populations. In these communities, he said, individuals who from a professional standpoint should be in an institution were cared for in the community. "That neighborhood has a tremendous capacity to cope," Mr. Roth said.

He also mentioned an Institute project that uses the ethnic community as just such a helping network. A coalition of professionals and community and neighborhood people has been put together to focus on informal support systems.

The goal, he said, was to "make the mental health care system [service providers] more responsive to and responsible to a community-based, or neighborhood-based, or family-based way of looking at mental health care. It doesn't devalue the importance of professionals at all. It simply makes a bold statement that some of these informal support systems function very well."

VII. RELIGION AS A SUPPORT SYSTEM

Several key issues and trends were raised in the discussion of religion as a support system. Speakers said two trends in society were coming together: the end of two centuries of secularism, and a resurgence of religion.

Rev. Richard Neuhaus, Senior Editor of *Worldview Magazine,* maintained, "We are in the midst of a religious resurgence . . . . What we're witnessing is the end of two hundred years of what could fairly be called the hegemony of the secular enlightenment.

"The role of religion has thrown into question, if not completely debunked, most of the theories of secularization that social scientists have been operating with."

That religious institutions have been in a period of turmoil, even crisis, was not denied. And when religious institutions lost the confidence or ability

to state moral values firmly, other social institutions suffered, it was said.

"The result of all of this is a loss of value, loss of confidence, loss of, simply, standards," said Rabbi Irving Greenberg, Director of The National Jewish Conference. The secular principle of pleasure "is in serious contradiction to most of the fundamental civilized and cultural activities of society."

What is happening today is that religion is reasserting values and reestablishing its role in society. What this means in terms of religion as a support system can be seen on several levels.

Brother Joseph Berg, Associate Director of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, said that at the local level, churches are mobilizing to help, to empower people.

"They are not afraid of being involved in the political process," he said. "We are not afraid to be involved in advocacy . . . and advocacy seems to imply a corporate responsibility."

On a broader policy level, this religious resurgence has profound implications for public policy, Pastor Neuhaus said. "We are no longer going to assume that the public arena and the discourse appropriate to the public arena must be value free. We will no longer have to sweep our values under the carpet."

These groups provide refuge and support to the individual, and can be powerful themselves. Called "mediating structures," they include "those institutions standing between the individual and the larger institutions of public life:" the family, neighborhood, religious affiliations, voluntary associations, and groups whose membership is based on ethnicity or other sources of identity.

Here ensued a discussion of the informal groups that mediate between the individual and the larger, often indifferent or hostile, social environment. These groups provide refuge and support to the individual, and can be powerful themselves. Called "mediating structures," they include "those institutions standing between the individual and the larger institutions of public life:" the family, neighborhood, religious affiliations, voluntary associations, and groups whose membership is based on ethnicity or other sources of identity.

The mediating structures, because they are informal, natural, and personal, are easily seen as nearer the interests of the individual than the institutions of power are. The bias of many participants at the Wingspread conference was, not unexpectedly, cordial towards mediating structures, and their functions were sometimes seen as under threat from the big official institutions.

Thus Pastor Neuhaus said that at a minimum, where public policy ignores mediating structures (including religion), that policy should be corrected. At the maximum, public policy should be devised to support mediating structures (including religion).

Does this mean a rethinking of the concept of separation of church and state? Politically a burning coal, this issue was handled very carefully by the speakers. However, Pastor Neuhaus noted that by not allowing credits for children attending parochial schools, the state was not allowing families a choice in how their children would be socialized.

Rabbi Greenberg cited Alexis de Tocqueville, who called religion the cement that holds a pluralistic America together. "Values make a difference. The inability of society to make value statements cripples support systems and the family," Rabbi Greenberg said.

VIII. ETHNICITY AND FAMILY AS SUPPORT SYSTEMS

Ethnicity is a term almost as hard to pin down as *family.* William McCready defined it as "a latent, subjective identity that answers the question, where did you come from. It's a subjective story, a key element for many people in determining who they are. It's not necessary that they know the details of the story."

That is a broad definition, which Mr. McCready used to make several points. One was that, to whatever extent people value their background or their heritage, to that extent it becomes a support system for them — not necessarily a support system into which they were born. "Many of us have several ethnic heritages represented in our backgrounds," Mr. McCready said, "and we select one or another to emphasize. How else could someone like me, coming from Dutch, German, English, Scottish, and Irish stock, consider himself 'American-Irish?' I think many people are the same in this respect."

Secondly, people want the identity they select to be respected. "It's somehow important that we begin to listen to the stories as they emerge. One of the key elements that frequently gets lost at the social policy level, and frequently gets lost at the support system level, is the fact that people want their story to be respected. They want to feel as though other people accept it," he said.

But the question of ethnicity as a support system is really two-pronged. For many people it is a part of the fabric of their identity, a part of where they came from and who they are.

But with immigrant populations, ethnic support systems can mean something more concrete. John Spiegel sees informal ethnic support networks as bridges to a new society that play vital roles in acculturation. Dr. Spiegel identified two such support networks from his own professional experience. One he called host receptor sites, or culture brokers. These are community based institutions that serve as interpreters of the new culture for immigrants. The other he called gate keepers. These are individuals who come from the community and who work with formal and informal organizations to find out what services are available. They represent the ethnic group to formal institutions.

"Even ordinarily strong and healthy families cannot always resist the force of external pressures."

Around these kinds of quasi-formal support organizations, ethnic self-help groups often form, Dr. Spiegel said.

As for families as support systems, Marion Levine, Executive Director of the North Shore Child Guidance Center, emphasized,

> Families are truly support systems and not the enemy. Families have the capacity to problem solve and to cope. They do it every single day.
>
> The family as a support system must negotiate with many other systems in this society, and a therapist or service professional must consider the impact of

In fact, behavior that was seen as pathological in low-income families — women working, the interchangeability of family roles, with children often assuming some parental responsibilities — is now seen as a source of strength and coping when it appears in middle-income families.

these other external systems as well as problems within the family. Perhaps a family dysfunction has its origin, not in the weakness of the family or in an inability to cope, but in the intrusion or intervention of another system. Even ordinarily strong and healthy families cannot always resist the force of external pressures.

Robert Hill talked about the particular internal strengths of black and low-income families. He maintained that professionals generally ignore the strong coping mechanisms of such families and adopt a "missionary complex." Further, their assumptions of pathology don't fit with the facts.

"They define them as groups that are completely dependency-prone and therefore [policy] is not directed towards helping those who are helping themselves," he said.

In fact, behaviour that was seen as pathological in low-income families — women working, the interchangeability of family roles, with children often assuming some parental responsibilities — is now seen as a source of strength and coping when it appears in middle-income families.

Mr. Hill said studies have identified five areas of strength in low-income families: strong kinship bonds, work orientation, flexible family roles, strong achievement orientation, and strong religious orientation.

"We contend that those five factors have been functional for the survival, the advancement, and stability of black families," Mr. Hill said.

IX. FAMILY POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

Turning again to public policy: what should be the focus of policy, and what should be its limits? Do we already have an implicit family policy, as John McKnight and others suggested? Throughout the discussion of informal support systems, questions such as these, concerning how public policy could be shaped, were heard.

NO READY ANSWER

Although there were no ready answers, several themes emerged. One was put forth by Joseph Giordano. "I think we have to look at new mechanisms that make the linkage between the primary group and the bureaucracy. And we may need new groups that make the linkage," he said. Those linkages, many of them informal support systems, should be nurtured by policy. But how?

Mr. McKnight had suggested that the question would be better framed in the negative: "The question is what is *not* to be done. The principle around which policy is formulated . . . is best understood as a set of limits."

Families should be empowered to do for themselves, which means federal policy towards families should be one of options, he suggested. Citing one example of how that is not the case, Mr. McKnight talked about policy towards the elderly, which he said constituted "a national family-breaking policy in regards to helping children take care of their parents. The government wants to care for old people, but will only do that if children will separate from them."

If federal money is used to help support elderly in institutions, it should also be used — perhaps in the form of tax credits or other incentives — to help families who want to keep the elderly in the home and care for them.

Government pays for public education, but gives no aid, and even harasses families who choose to educate children in the home, or within kinship or community networks outside the formal institutions.

"What we need is a policy of options. What we have now is a straight family separation policy," Mr. McKnight said.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CHOICES

Another question was whether federal policy is too crude and clumsy an instrument for dealing with the diversity of families and their variety of needs.

"We've had a tradition of universal programs for universal needs," Irving Levine said. "Even within the context of universal needs, there is significant diversity, especially in the manner in which different individuals and groups prefer services to be delivered."

Could federal policy be formulated to allow for this variety — universal policy with built in choice? "It's quite possible that you can have a more sensitive, culturally compatible kind of policy framework that gives lots of people [choices]. It's not easy, but it's a way of thinking about how you handle problems," Mr. Levine said.

Another question was whether federal policy is too crude and clumsy an instrument for dealing with the diversity of families and their variety of needs.

Mr. Levine would encourage a "social conservation" approach which would represent the pluralistic nature of our society. It would respect professionalism, but it would also deliver services through the natural and informal systems of help that can be discovered through a deeper understanding of how human ecology works.

A "social conservation" approach would not work if it emerged as anti-professional. The role of the professional as a provider of services should be expanded to include the functions of trainer and "broker." Professionals should help clients make choices of appropriate support systems and evaluate the progress that individuals and families are making.

This approach would operate best if national policy were sympathetic. To achieve "social conservation," we would need national support for the family, national attention to neighborhoods, national full employment, and national health insurance.

Other conferees were less confident that could be done. "I can't think of anything universal as applied to the family," said John Spiegel.

Like Mr. McKnight, Robert Rice suggested that the limits of what federal policy could accomplish might be quite narrow. "Being a practicing administrator taught me that I had to pay attention to what was possible," Dr. Rice said. "In shaping policy, one practices the art of the possible."

Change is possible, but it will come slowly. In the last few decades family service agencies have gone from a position of trying to standardize their services to trying to tailor services to the community (although, according to Marion Levine, agencies still receive more financial aid for working with individuals than with families).

Still, Dr. Rice added, "we're entering a new age, where there has never been such explicit, broad, policy-level attention to the subject of family."

"Think of policy formation as something that will evolve. We're still in the process of learning to think about family policy," he added.

What sorts of questions should policy planners be asking?

ENABLE, DON'T DISABLE

"The trick is to get in and then get

out," said Dr. Rice, describing the role of service professionals in their work with families. The worker offers a service, perhaps even an authoritarian service, such as protection, he serves as a resource to that family when the family fails, intervenes when the need requires it, but withdraws before the family becomes dependent. The trick is to get in and then get out, to respect what is natural and support it."

Mr. Giordano pointed out that there might be areas of inconsistency, or conflict, between government policies, accepted standards of society, the law — and what individual families or communities want to do.

An example of that would be a community that resisted integration. "Maybe we have to be inconsistent," he said. "There are real fundamental conflicts here."

The issue "is not just allowing the community to tell you what isn't a problem, which may be unfair to somebody else's community. It is, I think, for policy makers to listen a little more precisely to the level at which something is a problem for a community, how big a problem it is, and when it ceases being a problem," he said.

The whole question of policy, Dr. Spiegel suggested, is finally one of ecology:

> You can't really help an individual without helping his family; but you can't help the family without looking at the networks that support the family. It is very difficult to do anything about the networks or the effort to mobilize such networks without considering the neighborhood in which the family exists. It is difficult to be concerned about the neighborhood without being concerned with the larger political and economic structures of that particular community. And you can't be concerned about that without being concerned about the nation as a whole. If you are going to be concerned with strengthening the family, you have to look at this ecology as a whole. One doesn't exist without the other.

X. CONCLUSION

What was accomplished at this conference?

Chairperson of the Coalition for the White House Conference on Families Robert Rice said:

> I think some of those present were surprised by the content of much of the conference. There were ideas and views expressed that were new and unexpected. Some of the speakers were saying, "You service professionals have been taking the action away from the family, away from the natural supports. Now we don't think you're needed anymore, and what we want is smaller government, less intrusive programs, fewer resources going to the professionals." This was a real broadside.
>
> I think the cautions that John McKnight presented will receive much support from within the Coalition, once those cautions are understood. It won't happen immediately, but eventually Coalition members who are unfriendly to John McKnight's position will see that they still have a role, even with his cautious approach to family policy.

Mr. Giordano stressed the power of informal support networks as mediating structures "both between the family and the larger society . . . in advocating on both ends: for the family, to help the family deal with whatever it's going through as a result of internal changes or pressures on it from the outside; and on the other hand, represent the family against the assaults from things they can't control — like government policies . . . ."

The professionals ought to be stimulating self-help — and then pulling out, Mr. Giordano said. "Mediating and advocating, and making the linkage with what people need but don't have the resources or organization to do."

The conference produced another strong caution: federal policy should not be rushed into. The idea that government can save the family is both misleading and dangerous; misleading in that it focuses on what is done for the family, not what the family can do, and dangerous because it could potentially rob the family of natural functions and so give it one less reason for continuing.

The diversity of families was recognized, and Mr. Levine found in that diversity cause for celebration. "I'm less concerned about fragmentation. Frankly, I call it identity. What you have is a lot of group identities out there forming, in a way that is very exciting," he said. "We ought to celebrate it."

The fact that the conference was held was also cause for hope. One conferee pointed out, "We wouldn't be here under the banner of the American family unless we felt something dangerous was going on; something falling apart that we don't want to fall apart quite the way it is . . . . But with recognition of the problem, there is the chance for finding some answers."

A WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON FAMILIES

During the 1976 presidential campaign, candidate Jimmy Carter spoke about the pressures on the American family and raised the issue of national family policy. "The American family is in trouble," he said in August, and urged that government actions be "designed to honor and support and strengthen" it. He argued for a pro-family policy, while noting that no family policy is the equivalent of an anti-family policy.

During the campaign Joseph Califano, who would become the new President's Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, served as a special advisor to the candidate "on how federal programs can aid and support the American family." One of the earliest documents setting forth the administration's thinking on family policy is a report by advisor Califano for candidate Carter, "American Families: Trends, Pressures and Recommendations." In it, Mr. Califano noted that "families are America's most precious resource and most important institution." He argued for the recognition of limits to what government can do to meet human needs, that government programs should not encroach upon the functions of the family, and that a Carter administration should attempt to "restore trust and confidence in American families." He especially called for careful examination of the ways that the variety of government programs and policies affect family life. "We must," he concluded, "expand considerably the dialogue about families and children."

Later in the campaign, when speaking before a meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, Jimmy Carter declared: "One thing I intend to do as President is to make sure that every action our government takes helps our families rather than hurts them." This would be a national administration concerned for the welfare and the strengths of families, and the first Carter budget included a recommendation, which was approved by Congress, for funding a White House Conference on Families.

In January 1978 President Carter announced a White House Conference, "in order to help stimulate a national discussion on the state of American families." In his statement the President said he was "confident that the American family is basically sound, and that we can and will adjust to the challenges of changing times."

> The main purpose of this White House Conference will be to examine the strengths of American families, the difficulties they face, and the ways in which family life is affected by public policies. The Conference will examine the important effects that the world of work, the mass media, the court system, private institutions, and other major facets of our society have on American families.
>
> This Conference will clearly recognize the pluralism of family life in America. The widely differing regional, religious, cultural and ethnic heritages of our country affect family life and contribute to its diversity and strength. Families also differ in age and composition. There are families in which several generations live together, families with two parents or one, and families with or without children. The Conference will respect this diversity.
>
> The work of this Conference, in conjunction with our current efforts to implement family-oriented government policies, can help strengthen and support this most vital and enduring social resource. I look forward to participating in the work of the Conference and receiving its report.

A White House Conference on Families is both cause and effect of a wide variety of activities, in government, in universities, and in the private sector, that have the status of the American family as their subject. The White House Conference, scheduled for spring 1981, will provide a focal point for at least one phase of a wide and intense national dialogue on the American family and public policy towards families.

THE JOHNSON FOUNDATION

Wingspread, the last of Frank Lloyd Wright's "prairie houses," was built in 1938 for the H.F. Johnson family. One of the largest of Wright's homes, it rises from the margin of a broad ravine and overlooks a series of ponds, open fields, and wooded slopes, a half mile from Lake Michigan, just north of Racine, Wisconsin.

In 1959, through the generous gift of Mr. and Mrs. H.F. Johnson, Wingspread became the headquarters of The Johnson Foundation. Since then it has served as an educational conference center for meetings of a regional, national, and international character. Wingspread is an ideal facility for symposia of fifty or fewer participants. Its pastoral setting and unique architecture encourage productive dialogue. Wingspread thus provides opportunities for face-to-face exchange among small groups of leaders and specialists on issues of significance to the United States and nations overseas.

The Johnson Foundation works with many other organizations in convening about one hundred Wingspread conferences a year, usually two or three days in duration, on topics dealing with areas selected by the Board of Trustees as major concerns: International Understanding, Educational Excellence, Improvement of the Human Environment, and Intellectual and Cultural Growth. Examples of recent Wingspread meetings include

- The Exchange Experience with China — Past, Present, and Future
- The Law of International Human Rights
- Developing Competence in Reading, Writing, and Computing: Basic Skills and American Education
- New Directions in American Intellectual History

THE COALITION FOR THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON FAMILIES

The possibility — the announcement — of a White House Conference on Families has been the occasion of wide and various activity, activity that expands and intensifies as the conference draws nearer. There have of course been other White House conferences — for example, on Aging, on Children, on Children and Youth, on Balanced National Growth and Economic Development. Some of these are decennial conferences: White House Conferences on Aging and on Children and Youth are scheduled for 1981, the year of the Conference on Families.

This, however, will be the first White House Conference on Families, and it has attracted perhaps unprecedented attention. It is certainly timed to encourage and contribute to an expanding national dialogue. This national discussion and debate include such studies as those of the National Academy of Sciences (*Toward a National Policy for Children and Families*, 1976) and the Carnegie Council on Children (*All Our Children*, 1977). Robert M. Rice's book, *American Family Policy*, was published while he was chairperson of the Coalition for the White House Conference on Families. George Washington University's Family Impact Seminar is developing methods for identifying and measuring the impact of various government programs on families and family life. Major centers for the study of families are sponsored by Vanderbilt University, Duke University, the University of Minnesota, and Cornell University. Projects have been undertaken by the National PTA, the National Council of Churches, and the American Association of University Women. Conferences have been convened by General Mills, Inc., the National Urban League, several national associations, and several states. *Newsweek* gave a cover article and NBC three hours on a week night to the subject of the family. The United Nations devoted 1979 to the International Year of the Child. Several private foundations have identified the family as a program interest.

One of the most extensive initiatives relating to the subject of families is the Coalition for the White House Conference on Families. If you can think of a national organization concerned with families or with family policy, it is probably a member of the Coalition. The list of member organizations includes the American Home Economics Association, American Red Cross, Americans for Indian Opportunity, Child Welfare League, Family Service Association of America, the Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity of the American Jewish Committee, National Association of Social Workers, National Conference of Catholic Charities, the National PTA, National Council of Churches, National Council on Family Relations, National Urban League, Parents Without Partners, Planned Parenthood, Synagogue Council of America, and the National Board of the YWCA.

The Coalition for the White House Conference on Families started, and continues, with these principles as its foundation:

- That the White House Conference planners should devise a framework for the participation of various interest groups, professionals, and families themselves in defining the common needs of families;
- That the conference itself should focus on the impact of federal policy on the family;
- That the conference should recognize the impact the other major institutions of society have on the family;
- And finally, that the conference should also consider the informal networks of support that aid families, and how those informal support systems could be strengthened by government policy.

From the beginning, the Coalition has sought to participate in the planning for the White House Conference. Its membership views the conference as a major opportunity to contribute to the scope and the quality of the national dialogue on families and family policy.

- Collaboration on Meeting the Needs of Linquistically Different Children in the Midwest
- National Forum for Women in Higher Education Administration
- Long-Term Care and the Aging of America
- Research in the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect
- Residential Programs for Young Single Mothers
- Amici at Wingspread: Implications of the Bakke Decision
- World Conference on Innovative Higher Education
- Urban Youth Unemployment
- Industrial Social Work
- Wingspread Conference on Youth Work
- The Formation of a National Coalition for Jail Reform

The Johnson Foundation's efforts at program extension, beyond the immediate experience of Wingspread conference participants, include the publication in several forms of Wingspread reports, which are distributed in the United States and abroad. Program extension also includes "Conversations from Wingspread," a weekly public affairs radio program. These half-hour educational programs are recorded at Wingspread and broadcast nationally each week over approximately 150 stations.

Financial support for the programs of The Johnson Foundation is made available through the generosity of S.C. Johnson & Son, Inc. (Johnson's Wax), and members of the Johnson family.

The Johnson Foundation invites inquiries from organizations and individuals about convening Wingspread conferences. Inquiries should be addressed to The Johnson Foundation, Racine, Wisconsin 53401.

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WINGSPREAD®

The building Frank Lloyd Wright called Wingspread, situated on a rolling prairie site just north of Racine, Wisconsin, was designed in 1938 as a residence for the Johnson family. In 1960, through the gift of Mr. and Mrs. H. F. Johnson, it became the headquarters of The Johnson Foundation and began its career as an educational conference center.

In the years since, it has been the setting for many conferences and meetings dealing with subjects of regional, national, and international interest. It is the hope of the Foundation's trustees that Wingspread will take its place increasingly as a national institution devoted to the free exchange of ideas among people.

The rolling expanse of the Midwestern prairies was considered a natural setting for Wingspread. In the limitless earth the architect envisioned a freedom and movement. The name Wingspread was an expression of the nature of the house, reflecting aspiration through spread wings — a symbol of soaring inspiration.

THE JOHNSON FOUNDATION

H. F. Johnson
Founder

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The Johnson Foundation encourages the examination of a variety of problems facing the Midwest, the Nation, and mankind. In the belief that responsible analyses and proposals should reach a substantial audience, The Johnson Foundation assists in the publication of various papers and reports. Publication, of course, does not imply approval.

Additional copies of this report may be obtained from The Johnson Foundation, Racine, Wisconsin 53401.

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