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Articulating Indigenous People's Culture in Education

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EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Elsewhere I have discussed how the Philippine educational system has historically led indigenous peoples to assimilate western knowledge, which became a measure of human development and progress. Colonialism under the American period produced a reified and essential "native," soon to be her precisely as an object within discourses that constituted him or her and colonial subjects: timeless essences and stereotypes were constitutive of commonplaces of the colonial discourse and stereotyped categories (IPs) in northern Luzon of the Philippine archipelago, this chapter will explore possibilities and mechanisms conceived to advance the transmission of indigenous knowledge and learning systems (in both the formal educational setting and in the informal setting as well). Contextualized in Philippine educational experience, this chapter will discuss local ambiguities and nuances that matched the hope in articulating practical mechanisms with which indigenous knowledge are seen to be benefiting the IPs themselves. The two aspects—"historical realities" and "knowledge which are inextricably linked to a

INTRODUCTION

The past years witnessed the trend of either "popularization" or "integration" of traditional knowledge to the formal education curriculum. Staka Kromat of the Department of Teacher Education at Njala University College at Sierra Leone, for instance, has articulated specific aspects in the sciences that need popularization of indigenous knowledge, especially in less developed countries. Accordingly, enrollment and retention in science and mathematics courses in developing countries are low, and this is due in part to a disjunction between the course content encountered in schools and the local knowledge of students. She goes on to argue that science and mathematics would be more popular if course content reflected the indigenous knowledge of local communities. Relatedly, Catherine Odora-Hoppers, one of the foremost advocates of Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) in pedagogy, has introduced a framework for integrating IKS in the formal learning systems. Odora-Hoppers defined IKS as the intricate knowledge systems acquired over generations by communities as they interact with the environment. It encompasses technology, social, economic, philosophical, learning, and governance systems, and is not just about woven baskets and handicraft for tourists per se. It is about excavating the technologies such as looms, textiles, jewelry, and brass-work manufacture, exploring indigenous technological knowledge and knowledge transmission systems, and recasting the potentials they represent in a context of democratic participation for community, national, and global development.² Responding to the trends of diminishing traditional knowledge systems of communities once self-reliant, advocates of "popularization" and/or "integration" of traditional knowledge saw the need to make use of local resources in advancing sustainable development efforts especially with regards to human development.

In the Philippines,³ a variety of efforts have come to surface traditional knowledge in the many facets of sustainable development programs in the late 1980s, such as livelihood, agriculture, conservation, education, and the like.⁴ In the field of education, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and some government institutions have actively played a role in generating programs for the revival and preservation of "indigenous knowledge." There were efforts from the government to mainstream the education programs, such as efforts made by the Department of Education⁵ and efforts to "preserve" traditional expertise through programs such as the Schools of Living Traditions (SLTs) of the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA).⁶ Among NGOs, the Asian Council for Peoples' Culture (ACPC) sponsors Schools of Indigenous Knowledge and Traditions, a national network of indigenous schools and community educators, started in 1997, which responds to ways of harnessing the empowering elements of people's culture. The ACPC argues that "indigenous education founded on the life-ways, traditions, worldview, culture and spirituality of the native community

is a basic right of all indigenous people. It is a pathway of education that recognizes wisdom embedded in indigenous knowledge."⁷

In distant communities, especially IP communities where no NGOs are at work, teachers struggle hard to make the teaching of the national curriculum as envisioned by the Department of Education. It takes a lot of creativity and local knowledge to make schoolchildren comprehend.⁸ Teachers experiment on local strategies, mostly culture based, alongside the more urgent task of making the schoolchildren able to appreciate the remaining traditions crucial to their survival as peoples. This shows that Philippine communities with indigenous populations are largely unreached by the programs and projects of both the government and the NGOs. The efforts to "integrate," "popularize," and "preserve" indigenous knowledge are independent and hereto fragmented. But it cannot be discounted that they have achieved tangible outcomes. The directions and implications, however, matter to us as we seek to understand the long-term effects of such efforts to indigenous populations. Let us start by looking at how efforts are grounded on particular perspectives.

Often the analyses of problems affecting indigene communities are built on the easy identification of contemporary government policies perceived to be neglectful of indigenous populations. The easy dismissal of a broader context leads to unfounded conclusions where analyses exclude historical events and processes that impinged on the indigene communities. Another problem is the dominating framework of "wretched indigene."

"WRETCHED" INDIGENE/PREJUDICED IGNORANCE

What do early ethnographies and reports tell us about the "native" or the "indigene" in the Philippines? A lot of materials reveal a "wretched indigene"—the natives being deeply afflicted, appearing mean, miserable, uncivilized, poorly equipped, inferior, and committing savage acts. These reports present to us persuasive presentations of the indigene, and historically these presentations have been used by the colonizers to justify colonialism. Nowadays, many institutions and even scholars habitually pick up this naïve representation of the indigene to attract lucrative subsidies, including the complicity of promotional institutions, in pursuing an absurd external concept called "socioeconomic upliftment" of the indigene minorities. In the Philippines and elsewhere, contemporary accounts have not changed—as observed in community profiles, development prospectuses, travel accounts, tourist brochures, ethnographic reports, national leaflets, and web pages such as that of NCCA—and in fact often reiterate the romantic motifs of nineteenth-century scholars such as Dean Worcester and David Barrows. And so we ask, why is this the case?

ARCHAIC THEMES/DISTURBING AUTHENTICITY

Drawn ambiguously from archaic themes, this contemporary treatment of the *indigene* has amplified the current scholarly conception of authenticity, a disturbing concept when seen in contemporary knowledge discourse. The case of the Ifugaos in the northern Philippines will attest to this. Tourist promotions are selling a collection of odd people and are being reinforced by the prejudiced ignorance of foreigners who often are fascinated by a 'paradise of *indigene* experience,' a mythical construction traced back to the works of prejudiced western scholars who once struggled to grasp the worldviews of the *indigene*. In the "development arena" of both NGOs and government agencies, they used these archaic themes to justify their intervention in less developed communities and so *indigenous* helplessness is highlighted. Sad but true, these themes form the neoromantic valorization of situationally embedded knowledge.¹⁰ It is problematic to simply haul the *indigene* knowledge from the structures that mold it and the ways in which the knowledge is acquired, for this only results in patronizing "experts" or advocate scholars of IKS endorsing the knowledge but not necessarily the *indigenous* learning system. More so, it may actually reduce the importance of *indigenous* learning processes by minimizing the need for more intensive discussion and analysis among the practitioners (because documentation is available), a practice inherent in IKS. This only shows us that intervention is necessary if IKS are to survive.

It is therefore important to historicize the concept of integration and recognition. Equally important too is the growing concern among scholars such as anthropologists who are now turning to historical methods in an attempt to historicize the discourse of the *indigene*. Scholars such as Tania Murray Li¹¹ have recently made a significant contribution in advancing the "indigene representation" in less developed societies in Southeast Asia. Contemporary works tend to show the *indigene* as an active actor in history, as opposed to the more popular imagination of *indigene* naivety. However, there is still a need to historicize the discourse of the *indigene* in particular geographic and temporal contexts. This chapter will attempt to explore this line of thought in the field of education and community development.

INDIGENE REPRESENTATION IMPLICATES COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION

To address the concerns of *indigenous* peoples on education, we will have to start with a correct notion of the *indigene* and then develop mechanisms

borne out from the negotiated construction of cultural forms in contemporary societies. The more we isolate (through essentialized construction) the *indigene* from this changing society, the more we disempower them, for *indigene* construction is used to create iniquitous roles not necessarily beneficial to *indigenous* populations. Arun Agrawal once pointed out that the problem is not only on theoretical grounds but also on pragmatic terms, because codifying and documenting *indigenous* knowledge systems and presenting such systems as models or blueprints for general use and under the broad heading "indigenous knowledge" is contradictory to the very concept of IKS as "situated knowledge rooted in a particular place."¹² Apparently, "indigenous" becomes relevant and necessary to separate the *indigene*, a process that is seemingly self-defeating as the *indigene* is presented as a weak if not an incapable entity. Such neat categorization can be seen as a direct consequence of the limited parameters of western development or scientific theories, which rely on an ordered conceptual framework from which and in which to work.¹³ The idea of a database of *indigenous* knowledge may only reinforce a continuing process of "knowledge capitalization," in which specific aspects of *indigenous* knowledge are developed into new devices and products and eventually patented, for instance, in pharmaceutical industries, by the laboratories where the *indigenous* devices have been analyzed and processed. We have witnessed issues of piracy happening around the world.¹⁴ This presents to us a serious problem because it opens up new forms of neocolonial practice in the endless economic pursuits of societies created as "indigenous." As Jessica Scott Jerome¹⁵ aptly puts it, "the source of the knowledge runs in double jeopardy as he/she battles for ownership in the global economic system which formulated the concept of 'intellectual property rights.'"

It helps to remind ourselves that notions of culture are historically constituted, and, therefore, the act of essentializing the *indigene* can be counterproductive in that it can reinforce exclusiveness. One can empower the IP, by allowing them ownership and inclusive work. We can facilitate the creation of a clearly articulated vision for education and learning, but the *indigene* should be made active actors, creators, and implementers. In other words, we try to enhance their capacity to sustain traditional mechanisms to sustain *indigenous* knowledge. Equally important is the recognition of change, recognizing the need to be prepared to face the challenges and issue of globalization if not to be globally competitive. Initiatives toward change should ensure that children fully know their roots. Recognition and articulation of *indigenous* knowledge systems does not, however, require "romanticized or idealistic" perspectives. It is important to move out from such archaic perspectives where IPs have wrongly been perceived in archaic form living opposite modern times.

CONCLUSION

Often, scholars underestimate if not neglect the importance of analyzing the historical processes and history itself in particular areas such as culture and the indigene. Historical perspective not only provides "contexts" but also venues to surface peculiarities. Certain historical processes in the history of the indigene in the Philippines may require reflexive analytical frameworks when dealing with the indigene in history. It is thus not appropriate to simply imagine the indigene in all countries to be facing the same situations. For it is this kind of easy analysis that lead to incorrectly founded conclusions which in turn translate into inappropriate policies and laws.

This thus calls for a rethinking of "indigene agendas." Even as indigenous knowledge was taken seriously as a major concept in the academic and development discourse, it soon became a convenient abstraction that was slotted into western paradigms and highly fragmented and decontextualized in research scholarship. Let us act not to further reify the essentialized construction of IKS.

This requires a redrawing of bureaucratic-driven frameworks, thus helping us surface the heterogeneity of situations and roles played by groups in the community. It is our deepened understanding of power structures that informs us of the dynamics of development directing the lives of peoples. The modernity-tradition dichotomy conceals the reality that upland peoples have for so long interacted with neighboring lowland and other upland peoples.¹⁶ In other words, the indigene is an active actor in the historical process, only often we fail to see this. The indigene have their own histories, although they may not have been attuned to the history of a larger society.

But perhaps one most urgent concern arises where the indigene has to deal with the global economy. Knowledge domains of the indigene has to be appropriated, and private knowledge domains of specialists in the villages will become shared knowledge in electronic databases. Once again, this was not the idea nor within the framework of the indigene but, rather, the product of scholars engaged in defending discourse, if not simply their positions. Robert Young¹⁷ reminds us that "the reality of the historical conditions of colonialism can be safely discarded in favor of fantasmas of colonial discourse," and so discourse theory should not proceed at the expense of materialist historical inquiry. Young also warns that it is necessary to avoid a return to a simplified form of localized materialism that refuses entirely to recognize the existence of and effect of general discourses of colonialism on individual instances of colonial practice.¹⁸

Bill Ashcroft¹⁹ is certainly correct in saying that, "clearly, certain practices are peculiar to one culture and not to others and these may serve as important identifiers and become the means by which those cultures can resist oppression and oppose homogenization by global forces. However, the

emergence of certain fixed, stereotypical representations of culture remains a danger. The tendency to employ generic signifiers for cultures that may have many variations within them may override the real differences that exist within such cultures." Often successful and progressive programs affecting indigenous peoples largely begin with a correct premise of who the indigene is. Accordingly, a discourse on the indigene needs to be historicized, for the indigene has changed as much as historical timeframes have.

Policies affecting the indigene are products of historical processes, and sometimes the problem of inappropriateness or ineffectiveness of policies are born out of erroneous premises about the indigene: "if we think of the indigene as archaic, then we expect to produce archaic programs and outcomes" much as "if we romanticize the indigene then we end up romanticizing outcomes." It is always valuable to turn to history.

Often the indigene is fetishized and this leads to failure to see the indigene as a highly politicized cultural concept. The notion of indigene is historically constituted; essentializing the indigene can be counterproductive in that it can work to reinforce exclusiveness. *The indigene construction is historically situated*. It goes through a process of "meaning-making." It repeats itself, but it changes as it repeats. The essentialists' conceptualization of the "indigenous" (recording and codifying indigenous knowledge) resulted in the decontextualization of indigenous knowledge (the separation of such knowledge from its agents and from the situations in which it is produced, reproduced, and transformed). This process has been the effect of programmatic rhetoric of community development as shown in instances performed by development agencies.

Our challenge would then be to comprehend ways in which indigenous learning is articulated in different contexts and situate the desire to preserve traditions in a modern setting. People are surely aware of their power to transform structures and regain control over their lives; only we have to. Thus, education programs directed to indigenous peoples need to shift from the popular documentation of IKS in databases to the creation of critical catalysts for social transformation in IP communities.

NOTES

1. Siaka Kroma, "Popularizing Science Education in Developing Countries through Indigenous Knowledge," *Indigenous Knowledge and Development Monitor* 3, no. 3 (1995): 12-15.
2. Catherine Odora-Hoppers, *Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems: Towards a Philosophy of Articulation* (Cape Town: New Africa Books, 2002), 26.
3. The Philippines is located in Southeast Asia. According to the National Com-

mission on Indigenous Peoples, in 1995, there were about 12 million to 15 million indigenous peoples in the Philippines.

4. See all articles found in two books: (1) Lynn Capistrano Doren and Evelyn Mathias, eds., *Indigenous Knowledge and Sustainable Development in the Philippines* (Salang, Philippines: International Institute of Rural Reconstruction, 1994); (2) C. L. Apolinar, F. C. Baradas, R. C. Serran, and E. H. Belen, eds., *People, Earth, and Culture: Readings in Indigenous Knowledge Systems on Biodiversity Management and Utilization* (Laguna, Los Banos: Philippine Council for Agriculture, Forestry and Natural Resources, Research and Development, 1998).
5. The government had started implementation in 1994 of the Non-Formal Education Project funded by the Asian Development Bank and literacy projects funded by UNICEF under the Country Programme for Children III. See also R. Rovillos and Victoria 'Lauli-Corpuz, "Indigenous Peoples Dialogues on IP Education" (unpublished project report to the Department of Education and Culture, Bureau of Non-Formal Education, Manila, Philippines, 2003), 5-10.
6. The NCCA implemented the SLT where a living master/culture bearer or culture specialist teaches skills and techniques of doing a traditional art or craft using nonformal, oral modes of teaching with practical demonstrations. The site may be the house of the living master, a community social hall, or a center constructed for the purpose. This effort was made to respond to the call of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) for the preservation of cultural heritage by preserving it in a living form, ensuring its transmission to the next generations.
7. www.aapc.ph.
8. Focus group informal discussion with a group of teachers at the Mayoyao Central School, May 2003. Schoolchildren referred hereto are in grades 1-6. The Philippines formal education system was patterned from the American education system, traced back to the nineteenth-century colonial period.
9. See, for example: William Dickson Boyce, *The Philippine Islands (1848-1929)* (New York: Rand McNally, 1914); William Henry Scott, ed., *German Travelers on the Cordillera (1816-1890)* (Manila, Philippines: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1975), 10-35.
10. See Peter Parks, "Enclaved Knowledge: Indigent and Indignant Representations of Environmental Management and Development among the Kalasha of Pakistan," in *Indigenous Environmental Knowledge and its Transformations: Critical Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Roy Ellen, Peter Parks, and Alan Bicker (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 2000), 253 and 301.
11. Tania Murray Li, *Transforming the Indonesian Uplands: Marginality, Power, and Production* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1999), 202.
12. Arun Agrawal, "Indigenous Knowledge and the Politics of Classification," *International Social Science Journal* 173 (September 2002): 288.
13. Agrawal, "Indigenous Knowledge and the Politics of Classification," 289.
14. See examples of studies done by Generic Resource Action International, available at www.grain.org.
15. Jessica Scott Jerome, "Intellectual Property Rights and Indigenous Peoples: A History of the Topic as an Object of Study," available at regionalworlds.uchicago.edu/IntellProp/terome.pdf.

16. Badette Resurrection and Edsel Sajor, *People, Power and Resources in Everyday Life* (Quezon City, Philippines: Institute for Popular Democracy, 1998), 38.
17. Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (London: Routledge, 1990), 160.
18. Young, *White Mythologies*, 160.
19. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Key Tiffin, *Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies* (London: Routledge, 1998), 21-22.

4. While this linguistic term is rejected by some Dene, it is a term designating the general language family and is used by Dene Nation.
5. These words are complex and have multiple layers of meaning. For example, Gwich'in is the language, but it is also the term the people use to speak of themselves. Gwich'in are also Dene. Many Dene are, like the Tlicho, known by historic names such as Dogrib. Tlicho are asserting their own words for themselves and are Dene and part of the larger Athabaskan language family. In the south Slave region, Akaiticho region, Chipewyan is spoken by some of the people, but the people also have more specific terms for themselves. My ancestors, for example, are T's'o'tine; "tine" literally means people. My people were the Yellowknife people, those who were known by the copper knives they constructed and traded.
6. Linda Smith, *Tahltai Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 1999), 4.
7. Patricia Monture-Angus, *Journeying Forward: Dreaming First Nations' Independence* (Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing, 1999), 160.
8. RCAP, *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (Ottawa, ON: Minister of Supply and Services, 1996), v. 2.

2

Four Directions for Indian Education Curriculum Models for Lakota and Dakota Teaching and Learning

James V. Fenelon and Dorothy LeBeau

CULTURE AND EDUCATION

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the objective of, and rationale behind, developing multicultural curricula sensitive to and inclusive of local, indigenous cultures, as well as most mainstream Anglo cultural patterns, using two indigenous models (Four Directions and Seven Ways). As this is essentially an intercultural or cross-cultural proposition, the chapter will contrast dominant Anglo-Eurocentric curricular approaches with Native American perspectives from the northern plains (Dakotas). We will begin, and end, with views of the intersection of different cultures and "curriculum" and how the struggle for dominance skews that picture, historically and in modern schooling. This discussion is set within the paradigm of a dominant society that produces hegemonic controls over subordinated groups within its spheres of control and influence, and lends itself well to discussion of other indigenous peoples.

Of course, this arena of conflict is but a historical microcosm of the broader society, as illustrated by the following speech made by the leaders of the Six Nations to commissioners from Maryland and Virginia at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on June 17, 1744:

We know that you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in those colleges, and that the Maintenance of our young Men, while with you, would be very

expensive to you. We are convinced, that you mean to do us Good by your Proposal; and we thank you heartily. But you, who are wise must know that different Nations have different Conceptions of things and you will therefore not take it amiss, if our Ideas of this kind of Education happen not to be the same as yours. We have had some Experience of it. Several of our young People were formerly brought up at the Colleges of the Northern Provinces: they were instructed in all your Sciences; but, when they came back to us, they were had Runners, ignorant of every means of living in the woods. . . . Neither fit for Hunters, Warriors, nor Counsellors, they were totally good for nothing. We are however, not the less oblig'd by your kind Offer, tho' we decline accepting it; and, to show our grateful Sense of it, if the Gentlemen of Virginia will send us a Dozen of their Sons, we will take Care of their Education, instruct them in all we know, and make Men of them.¹

"Mitakuye Oyasmin" is used by many Lakota and Dakota traditionalists, and increasingly other Native peoples, to express "all our relations" within "the people" as a whole, like a nation, related to all others, Native and non-Indian alike. As the twentieth century ended, indigenous people had re-appropriated the term "nation" as used by leaders in the centuries around 1744 and have reverted to using both resistance and survival ideologies, especially within education systems. Because relationships are the primary organizing philosophy for the Lakota and Dakota peoples, ranging from direct relatives, to all human beings, to the four-legged, two-legged, and winged animal world, trees and medicinal plants, to the very land itself, "western European" education systems stand opposed to indigenous paradigms and worldviews.²

You, who are wise must know that different Nations have different Conceptions of things and you will therefore not take it amiss, if our Ideas of this kind of Education happen not to be the same as yours.³

This chapter illustrates these issues by emphasizing indigenous cultures, curricula, and conflicts over social justice, historical perspectives, and "voice" of Native Nations and people, those existing long before and certainly since Columbus and Europeans first arrived in the Americas.⁴ Underlying themes show previous forms of education in the United States and colonial North America were for the purposes of cultural destruction⁵ and social domination and reflected institutional racism⁶ and deep struggles over the meaning of life itself.⁷ Therefore, we begin an understanding of Native Americans and systems of Indian education at the beginning of this "contact" between western Europeans and indigenous peoples of the Americas, and trace out its workings in terms of establishing hegemonic systems that deny, distort, and destroy indigenous cultures.

HISTORICAL DISTORTIONS

The Arawaks were a peaceful, well-organized society living in the area of present-day Haiti in 1492, when Christopher Columbus arrived and, from the myopic view of the Europeans, "discovered" them and other Caribbean people.⁸ They dubbed these indigenous peoples "Los Indios" after their monumental miscalculations of the world.⁹ The rest, as "they" say, is history. But whose history?

Scholars and students are now aware that the indigenous people throughout the Americas, those whom Columbus carelessly dubbed "Indians," represent a truly great diversity in language and culture throughout the continent. The fact that, within fifty years after Columbus arrived in the "New World," all the Arawaks on Hispaniola would be wiped out¹⁰ and the great Aztec empire of Mexico would be destroyed,¹¹ that within another three centuries whole Nations such as the Cherokees would be struggling for existence and forcibly "removed" over half a continent,¹² and that five hundred years later Lakota "Takiwi" (survivors) and other Natives would end the hundred years of mourning for the Ghost Dancers and families killed at Wounded Knee,¹³ are all symbols of the end of the western "frontier" of the United States. However, for those Native Nations surviving these hundreds of years of culturicide, genocide, and coercive assimilation, there was no end. Rather, the "frontier" represents a beginning, both of hegemonic histories from the dominant society and of the struggle to retain their own cultures and historical identities in the face of cultural domination in educational systems.¹⁴

Therefore, we must address these issues in order to produce a more relevant and truthful curriculum about the makeup of American culture—what we teach in our schools, as well as research and knowledge presented in colleges and universities. In this light, we can consider integrating Native American perspectives, in which the indigenous "voice" is heard first and foremost, within four social science arenas: (1) an indigenous history, (2) cultural understanding or "Indian" worldview, (3) contemporary sociological structures, and (4) social justice struggles.¹⁵ Only when these perspectives, determined by indigenous peoples themselves, are faced head-on will we be able to construct a curriculum which does not inhibit, but builds in a multinational, multicultural context.

Different nations (considered as "races") do indeed have different conceptions of things, and this then becomes the heart of an indigenous-based curriculum. Our primary purpose needs to be understanding these conceptions and reviewing their respective places in curriculum and schools in the United States, especially as they may affect perceived inequality in educational systems.

From the Canassatego quote, we can draw forth six significant aspects of

"learning," or education, as understood by Native leaders to be important in the eighteenth century:

- knowledge of the physical environment (animal and plant life, earth, land, and sky)
- conduct of everyday social sustenance activities (maintaining law and order in society)
- construction and maintenance of a household (basis of economy and family relations)
- provision of food and defense of the community (health systems and militia defense)
- knowledge of language and diplomacy (linguistic and international skills)
- provision of culturally appropriate counseling and teaching (systems of learning and education)

Clearly, without crossing cultural boundaries, little has changed in the twentieth century, except, perhaps, that the dominant nation-state, the United States of America, has attempted coercive assimilation within its educational systems for "Indians" for over two hundred years, often accompanied by political suppression, economic "takings," and military repression for those who resist its subordination, especially in the nineteenth century.

In September 1993, at the Parliament for the World's Religions in Chicago, indigenous spiritual leaders presented a statement which included the above and contemporary issues, including renewed concerns regarding sovereignty and spirituality. A one-page copy is included as appendix A to this chapter. Evident in the statement is a re-evolution taking place in so-called Indian education. Even the misnomer "Indian" is finally understood to be a principal bearer of oppressive ideology; the invaders' term stuck to indigenous people, just as the conquering systems' version of history, civilization, and progress did to the societies dominating the north of the western hemisphere.

One hundred years ago, at the 1893 Parliament of the World's Religions, we the Original Nations of the Western Hemisphere were not invited. . . . A century later, even as this Parliament convenes, the following issues have yet to be addressed:

- The destruction of Native spiritual traditions;
- The historical and continuing genocide and holocaust against our peoples;
- Repatriation and reburial of sacred artifacts and funerary remains;
- Protection and return of sacred sites and traditional lands;
- Legitimization of native medicinal and health practices;
- The cultural education of our children, including spirituality;
- Misrepresentation and theft of spiritual traditions, ethnic fraud;

- Teaching and learning of traditional language, culture;
- Environmental abrogation of sacred sovereign rights;
- Respect and awareness of prophecies and traditional teachings;
- Church silence and complicity in dominating native spirituality;
- Ongoing effects of federal policies designed to destroy our way of life.¹⁶

Meaningful systems of indigenous "education" for American Indians will therefore have to take into consideration these issues, as urged by this diverse group of spiritual leaders.

CASE STUDIES AND SOCIAL INDICATORS FROM POLICIES

The Native American world is full of dismal statistics decrying failure and asking for substantive changes within the existing educational systems. The highest U.S. drop-out rates are associated with Native students on reservations and are found in the same communities that reflect the greatest poverty rates and lowest socioeconomic indicators in the United States. In many communities, schools are the biggest employers, with primary links to an "outside" world still hostile to issues of critical importance to committed Native educators and teachers of indigenous children.

Just as traditional spiritual leaders and elders guided the group above, this chapter will focus on positive contributions and seek to resemble a true intercultural education, which is respectful of traditional ways and knowledge of indigenous people; however, case studies can be instructive.

For example, on Standing Rock in the Dakotas, one school has over 95 percent Lakota-Sioux students and no full-time Native teachers or administrators. If children learn about the Black Hills and the Fort Laramie treaty of 1868, they do not learn that these valuable lands were in effect "taken" from the Lakota making up the Great Sioux Nation.¹⁷ And, of course, they are not told of the breakup of a nation into separate isolated "reservations" as the political part of a vast conquest of indigenous peoples, what Stannard calls "far and away the largest genocide in the history of the world."¹⁸ When so-called "religious tribal customs" such as the Sun Dance are discussed, they are understood to be primitive and, therefore, yielding to superior religions. These Lakota students are not told that the Sun Dance and other religious practices of their people were banned by law and that their ongoing existence is testimony to the fortitude, strength, and wisdom of their elders and spiritual leaders. They do not learn in schools about their great heritage as Lakota, a people who temporarily defeated the powerful United States by the visions earned through sacrifice and forbearance for one's relatives. Rather, in the face of all this local wisdom, this indigenous knowledge and

oral tradition, Native children are still taught that Columbus "discovered" both America and Indian peoples, that the "Sioux" were primitive nomads who could not assimilate even with the assistance of the United States government, and that conditions of poverty are not a social cumulative inequality, but are an indication that Indians cannot take care of themselves, even though their sovereignty has not been respected and the military and police have oppressed them. "A genuine multicultural curriculum which includes knowledge about minority history and cultural achievements would reduce the dissonance and alienation from academic success that centrally characterizes minority experiences in schooling in the United States."¹⁹

A central tenet to this chapter's proposition will be that culturally appropriate curriculum development is dependent on other factors, epistemological and pedagogical, which in general cannot be regarded as universal. In this approach, curriculum is understood both through the "worldview" of the minority culture (Native American) and the dominant (Anglo) educational objectives. As McCarthy points out in discussing both neo-Marxist and mainstream theories: "Any critical theoretical work on racial inequality in schooling must therefore involve some sober reflection on the racial character of the production of curriculum research itself."²⁰ The prevailing question becomes one of "culture" and how that is understood.

CULTURE AND CURRICULUM: RESPONSE AND DEPTH

Culture can have different meanings, including a "lived collective awareness"²¹ and shared experience and the actual interaction of individuals and groups. "Culture is the instance of mediation between a society and its institutions (such as schools and curriculum) and the experiences of those (such as teachers and students) who are in the institution daily."²² In this sense, we must consider the social "mediation of experiences" in multicultural schools, which is intercultural in its nature.²³ Continuing with our main frame of a dominant culture and subordinated cultures,²⁴ we identify responsiveness and depth in this milieu: Culturally responsive teaching is a pedagogy recognizing the importance of including students' cultural references in all aspects of learning.²⁵ Geneva Gay defines culturally responsive teaching as using the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, and performance styles of diverse students to make learning more appropriate and effective for them; it teaches to and through the strengths of these students. Gay also describes culturally responsive teaching as having these characteristics:

• It acknowledges the legitimacy of the cultural heritage of different ethnic groups, both as legacies that affect students' dispositions, attitudes,

and approaches to learning and as worthy content to be taught in the formal curriculum.

- It builds bridges of meaningfulness between home and school experiences as well as between academic abstractions and lived socio-cultural realities.
- It uses a wide variety of instructional strategies that are connected to different learning styles.
- It teaches students to know and praise their own and each others' cultural heritages.
- It incorporates multicultural information, resources, and materials in all the subjects and skills routinely taught in schools.²⁶

Gloria Ladson-Billings explains that culturally responsive teachers develop intellectual, social, emotional, and political learning by "using cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills, and attitudes."²⁷ This is particularly important in considering the hidden sociopolitical message inherent in a hegemonic curriculum developed for and by the dominant society. Dorothy LeBeau additionally identifies the background problems we take into consideration, including (1) the "disadvantage" and disengagement from learning by children whose language and culture is not compatible with the school; (2) Freire's critique that the more "the deposits entrusted to the students" are stored "the less they develop the critical consciousness" they will need to become problem-solvers for future generations²⁸; (3) the need for students to be active participants in their learning²⁹; and (4) the interest in developing students' personal experience to make meaningful connections between schooling and "real-life situations,"³⁰ thereby nurturing and supporting cultural competence in both home and school cultures.

Another area of concern for culture is the difference between surface and deep culture. Intercultural communication, no matter the status of individuals involved, occurs on many levels. Multicultural curricula implemented today involve the presentation of historical and alternative information, which includes the contributions of people and groups from "minority" cultures. Limitations to this can be understood in the distinction between "surface" and "deep" learning.³¹

SURFACE CULTURE—includes the products of artistic endeavor, achievements of intellectual and artistic genius, heroic valor and concepts of lofty spirit, and various modes of significant thought, general living, and racial vigor.

DEEP CULTURE—involves thoughts and beliefs and actions, concerns and hopes and worries, personal values, minor vanities and half serious superstitions, subtle gradations of interpersonal relationships as expressed in actions and words, day-by-day details of life.³²

Schools have traditionally approached multicultural development from "surface culture" perspectives, which do not address a basic dichotomy

between the dominant culture's insistence on behavioral norms that may conflict with a minority group's values, beliefs, and interactional patterns, as in "deep culture" which contemplates a shared "underlying proficiency" among societies.

Historically, American Indians have resisted acculturation and assimilation more than any other ethnic group.³³ What this means is that by retaining traditional values and beliefs that are important to them, a natural conflict is set up in the classroom that must be handled by children of a very sensitive age.³⁴ Children will internalize the results of any personal experience. There is a danger that exists within this process—any sense of "less than others" will contribute to a negative self-concept. The findings of diminishing self-esteem in Indian children as the number of years in school increases, holds implications for early elementary teachers and school counselors. Educators must understand and respect American Indian belief systems before they can make improvement in the educational experiences of American Indian children.

As Hornett points out, the relationship between resistance to coercive assimilation, retained but suppressed value systems, children's experience in the classroom, their self-esteem, and whether educators respect traditional beliefs through instruction or the curriculum, is of the utmost importance to successful educational experiences of children of a minority language or culture.³⁵ "The part of the culture which becomes *legitimate* by the *hegemony* of the dominant group creates the *hegemonic curriculum* which 'excludes' the real concerns of large numbers of students who are from subordinate groups."³⁶ More importantly, and this is what many Native American traditionalists are expressing through a strong and often secretive attachment to sacred ceremonies and language, are the signals which schools are sending to students on what is valued, and therefore what is not valued, or on what is right and therefore "wrong."

What schooling does is to valorize . . . some values, perspectives, ways of speaking, showing, and saying as if they really were Value, Validity, Language—and thus to render all other ways of life/though/feelings/embodiment as invalid in comparison with what is passed off as neutral, natural, universal and obvious. Other ways (in all senses) are diluted, denied, distorted, above all—de-formed; that is they are refused recognition as *really* alternative approaches to understanding social identity in relation to specific combinations of space and time.³⁷

This chapter includes the Four Directions Model for Curricular Integration and the Seven Ways of Pedagogy and Practice, alternative (Native American) approaches to education which honor and understand both the dominant and subdominant cultures, with space and time presented from an indigenous philosophical perspective.

CURRICULAR DEFINITIONS: SKILLS, KNOWLEDGE, NEEDS

A dynamic relationship exists between those types of learning behaviors known as skills, what constitutes knowledge or content in a system, and educational needs of children in schools. "Research emphasizes students' experience of learning, the concepts of knowledge and knowledge-building they employ, the effects of context on students' orientations and approaches to learning, and the importance of the relationship between learning and content."³⁸ Curricular issues with respect to this interface are amplified when the content, besides being fair and "legitimate" for multicultural reasons, has to be used in cross-cultural situations and intercultural learning.

Intercultural content is directly related to learning skills in [comparing] education systems. There will be expectations in the [new] system that are different from students' experience. Selecting and developing strategies for dealing with these differences are learning skills, just as all the discussing, reading and writing involved in intercultural learning promote language development. Indeed, [we find] 3 themes [learning, language, and intercultural skills] of our curriculum are so interwoven that they cannot be discussed in isolation. One always leads to a consideration of the others.³⁹

An unresolved tension exists when we attempt to transfer basic curricular strategies, such as skills or knowledge testing, to a cultural milieu which views "knowing" in very different ways.

At the very foundations of the world in which we live, [it] is a unified world and cannot be reduced by techniques and rationality. . . . Traditional people preserve the whole vision and scientists generally reduce the experience to its alleged constituent parts and inherent principles.

A great gulf exists between these two ways of handling knowledge. Sciences *force* secrets from nature by experimentation and the results are thought to be knowledge. The traditional people *accepted* secrets from the rest of creation. Traditional technology can be extremely useful because it always reminds us that we must take our cue about the world from the experiences and evidence that the world gives us. Modern technology might be useful in repairing the damages already done to tribal lands so that the lands can once again be put to traditional use and become productive. Even this possibility can be learned from the world as it responds to ceremonies and human societies that understand their place in the larger cosmos.⁴¹

Symbiotic relationships between integration of skills, the orientation toward knowledge, and "cultural" content of curriculum manifest themselves in schools in definitive support for certain social and behavioral norms, which usually resemble the dominant, mainstream Anglo culture.

"Schooling is thus fundamentally a site for the production and reproduction of social identities."⁴² When social identity in the school is in conflict with the home and community, orientation to the curriculum presented daily to students becomes a basis of learning difficulties. "They [students] go about the task of learning with the expectation of finding new meaning and improving their understanding of the world. This will occur when the content itself has importance and value to them."⁴³ Rather than dictate the content's importance, and therefore value, to students, as is often the case in classrooms with multicultural makeup, principles of "naturalistic inquiry" should be employed in all curriculum development.⁴⁴ Otherwise, "the processes of selection that inform the daily pedagogical and curricular practices of schooling systematically disorganize minority identities by privileging white middle-class values."⁴⁵ And, while this identity loss is probably not an overt intention on the part of curriculum writers and educators, as a phenomenon of assimilation it is all-encompassing in schools.

Cultural Capital consists of a selected set of values, beliefs, attitudes and competencies possessed by some students, and are selectively endorsed and transmitted by the school. Thus society perpetuates itself, and reproduces its cultural and social hierarchy to the benefit of the dominant group. . . . This transmission has been labeled by the critical sociologists in education as cultural and social reproduction . . . and critically evaluates *what* is being transmitted and *how* the transmission takes place.⁴⁶

The relationship between children's (cultural) identity and their family/community is perhaps the most subtle and yet most powerful influence on the socialization of language-minority students into mainstream Anglo-American society. So that even as "liberal educators and cognitive psychologists such as Stodolsky, Lesser, and Gardner have argued that the 'demonstration of intelligence' is a contextual and variable phenomenon," other, more conservative "liberal" educators such as Bloom theorize that minority children are "culturally deprived" and therefore "retarded in linguistic, cognitive, and social development."⁴⁷ Connected to these relationships are all the self-esteem issues found in diverse classroom settings, compounded by cross-cultural influences from peers, the school system itself, and home life. Yet, the American social system and schools continue with insensitive and often oppressive policies towards language- and cultural-minority children. These policies are reflected in the curriculum (as in "Indians"), in the dominant culture (e.g., the Washington Redskins), in social reproduction (English names for Native Americans), and in resistance (Lakota language maintenance). "Behind these concepts [hegemonic curriculum, cultural capital, social and cultural reproduction, and resistance] there are three major themes: (1) the contested nature of culture and the state; (2) dominant vs.

subordinate relations, based usually on a class society; and (3) the reproduction of culture. Those themes focus on the perpetuation of inequality in society."⁴⁸

Each of these three themes is exemplified if not epitomized in the enforced educational systems of Euro-American schooling for, with, and over American students, in historical and contemporary analysis. This is obvious to the extent of epistemological redundancy:

- The contested nature of culture and the state. In the name of policies such as assimilation, reorganization and the brutally honest termination period, indigenous cultures, including language, sociopolitical structures, native economies, and even familial relations, have been banned from mainstream institutions and often "beaten" out of the children they are ostensibly meant to help.⁴⁹
- Dominant vs. subordinate relations. This central feature to cultural hegemony is uniquely evidenced in educational practices and policy with respect to indigenous cultures in the United States. It extends from deeply debated concepts of native "Indians" as having underdeveloped "souls" and "savage" social structures from fifteenth- and sixteenth-century European thought, through the cultural stratification and hierarchy introduced by early American anthropology, and finally realized in full bloom by terminology such as "primitive" and "tribal" in everyday educational discourse for mainstream and indigenous learners alike.⁵⁰
- The reproduction of culture. That schools reproduce and reinforce the dominant "culture" is hardly contested. What is not discussed fully is that the schools actively suppress other cultures, and therefore oppress indigenous people, rather than the benign neglect often claimed by educators. This is the heart of the multicultural debate and is uniquely evidenced by Native Nations and indigenous people whose cultural practices and languages are still alive.⁵¹

These three themes, as primary contested domains within the education of indigenous people, are motivating purposes for redesigning schooling and curriculum for Native cultures, so as to resist a cultural reproduction that maintains a hegemonic and dominant nation-state system.

Martin Brokenleg, with his coauthors, explores an approach toward counseling for "students at-risk" that includes establishing "reclaiming environments" that restore the elements of trust and cooperation essential to whole-person learning.⁵² Most existing Native Nations are "cultures at-risk" for very similar reasons as Brokenleg identifies for individuals, including destructive relationships, climates of futility, conditioned irresponsibility, and imposed loss of purpose, in addition to the struggle to simply survive. In Brokenleg's counseling approach, the sustaining values of traditional Lakota

culture, including the four spirits of Belonging, Mastery, Independence, and Generosity, are used in the process of reclaiming, in order to "Mend the Broken Circle." Mending the broken circle of indigenous cultures within existing educational systems is the broader task Native educators have set for themselves.

Various bridging curricula have been suggested by multicultural researchers, educators, and scholars, but these only take us part of the way along the mending journey.⁵³ There are special circumstances concerning indigenous cultures, especially education on Indian reservations, which require more comprehensive changes. These include:

- immersion in language and culture (query: is indigenous "foreign"?)
- models are not for a minority or "foreign" situation ("Native American" students)
- historically situated forms of inequality (including military domination, conquest)
- oppressed consciousness⁵⁴
- necessary topics unacceptable to mainstream curriculum (genocide, genocide)
- boarding school examples of education as cultural "alienation" (kidnapping)

These curriculum issues reflect broader concerns with indigenous learning environments.

LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS: SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITIES

Schools do not exist in educational vacuums; they are firmly ensconced in communities, often with great ethnic and cultural diversity. Curriculum, however, tends to be centralized with monocultural foci, usually controlled by large school districts and state education agencies. Individual schools, programs, and teachers employ strategies to culturally enrich their students' learning and make education more meaningful in the context of the local community. These attempts are marginalized by the larger systems and a lack of flexibility and control over content of curricula. Examples of how schools and ethnic communities conflict in their educational endeavors are found throughout Indian education, especially on rural reservations. This fact is poignantly illustrated by these quotes from the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force:

American Indian and Alaska Native teachers, administrators, counselors, and specialists are needed in schools at all levels and in all areas because Native staff

serve as role models for Native students and thus help increase self-esteem. In general, Native staff are more sensitive to the cultural and learning styles of Native students because they share a common cultural and language background.⁵⁵

Native parents need to be empowered through Native-controlled schools where there is respect for Native values and cultural ways. . . . Native communities must be the producers of Native education materials that reflect the language and culture of the local area.⁵⁶

The preservation of Native languages is of primary importance to the survival of our cultures and to the self-esteem of Native children, which leads to higher academic achievement. . . . The study of Native American language, law, history, culture, art, and philosophy should be required of students of Native heritage to build pride, confidence, and understanding.⁵⁷

Culturally appropriate instructional strategies are based on a multi-generational approach that asks students to focus on their own culture, seek the wisdom of Elders, learn from the environment and experience. . . . Curriculum should be localized to reflect the historical experience, culture and values of the local and regional Native communities.⁵⁸

The true cultural experts—traditional people—are the resource for language and curriculum.

On Standing Rock reservation in the Dakotas, for instance, the approaches to schooling vary widely from district, Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), and contract schools with respect to orientations to curriculum. One elder teacher, and her description of heritage, stands out in the oral tradition of her people. Her family name is Defender, *Wa-ya-nak-e-shin*, descendant of Chief Tall Man See The Bear of the *Ilhahanketowan* (*Yanktonai*) Dakota. She has many other names, such as "Gourd Woman," or *Wagna-ha-win*, and insists on accuracy in the language and traditional lore. And, she has taught her students not to blindly accept definitions according to "outside" ethnographers.

Many anthropologists want to tell us we were in three divisions of nomadic allies—the *Lakota* (Teton Sioux), the *Dakota* (Santee Sioux), and the *Nakota* (who they can't figure out). But my people, the *Ilhahanketowan*, were Northern Dakota and often lived in earth lodges during the growing time. Your people were the *Medewakanton*, the Eastern Dakota of the woodlands. The *Hunkpapa* were western Lakota and moved in seasonal cycles from the Missouri to the Greasy Grass and beyond. There was the Southern Lakota also, making up the Four Directions, with each of the more than sixteen allied bands having its own emergence place and history.⁵⁹

As a teacher, *Wá-on-ste wíwakíya*, Mary Louise researches the oral traditions and language sources of her people. *Wí*, sun, and *Iryáan*, rock of the earth, can combine to make the word *wíryáan*, woman. Many traditionalists believe that, as the language is lost, as the names of things and their relationships to people are pushed aside, the cultural identity of individuals is diluted, changed.⁶⁰ This is the primary reason that, for one hundred years, Dakota and Lakota elders have resisted the assimilation of schooling and today insist on language and culture being taught in addition to mainstream “core” subjects of the dominant culture. This dominance in education is one of many interwoven social mechanisms of cultural suppression making up the complex system of total domination, especially in the ideological realm.⁶¹ This is evident in the INAR suggestions for strategic actions on the previous and following pages. And, thus, we see that building appropriate curricula and pedagogical approaches is not only paradigmatic for indigenous peoples living in systems of cultural domination, but is also specific to situational and individual perspectives.

INDIGENOUS PERSPECTIVES: NATIVE AMERICAN “WORLD VIEW”

In his ground-breaking studies on psycholinguistics, and the correlation between language and thought, Benjamin Lee Whorf coined the term “world view,” apropos especially when contrasting approaches to thinking and expression of Native peoples (e.g., Hopi and Zuni) with that of English speakers. Some thoughts, such as the existence of “waves,” could not be expressed well in another language.⁶² We extend that to philosophical expression as well.

The man who sat on the ground in his tipi meditating on life and its meanings, accepting the kinship of all creatures and acknowledging unity with the universe of things was infusing into his being the true essence of civilization. And when native man left off this form of development, his humanization was retarded in growth.

The white man does not understand the Indian for reason that he does not understand America. He is too far removed from its formative processes. The roots of his life have not yet grasped the rock and soil. . . . In the Indian the spirit of the land is still vested, it will be until other men are able to divine and meet its rhythm.⁶³

The extension of European-based thought in North America has produced a powerful society of technology and institutions, but the relationship to the land is still best understood through indigenous people, who study the rhythms and divinations of the earth using ancient, trusted methods. Besides

curriculum needs to benefit a “minority” Native American student, various bicultural approaches to learning may very well yield better-educated “mainstream” Anglo students too, because of exposure to not just another culture but to a more complete understanding of the world and the land on which they live. This is also reflected in values.

As a child, I understood how to give; I have forgotten this grace since I became civilized. I lived the natural life, whereas I now live the artificial. Any pretty pebble was valuable to me then; every growing tree an object of reverence. Now I worship with the white man before a painted landscape whose value is estimated in dollars! Thus the Indian is reconstructed, as the natural rocks are ground to powder and made into artificial blocks which may be built into the walls of modern society.⁶⁴

When Ohyesa speaks of “giving,” he is presenting one of the most basic cultural differences between Eurocentric and Native American thought and interaction. When Anglo Americans wish to honor some person (or be honored), friends, relatives, and associates will most often have a dinner and present gifts and tokens of appreciation. When Dakota or Lakota people shower honor on someone, usually that person must have a “giveaway,” where she or he must present community members, elders, friends, and even enemies gifts and useful artifacts. The value, among many Native Americans, truly lies in the giving, which is a socially learned interaction, residing in social prestige networks with socialization patterns based on relationships.

Native peoples view the world as complex, inter-connected in non-linear relationships (heterarchic), dynamic, unknowable (indeterminate), changing/moving in several simultaneous cycles (mutual causality), growing as a whole (morphogenesis) and consisting of many perspectives.⁶⁵

This interconnectedness—multiple-perspective holism—is not very easy to grasp without the benefit of growing up in a traditional (Native American) home or society. Why should we deny through education the incredible opportunity for Native youngsters to become familiar with the whole as well as the particular? Beyond that, why do we deny the great influence Native culture has had on formation of the United States (e.g., the influence of the history and model of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy on the construction of the U.S. Constitution), much less the communities where Native students are living? Besides the basic injustice to Native Americans and other minority groups, doesn’t such a hegemonic or monocultural perspective injure all students to some extent? The world is made up of many cultures, races, languages, and nations. The so-called “New World” Europeans came to a land that enjoyed great diversity, a diversity which contributed to the development of the Americas.

Over the past five hundred years, human beings have sculpted a new worldwide society, a new political and economic order as well as a new demographic and agricultural order. Indians played decisive roles in each step to create the new society. [However] modern world order came to be viewed as the product of European, not American, history.⁶⁴

This lack of inclusion is not limited to history, though. "Modern American curriculum and educational theory share with classical social science certain genealogical origins with respect to Anglo-Eurocentrism."⁶⁷ This is evidenced in the complete rejection of Native American philosophy as being authentic except as "primitive" or "primal" orientation—stereotypical extensions of the "noble savage" syndrome of earlier years.

When one author started taking part in ceremonies, he learned spiritual things or sacred words and experienced crying-out-for-a-vision. Many times he was told not to repeat or discuss what was revealed to him. This knowledge was often called *wakata*, or spiritually powerful, mysterious. Relationships are not only between people who may or may not know each other, but with all living things, and even with the spirits which may guide and influence our lives. Traditional spiritual leaders resist sharing this knowledge, knowing there must be a certain atmosphere, an understanding, between those who communicate on this level. A Native American educator has given traditional Ojibwe name to his son: *Bod-way-wi-dan*, which essentially means "walking along in the woods, and out of the corner of your eye you see a wolf, but when you look straight, you cannot see it."

Perhaps, similarly without looking, many English-only teachers who insist on using only their cultural paradigms, or worldviews, are making assumptions about the nature of language, culture, and education. When cultural values are taught as absolute values, educators assume the rights and responsibilities of parents or other culturally designated adults charged with teaching this knowledge and maintaining community standards. Could it be that Native American elders have seen the wolf in the corner of their eye, and we instead placed traditional knowledge in the other corner, where it cannot be so easily seen?

In consideration of all of the above, we must now turn toward building a curriculum model, and pedagogical approach, which will be both comprehensive and situationally specific, which respects the Lakota and Dakota culture and can be adapted to other indigenous systems.

CURRICULUM INTEGRATION: FOUR DIRECTIONS, SEVEN WAYS

First Lakota and Dakota traditionalists often begin and end their formal ceremonies and some ceremonies with "*o-miaknye oyasin*," which, as men-

tioned earlier, invokes "all our relations" within the people as a whole. These relationships have at their essence a philosophy of orientation to the metaphorical world through the Four Directions, one of the key spiritual songs or prayers also used in ceremonies. Many Lakota traditionalists identify the directions as *TATE TOPA* (Four Winds or Directions):

- *tate wiyobpeyata kiyá* (Eya): true values as the West wind blows (*wap-iyá-wicasá*)
- *tate waziyata kiyá* (Yata): lessons learned from the strong North wind (*wa-onpe*)
- *tate wiyobinyanpata kiyá* (Yanpa): summer solstice sun rising to the East (*wanagi oyate*)
- *tate iokagata kiyá* (Okaga): growth from a warm breeze of the South (*Onikaga*)

Additionally, when the Four Winds have been recognized and given cultural respect, spiritual leaders and traditionalists acknowledge that which is above, in the heavens:

- *mabpiyato*: thunderbeings from the Sky above us all (reverence and spirituality)

Then, many would say most importantly, the traditionalist recognizes the earth itself:

- *inca ina maka*: grandmother Earth, as if my mother (the sacred essence of all life)

Only after these directions and orientations (four and six) are recognized and understood, some traditionalists would say, can we look inward, to ourselves as life walking upon the earth, under the heavens, in a spiritual way with sacred breath, as having inhaled the ceremonial smoke from a prayer pipe kept in a traditional way to sanctify one's actions in ceremony and life-ways: *Kola Le-ci-ya* (*wambli g'leska wapiya wicasa*). When philosophical and metaphysical orientations have been recognized with respect: *miaknye oyasin* (we are all related, and so to all my relatives . . .).

Let us review the holistic power of this approach, especially for multicultural learning. First, there is an essential equality of directions and the perspectives set by direction one faces, without any direction being more important or superior to any other. Contrast this with Western systems that are either linear or hierarchical (or both) models, lacking in their worldview philosophy any grounded or directional orientation. As previously identified, dominant cultures always teach their versions of history and social

organization first and foremost, often excluding indigenous people's perspectives altogether, or allowing them to follow the really important elements (similar to their "second-class citizenship" positions, whether past or currently held), perhaps putting them on the bottom of a long list of content areas that rarely get addressed.

Wiyonpeyala kiyá—*Waziyata kiyá*—*Wibonyampata kiyá*—*Togata kiyá*.

Metaphysically speaking, there is also a spatial orientation extending to the Seven Ways, combining the four directions with the heavens above, the earth below, and finally inward. Whichever way we face, we see the world differently, and yet any of us can face any direction. Heavens are always above us, full of mystery and the cosmos, noted in *Lakota Star Knowledge* as spiritual qualities related to the earth, always below us, on which we walk, from which we come and to which we will return in the circle of life, as other life forms exist.⁶⁸ Our full environment and selves are thus recognized, interconnected, and holistic.

We now turn toward linking these metaphysical and philosophical orientations to some existing curriculum modalities and then will expand that to our overarching conceptual model with the Four Directions as its base.

ARCHETYPES: TRADITIONAL, MODERN, NEW

The qualitative concepts of "naturalistic inquiry" define the world in a much different way than has traditionally been the case.⁶⁹ Their analysis has abstracted seven areas that characterize how these new concepts, in what they call the new or emergent paradigm, differ from the old or dominant paradigm. Put very simply, they are: (1) complexity (diversity); (2) heterarchy (interaction); (3) holography (whole reproduction); (4) indeterminacy (unpredictability); (5) mutual causality (connectedness); (6) morphogenesis (organic holism); and (7) perspective (nonobjectivity). This emerging way of viewing the world, and approaching evaluation, is more in line with traditional Native beliefs about the world and reality⁷⁰ and will inform our presentation of an indigenous model.

The suggestions by the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force (INAR) are implemented by viewing the entire learning and knowing process—including curriculum, content areas, pedagogy, and knowledge base—with what has been termed a Native American "world view" based on Lakota/Dakota philosophy, much of which is shared by other indigenous cultures. This can be divided into four main categories:

- Reference point (center or *hocoká*): all knowing begins with the contemporary sociocultural ways of the people (Lakota);

- Curriculum: a Four Directions paradigm is used to establish content-area instruction (rather than hierarchical or linear-logic forms);
- Pedagogy: experiential learning, environmental interaction, and discovery via storytelling are primary approaches (Seven Ways); and
- Philosophy: holistic and universal concepts of connectedness are stressed through traditional ways and the wisdom of elders.

The generalized models implemented in this cross-cultural "paradigm-shift" are designed to be adapted to regional and/or local perspectives and needs and are therefore presented in English. After the model, we will provide some applications for Lakota and Dakota historical and social developments. After presenting the pedagogical and philosophical approaches, we will discuss topical or thematic lessons that can be related to the model as a whole or to any specific part.

REPRESENTATION: FOUR DIRECTIONS MODEL

The Four Directions Model (figure 2.1) has four mainstream educational study areas—social studies, mathematics, science, and language arts—on the outside perimeter of the central curriculum area just as these categories are most distant conceptually and metaphysically to indigenous peoples. The center, *hocoká*, is the sociocultural ways of the Indian Nation or ethnic origin people under consideration, in our case the Lakota and Dakota. All thematic or topical content-area lessons, many stated inside the model with those lessons oriented more toward "traditional culture" in the center, therefore relate to all other areas, including mainstream content areas.

We have associated four important thematic or content areas for Lakota educators—nations, peoples, societies, and treaty relations—with the four directions outside the general model. Categorically each of these is alien to traditional society, and yet each is critical to teaching and learning in Indian education, with particular emphasis on nation-building and treaty relations. Specifically we refer to Appendix B, Complexities of Cultural History and Indigenous Identity, which illustrates problems with mainstream curricula and teaching approaches toward Lakota history as it relates to the "Sioux Nation" of the important 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, including the Black Hills, which was later broken up into six reservations where Lakota-descent "Indians" may be enrolled according to their "blood quantum" as each relates to individual tribal councils.

Traditional Lakota Culture and Identity (see Appendix B) refers to "traditional" identity forms and Lakota societal relations, which were systematically disrupted and destroyed by U.S. Indian policy and no longer strongly exist.⁷¹ Clearly, mainstream U.S. education cannot and will not teach about

Content-Area Instruction and Indian Education

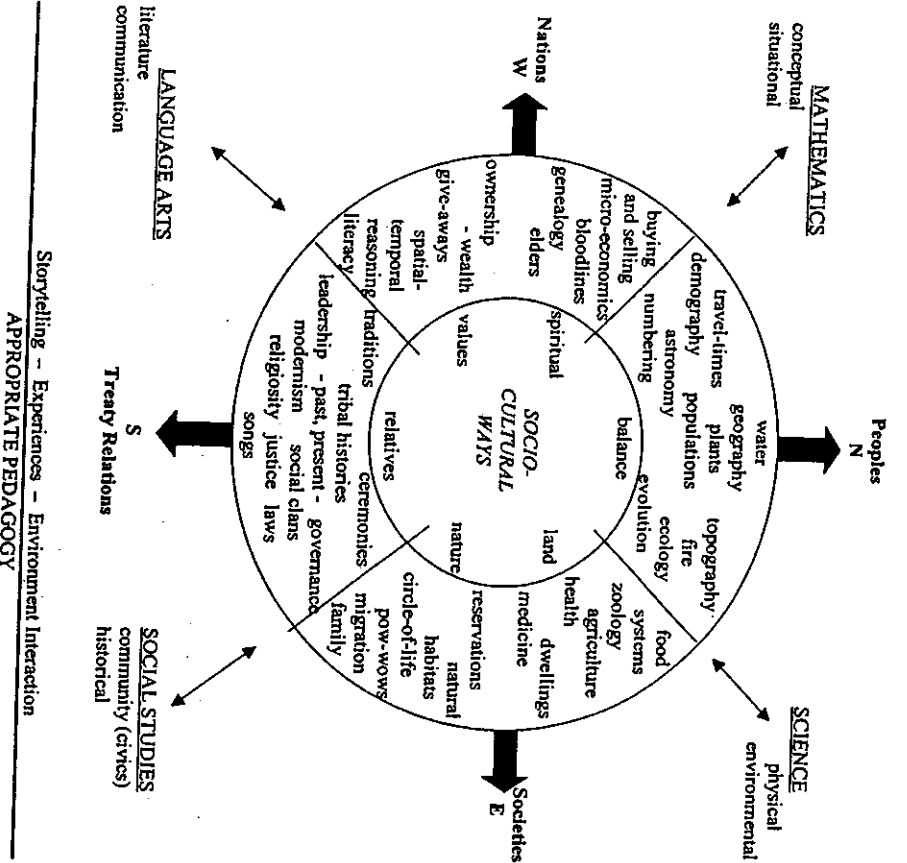


Figure 2.1. Four Directions Model for Curriculum Integration—Indigenous Education

These forms and can only address “blood quantum” enrollment issues, completely foreign to the traditional forms. External Constructions of LAKOTA OYATE” and “SIOUX NATION” Identities (see Appendix 7) while more accessible to the well-informed mainstream educator, also demonstrates many of the complexities to sociopolitical changes, inculcated through coercive policies and cultural domination over traditional forms, which did not have clear national structure.⁷¹

It is our contention, based on our years of experience with many teaching

applications, that these highly problematic areas are better addressed through the Four Directions model, which allows for entry by a knowledgeable instructor who has awareness of these historical cultural constructions of Lakota identity and nationhood, especially as experienced directly by indigenous students.⁷⁴

ACCULTURATION: APPROPRIATE CONTENT AREAS

At mid-century, federal education policy had shifted to an assimilationist model and the goal of Native education was to get Native people into the American economic mainstream as quickly as possible. Throughout these shifts, the belief of Native people has been that education should integrate goals of both cultural sustenance and economic self-sufficiency. From a non-Native perspective, however, these goals have been viewed as incompatible. Using the term deculturalization to denote efforts to ensure wider representation of and more responsiveness to legitimate interest groups (Native people) Weiler points out: The linkage between culture and learning tends to benefit from a more deculturalized, disaggregated notion of learning and educational content.⁷⁵

The key here is what constitutes civilization and is best described in the words of Mary Louise Defender-Wilson, a traditional teacher of the Dakota:

I felt it was an insult to the wisdom of my ancestors that the knowledge passed on to me should be valued so lowly. . . . When I began teaching, I was amazed how many [Indian people] didn't have [knowledge of their] background as a people. Our needs are unique. We must have at least one school or person of Indian descent who reinforces self-worth. So many things start from language. As my students began to understand how their language worked, I saw a light open up in them.⁷⁶

The INAR six strategies—Native curriculum development, developmental language skills, resources for cultural needs, spiritual values, parent-community participation, and teacher preparation—make up the essence of the redesigned educational system for indigenous cultures. Any generic model must include these strategies, as well as appropriate pedagogy.

In addition, current cognitive theory, including adaptation of multiple intelligence theory for cross-cultural scenarios and indigenous worldviews as ways of knowing, informs how this approach should be structured.⁷⁷ Even this applied theory needs to be adapted to traditional methods of teaching, as in learning through experience, or the discovery inherent in storytelling about the community, responsibilities to relatives, and the immediate environment.

PARADIGMS: PEDAGOGY AND PRACTICE

The basis of this cultural interaction, and the seed for its continued healthy growth, is the experience that each and every student brings with them every day. One model for addressing this is experiential learning, as used in the multicultural sense. From an experience, we can reflect and make generalizations or rules. From these we go on to construct concepts or theories, which can be applied to real situations to test for validity. And the cycle goes on, as in figure 2.2.

Another model, one used to develop and discuss "culture shock," represents this process in respect to changing the curriculum and culture of schools (see figure 2.3).²⁸

Adaptation of this model follows a similar vein as experiential learning did previously. Many people prefer to eat the same food day in and out, even TV dinners, rather than go to an ethnic restaurant and try something different. That first taste of ethnic food can cause the person to go back forever to frozen food or can be the catalyst for evermore new experiments in eating.²⁹

SOCIALIZATION: INDIAN EDUCATION

One name I have been given is *T'sinke G'ideska Sapa*, or "Black Spotted Horse." Many such "Indian" names have more than one word, such as Spotted Horse or Mr. Spotted. The cultural connotations, often showing some form of tribal membership (not BIA), maintain traditional knowledge and relationships to others. Dakota people, in my case the *M'de-wakantowan*, are

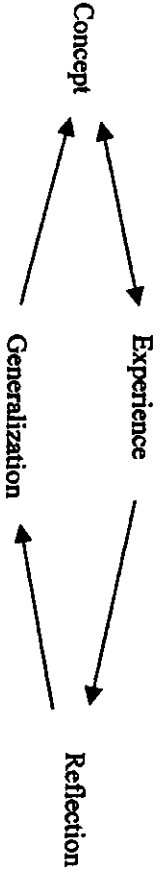


Figure 2.2.

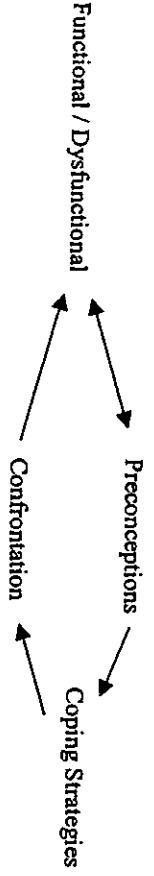
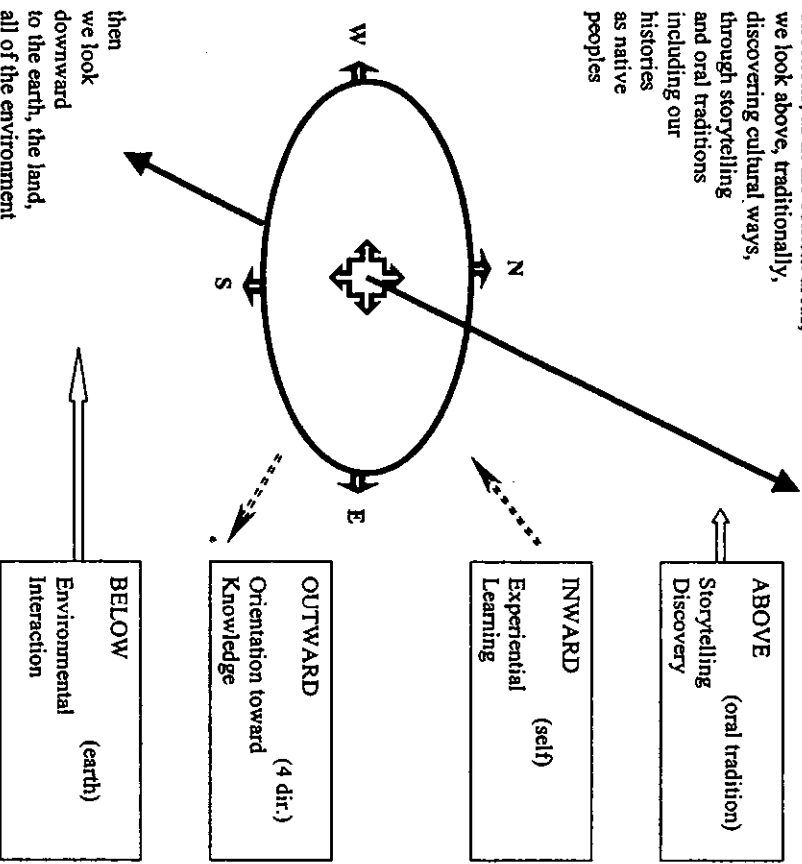


Figure 2.3.

**PEDAGOGICAL CONFIGURATION:
SEVEN WAYS TO SEE**

After we orient ourselves to the Four directions, as in the content areas, we look above, traditionally, discovering cultural ways, through storytelling and oral traditions including our histories as native peoples



then we look downward to the earth, the land, all of the environment the very soil we walk upon, are born from, and return to when we finish our life cycles...

Finally, after orienting ourselves to the four directions, and to the sky and the earth, We are fully prepared to look inward, knowing much more through our experiences, Understanding our spirituality and our sense of self in relation to the world...

Figure 2.4. Seven Directions as a Pedagogical Model

Source: J. Fenelon.

differentiated by academic white ethnography as the *Santee Sioux* in contrast to the Lakota, *Hunkpapa*, or *Oglala*, of the same larger society called the *Teton Sioux*. The word Sioux never historically existed among the Lakota/Dakota people, coming perhaps from a French mangling of a Chippewa-Cree term, *Na-de-wa-sue*, reported to mean curthroats by enemies, hardly a self-definition.

The term Sioux has been greatly extended to mean a linguistic stock of languages, often called Siouan, covering people all the way to the east coast of the United States, all within the rubric American Indian, itself both a misnomer and a mistake. Every time we turn on the television to watch John Wayne fighting off hordes of savage "Indians," we reinforce long histories of misnaming in this country, supporting negative stereotypes and perpetuating the difficulties faced by Native American youngsters in understanding their own names and names associated with their racial/cultural background. This is compounded when the communication—the use of the name—is between two cultures, such as the Anglo-legal system and a Native American group (tribe).

This complication of identification is at least partly due to differing histories and worldviews attached to naming, as with the misnomer "Indian" described earlier. The notion of Indian will remain forever linked with specific educational policies of the United States.

The [Navajo] children are caught, often roped like cattle, and taken away from their parents, many times never to return. They are transferred from school to school, given *white people's names*, forbidden to speak their own tongue, and when sent to distant schools are not taken home for three years [emphasis added].⁸⁰

Connections between language and names are clear, both being direct conduits to culture. In the last two or three decades we have seen very little taking of children in the physical sense. But in the cognitive, cultural, and educational arenas, children and classrooms are at the heart of the United States' most heated controversy in schools—bilingual education. And central to all language education is communication between people with names. Courtney Cazden pointed out that in educational institutions the "spoken language is an important part of the identities of all the participants" and is an expression of a speaker's "personal identity" and, therefore, is self-identification.⁸¹ What part do schools play in forming, supporting, deforming, and in other ways altering the student's identity through name changes and language determination? "Education was not about equality, but inequality. . . . Education's main purpose of social integration of a class society could be achieved only by preparing most kids for an unequal future, and by ensuring their personal underdevelopment."⁸² The educational system is embodying a set

of values and structures which covertly and coercively cause cultural assimilation through language policy and naming practices.

As Native educators have attempted to look at Native student performance, they have relied less on standardized achievement test scores and more on measures of student satisfaction with school, on drop-out rates for example. However, one person testifying suggested that we must shift from focusing on negative measures to using more positive perspectives and criteria: "We must stop thinking of success as reduced drop-out rates and fewer suspensions and start thinking of success as high graduation rates and post-secondary enrollment."⁸³

When we look at culture in the schools, we need to look at the three elements that make up education—the family, the school, and the community.⁸⁴ Our lesson models show these.

LESSON UNITS FOR THE FOUR DIRECTIONS MODEL

Teachers and curriculum specialists at Todd County, which includes the schools on the Rosebud reservation, South Dakota, have developed thematic lesson units for teaching Lakota students, which are used in conjunction with the Four Directions model for curriculum integration.⁸⁵ Below, we identify and briefly discuss seven of these lesson unit models:

1. Environment—"makece" [our relations to the earth and the environment, showing respect and understanding for traditional concepts, including the circle of life]
2. "Miyé" (*yelo*)—indigenous identity [each student's historical and current cultural, social, and national identities (citizenship?), as discussed in Appendix B]
3. Pow-wows (especially vendors and competition) [origins and practices of pow-wows (student experiences) with specific focus on business sales vendors and nature of competition]
4. Tribal government and treaties [topical information in Appendix B and C, including the current structure of Indian governments and their relationships to treaties]
5. "Mitakuye oyasin" (from *itwabe* to *oyate*) [traditional relationships and social organization are considered from historical developments to students' current relatives; see Appendix C]
6. "Mni-wiconi" (*minnewakan*: Devil's Lake / Tower, Spirit Lake Nation) [metaphysical knowledge of water, earth, stone, and sky are discussed and connected to specific places]
7. Star Knowledge (Goodman's book) [Ancient knowledge of the stars

and the earth shows deep culture and awareness of the Black Hills and sacred sites—Lakota star knowledge.]

Teachers and traditional elders adapt these lessons according to their individual orientations, sometimes not sharing spiritual or medicinal knowledge, with unique perspectives and values. Tribal education codes have been adapted to reflect these new Lakota Studies Standards, as seen in full in Appendix C, Todd County School District—Lakota Studies Standards. In summary, the Lakota Studies Standards are:

1. Students will develop knowledge and understanding of the kinship systems. (Lakota kinship system, a framework for behavior, harmony, compromise, order, group cohesion, individual and group identity, and self-esteem.)
2. Students will develop knowledge and understanding of the reservation land base and natural resources. (Lakota society as a homeland; philosophy grounded in relationship to the land and people—all things—caretakers—for the future generations; economic independence for the Sicangu Lakota Oyate; interdependence of all things.)
3. Students will develop knowledge and understanding of Lakota values, thought, and philosophy. (Lakot Wicohan foundation of Lakota culture. Lakota children, because of worldview, in conflict with mainstream societal values/beliefs. Important to experience activities that validate Lakota values, beliefs, thoughts, and philosophy.)
4. Students will develop knowledge and understanding of tribal government and economics. (Lakota people are a sovereign nation and maintain strength by understanding history, culture, responsibilities, and spiritual aspects of tribal life.)
5. Students will develop knowledge and understanding of different forms of Lakota communication. (Preservation of Lakota language, song, art, and dance are an integral part of Lakota culture and philosophy. Lakota language is sacred; transmission of cultural knowledge from one generation to the next.)
6. Students will develop knowledge and understanding of Lakota history and culture. (Lakota perspective not accurate in American history. Native American history/culture distorted. Lakota children need to know their own true tribal history and culture and its impact on their lives.)
7. Students will develop knowledge and understanding of the interconnection between spiritual, physical, social, and mental health. (With the respect for life, positive and negative influences to make appropriate choices, balanced lifestyle, interconnection between spiritual, physical,

and mental health and relationship to academic, social, cultural, and spiritual growth.)

The chart in Appendix D, reviewing relationships between traditional Lakota social structures with American mainstream institutions, and more importantly the mediating U.S. Indian policy structures that instituted cultural and coercive assimilation measures, demonstrates the complexity of teaching about traditionalism and its importance. Moreover, this method, when connected with the Four Directions model, allows indigenous students to see how their own social systems and identity changed over roughly two centuries. Instructors, especially indigenous peoples themselves, approach these thematic topics with their own input and perspectives.

This chart can be viewed through three primary systems of domination and conquest—political, economic, and cultural. Students observe how traditional systems were undermined, adapted, and changed into modern social practices that relate to the dominant society and their traditional systems. Let us consider each in turn.

Political structures (law enforcement, defense, and war) are usually attacked by dominant groups and made subordinate.⁸⁶ For the Lakota, and most American Indians, this includes the elimination of many councils of elders, followed by the movement into “chiefs” as U.S. forms of manipulated leadership. Individual leaders begin to replace community responsibility, often (but not always) corrupting traditional social structures. Students identify these relations, observing how “chiefs” of all kinds come into being and are adaptive in nature. Perhaps more important are the social justice structures of traditional Lakota society that were restorative rather than punitive. Lakota justice, concerned with maintaining community harmony and order, appears equal to or even superior to the unequal and discriminatory systems they experience.

The economic structures (trade economy, land tenure, and property) also come under extreme duress, especially for collective redistribution networks of an egalitarian nature, land tenure as individual ownership which can be alienated through purchase, and generosity. Additional benefits for Lakota/Dakota students are that traditional society looks considerably better when compared to capitalist competition. This and the following cultural structures discussion includes the collective orientation toward land and, to some degree, social wealth. Land has a spiritual dimension in traditional Lakota society and was not monetarily valued, much less owned by or sold to individuals. As land has been a primary target by conquering dominant groups, this difference has particular importance.⁸⁷

The cultural structures (education, religion, language, and family, in this one analysis) have particular importance in a curriculum that attempts to recognize traditional indigenous systems.⁸⁸ Through understanding the tradi-

tional systems and the social changes coerced through U.S. mediating policies, students recognize the conflicts and adaptations involved in moving into a modern society that does not recognize the historical struggle of their people nor contemporary educational issues. These poignantly involve major revitalization issues including the practice of the Sun Dance, which was outlawed for a hundred years, and many other cultural issues that span across traditional society. Students need to resolve the intrinsic conflict over these issues. Additionally, these thematic elements include experiential learning and models for spiritual, linguistic, and familial knowledge.

All of these discussions and the entire approach toward curriculum inclusion of Lakota ("Indian" or indigenous) perspectives brings into play the most difficult issue of all, genocide.

See Appendix E: Genocide and Culturicide of Native Nations: Teaching Models. We discuss the important applications of this kind of analysis for Indian education, including exemplary text, by referring to our presentation on teaching to Native Nations:

Children can learn about the Genocide and Culturicide of Native Nations, along with other U.S. Indian policies such as treaty making and breaking, reservations, civil rights, federal recognition and/or enrollment issues, as soon as and when they learn about the United States government, the colonial revolutionists, the Civil War, slavery, suffrage, World Wars I and II, the Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam War, the Gulf War, and virtually any other governmental actions that involves life and death, social struggle, and progress toward democracy with respect for sovereignty.⁸⁸

The importance of observing dominant social systems over subordinated indigenous cultures, when discussing any policy, practice, or result of genocide and culturicide, cannot be overstated. Two important curricular and pedagogical concerns are in play here: one is that these relations must be discussed with sensitivity to changing historical patterns, and another is that we must provide for placing these conflicts in a historical record that allows students to observe their dual citizenship and thus retain patriotism toward their home country, if desired. To some extent, this teaching relies on the orientation of individual teachers, students, and indigenous societies.

Examples of these academic perspectives, on the higher education level, can be found in qualitative articles with personal stories that relate to issues of race and ethnicity in the United States.⁸⁹ One author has an example of such a discussion for the Lakota⁹⁰ that resonates well with well-developed discussions for African-Americans⁹¹ and for Latinos.⁹² These "minority voices" establish a context and acceptance, albeit often in a discussion using conflict theory, that better prepare students and curricula issues for the twenty-first century and an uncertain future with prospects and problems.

INDIAN EDUCATION AND THE LAKOTA: FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The following quotes set the tone for the rationale and philosophy behind redesigning education for indigenous cultures:

There is much to be learned from a traditional education and we must see it as the prerequisite to any other kind of education or training. Traditional education gives us an orientation to the world around us, particularly the people around us, so that we know who we are and have confidence when we do things.⁹⁴

If we now see the fallacy in this process (of transitioning Indian children into citizens) and redefine Indian education as an internal Indian institution, an educational process which moves within the Indian context and does not try to avoid or escape this context, then our education will substantially improve. It will originate as part of a tribal perspective about life and pick up additional information on its return to Indian life.⁹⁵

Education, in terms of employment and future directions, is the key to leadership and furthering progressive aspects of Indian education rather than the status quo.⁹⁶ For the Lakota and Dakota people, these perspectives include:

- The "Wicaka champe" were usually hereditary religious leaders who assessed the qualifications (requiring approval) of the people or persons proposed for leadership roles.
- "Woywaka(kj)" relates to property associated with a person or people usually about to participate in a giveaway, noting a sense of "belonging" to an individual yet transferring to others, as a group.
- "Wicoyake" is the entirety of the "accounts of the people" that encompasses the oral tradition covering history, political relationships, social good, and the like, of actual events and people.
- "Oubunkakaka" is the "telling of the legends and philosophy of the people" (e.g., Spider Man and Prairie Chickens) for the purposes of education and learning in a variety of traditions and knowledge.
- The traditionally observed distinction of the Dakota, the Lakota, and the Nakota as dialectical languages is probably inaccurate (reported by Defender-Wilson, 1996), as they more generally depict how the people call themselves. The dialects are better represented in the actual names used by the speakers themselves for their language, including the *Teton*, *Isanteo*, *Hohbe*, *Wicoyena* (*Daku-ye*) dialects as being kin-based, generally relating to the Lakota and Dakota peoples in a relational sense.
- *Tiwae-ye*, for a family; *Tiyospaye*, for close living relations; *On-spaye*,

for group (camp circle), extended (kinship), as the *Daku-chiyape* (social) of relatives, with formal "adoption" *Hunkapti*.

CONCLUSIONS ON THE MODELS AND INDIAN EDUCATION

We observe the usage and applications of the models with curriculum development, pedagogical practices, and for empowerment of indigenous communities gaining control over their own educational systems. Indigenous models that allow traditional representation are more effective in designing curriculum for Indian education, allowing teachers and students to engage their home culture, families, and other valuable resources.

There are both problems and advantages of working this way. Really this is a form of resistance to hegemonic curriculum systems, and so dominant and bureaucratic systems resist these changes and attempt coercive assimilation in formal education, leaving the educators and curriculum developers on their own (though this is hardly new to most). The primary benefit is that this approach helps to maintain bi- or multicultural learning, which is of primary concern for Indian education in the United States.

Specifically these models allow educators to address the complex issues of social justice, as perceived by indigenous peoples, practiced by dominant social systems, and as an important element in designing curriculum plans and pedagogical approaches. This work has significance for all Indian educators, most bilingual-bicultural curriculum models, generalized multicultural education, and future studies of the impact of indigenous cultures on the education of children, dominant and minority alike. We hope they are used in this light.⁹⁷

NOTES

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93. Jose Calderon, "Inclusion or Exclusion: One Immigrant's Experience of Cultural and Structural Barriers to Power Sharing and Unity," in *Minority Voices: Linking Personal Ethnic History and the Sociological Imagination*, ed. John P. Myers (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2005).
94. Deloria, "Knowing and Understanding," 12-18.
95. Deloria, "Knowing and Understanding," 10-15.
96. Manley Begay Jr., "Leading by Choice, Not Chance: Leadership Education for Native Chief Executives of American Indian Nations" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1997).
97. The models proposed in this chapter were developed at the Harvard Graduate School of Education and were based on previous experience with Indian education, firsthand knowledge of Native American philosophy, a background in intercultural curriculum development, and general trends for multicultural education. Various components have been presented at regional meetings and local workshops on bilingual and multicultural education. Finally, models with adjoining content materials for curriculum adaptation were presented at schools on the Rosebud Sioux reservation, with general and specific feedback and evaluation from teachers, paraprofessionals, and administrators concerned with language and culture education at the selected sites. The following are additional references consulted in preparation of this chapter:
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- Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America (CRTFCA) (with Golden, McConnell, Mueller, Poppo, and Turkovich), *Dangerous Memories: Invasion and Resistance Since 1492* (Chicago: CRTFCA, 1991, special printing).
- Stephen Cornell and Joseph P. Kalt, *What Can Tribes Do? Strategies and Institutions*

in *American Indian Economic Development* (Los Angeles: American Indian Studies Press, 1992).

James Crawford, "Endangered Native American Languages: What is to be done, and why?" in *The Bilingual Research Journal* 19 (Winter 1995): 17-38.

Lisa Delpit, "The Silenced Dialogue: Power and Pedagogy in Educating Other People's Children," in *Facing Racism in Education*, ed. Nitza M. Hidalgo, Cesar L. McDowell, and Vanessa Siddle Walker (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Educational Review, 1990).

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Joseph Kalt and S. Cornell, "Pathways from Poverty: Economic Development and Institution-Building on American Indian Reservations" (Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Cambridge, Mass., December 1989).

John M. Meyer, ed. *American Indians and U.S. Politics: A Companion Reader* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2002).

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Russell Peters, *The Wampanoags of Mashpee* (Jamaica Plain, Mass.: Inter-tribal Press, 1987).

Appendix A

Statement of Vision Toward the Next 500 Years From the Gathering of United Indigenous People At the Parliament of World Religions, Chicago, Illinois, 1993

We as Indigenous peoples and Native Nations, honoring our ancestors and for our future generations do hereby declare our present and continuing survival with our sacred homelands.

Since time immemorial, we have lived in a spiritual way in keeping with the sacred laws, principles and values given to us by the Creator. That way of life is predicated on a sense of honor and respect for the Earth, a sacred regard for all our relations, and a continuation of our languages, cultures and traditions.

In the presence of this world gathering, we call for recognition of the past, acknowledgement of the present, and a commitment to support our just demands for dignity, justice and human rights. These rights include: the right to practice our spiritual traditions without interference or restrictions, the right to raise our children in our own cultures, and the right to sovereignty and self-determination.

One hundred years ago, at the 1893 Parliament of the World's Religions, we, the Original Nations of the Western Hemisphere were not invited. A century later, even as this Parliament convenes, the following issues have yet to be addressed:

- The destruction of Native spiritual traditions
- The historical and continuing genocide and holocaust against our peoples

- Repatriation and reburial of sacred artifacts and funerary remains
- Protection and return of sacred sites and traditional lands
- Legitimization of native medicinal and health practices
- The cultural education of our children, including spirituality
- Misrepresentation and theft of spiritual traditions, and ethnic fraud
- Teaching and learning of traditional language and culture
- Environmental abrogation of sacred sovereign rights
- Respect and awareness of prophecies and traditional teachings
- Church silence and complicity in dominating native spirituality
- Ongoing effects of federal policies designed to destroy our way of life.¹

NOTE

1. James V. Fenelon, *Culturalicide, Resistance, and Survival of the Lakota (Sioux Nation)* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 310–12.

Appendix B

Complexities of Cultural History and Indigenous Identity

TRADITIONAL LAKOTA CULTURE AND IDENTITY FORMS

In traditional Lakota culture, responsibility towards relatives, sacredness, and sovereignty extend outward in networks of extended relationships, ultimately reaching the notion of “nation.” James R. Walker captures the notions: “The Lakota *tabu-kiciyapi* (consider-one-another-kindred), because they are all either *owe* (of-one-blood), or *oweyya* (considered-of-blood), with ancestors *oyate umma* (other people). . . . Lakota divide into seven *otonweypi* (i.e. Teton), and seven *ospayeypi* (i.e. Oglala). . . . Oglala divide into seven *ti-ospayeypi* (tipi divisions); each *tiyospaye* is composed of one or more *wico-tipi* (camps), and each camp is composed of two or more *ti-ognakapi* (husbanded tipis). . . . Thus the strength of the relationship of one Lakota to another is in the following order: 1, *ti-ognaka*; 2, *wico-tipi*; 3, *ti-ospaye*; 4, *ospaye*; 5, *otonwe*.”¹

Preceding arrival of Euro-American governments, Lakota viewed themselves as *Oyate*, or “the people” with *Ikece* as Native or common together, which can be applied to any substantial grouping, including the largest groups of all—“Sioux.” *Dakota*, *Lakota* and *Nakota*? Seven major “tribal” affiliations are associated with the “Sioux.” Dakota “Oyate” of *Mdewakan-tonwan*, *Wabpekwete*, *Wabpetonwan*, *Sistonwan*, “Dakota speakers” of the *Thanktonwan* (Yankton), *Thanktonwanna* (Yanktonai), and the “Lakota speakers” *Tiionwan* usually referenced as the “Teton” or the *Lakota*.²

EXTERNAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF "LAKOTA OYATE" AND "SIOUX NATION" IDENTITIES

- "OCEI SAKOWIN" (alliance of "seven council fires"; Lakota were a council) OYATE
- 1700—LAKOTA as OYATE, YANKTON(AI) as OYATE, DAKOTA as OYATE, NATION
- the Lakota, Yankton, Yanktonai, and divisions of the Dakota, can all act as *Oyate*
- 1764—LAKOTA, DAKOTA, NAKOTA—TETON, and SANTEE "SIOUX"—"OYATE"
- bio-regional, political control regions separate Lakota in Dakotas and nearby areas
- 1804—The "SIOUX"—LAKOTA Councils and broad DAKOTA Alliances and Councils
- while Yankton Dakota negotiated with Lewis and Clark, Lakota controlled the region
- Separate "NATIONS" (Santee Dakota, Teton Lakota as separate treaty nations)⁵
- 1851—Treaties with "SIOUX INDIANS"—Dakota and Lakota "Nations" (multitribal)
- Traverse-de-Sioux—Dakota treaty, Fort Laramie—multinational (Lakota) compact
- 1868—Treaty with "SIOUX NATION OF INDIANS"—the *Lakota Oyate* (Teton-Sioux)
- Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, established U.S. and Lakota geopolitical boundaries
- 1871—U.S. Treaty-Making Ended—SIOUX TRIBES (Lakota) situated by agency-reservation
- National Origin identity internalized sovereignty; limits to external nation constructs
- Separate LAKOTA-SIOUX Reservations (U.S. unilateral breakup of *Lakota Oyate*)
- 890—SIOUX AGENCIES (Lakota divided by "band" into six separated reserves)⁶
- BIA agencies separated in 1889 with making of Dakota states and huge land-takings
- 924—U.S. CITIZENSHIP with federal enrollment on "INDIAN RESERVATIONS"
- Standing Rock "Sioux" with Yanktonai Dakota, Blackfeet, and Hunkpapa Lakota

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- 1934—"STANDING ROCK SIOUX TRIBE" (six reservations as separate "tribes")⁷
- Indian Reorganization Act influences separate councils and (BIA) tribal identities
- Autonomy by RESERVATION reestablished as "Nation" and/or "Tribe"
- 1970s—STANDING ROCK divided—TRIBAL COUNCIL vs. Traditionalists/Activists
- Lakota and Dakota origins and divisions, with assimilated and traditional claims
- 1990—STANDING ROCK TRIBE as "NATION" (Standing Rock Sioux Reservation)
- 1995—STANDING ROCK NATION listed with council, OYATE reintroduced

NOTES

1. James R. Walker and Raymond J. DeMallie, eds., *Lakota Society* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982). See also James V. Fenelon, "From Peripheral Dominion to Internal Colonialism: Socio-Political Change of the Lakota on Standing Rock," *Journal of World-Systems Research* 3 (Spring 1997): 259-320. jwsr.ucr.edu/index.php.
2. William Powers, *Sacred Language: The Nature of Supernatural Discourse in Lakota* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986).
3. There is extensive literature on social organization of the Dakota, often called Santee Sioux, and the Lakota, known as the Teton Sioux. See Walker and DeMallie, *Lakota Society*; James R. Walker, *Lakota Myth*, ed. Elaine A. Jahner (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983); James R. Walker, *The Sons of the Wind: The Sacred Stories of the Lakota*, ed. D. M. Dooling (New York: Society for the Study of Myth and Tradition, 1985); Ella Cara Deloria, *Dakota Texts* (New York: G. E. Stechert, 1932); Raymond J. DeMallie, *Sioux Indian Religion* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987); John Gneisenau Neihardt, *Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's Teachings Given to John G. Neihardt*, ed. and with introduction by Raymond J. DeMallie (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).
4. The Ocei Sakowin constituted the Lakota Oyate as one of seven greater council fires, shared with the Wo-Dakota Oyate, and the Nakota. United States economic and political interests caused some differential treatment by 1804.
5. Two separate nations existed for the U.S. government negotiators by 1851, ironically both the Dakota and Lakota treaties were signed with the "Sioux Nation of Indians." After the destruction and diaspora of the Dakota from the 1862 conflicts in Minnesota, the U.S. Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 with the "Sioux Nation of Indians" meant only the Lakota.
6. 1804 "SIOUX" (Lakota/Dakota Alliances); 1851 "SIOUX NATION OF INDIANS"; 1868 "SIOUX NATION OF INDIANS"—Fort Laramie Treaty; 1890 SIOUX AGENCIES (reservations); 1934 "STANDING ROCK SIOUX TRIBE"

(reservations); 1990 STANDING ROCK “NATION” (Standing Rock Sioux Reservation).

7. By 1889, with U.S.-instigated conflicts in 1876 and land takings throughout the 1880s, the Indian agencies became separate reservations, replacing the Great Sioux Reservation. These were treated as politically separate in the 1934 IRA reorganization, which denoted each reservation as a tribe (Standing Rock Sioux had Sicasapa and Hunkpapa Lakota, and Yanktonai Dakota).

Appendix C

Todd County School District— Lakota Studies Standards

The Rosebud Sioux Tribe outlined their standards in the Tribal Education Code. Lakota Studies Standards are:

Students will develop knowledge and understanding of the kinship systems.

The Lakota kinship system provides a framework for both individual and group behavior. It promotes harmony, compromise, a sense of order, and group cohesion. Its unwritten rules ensure that everyone will be cared for and that conflicts and problems will be resolved in systematic, respectful and fair ways. In addition, it fosters individual and group identity, as well as self-esteem.

Students will develop knowledge and understanding of the reservation land base and natural resources.

The survival of Lakota society is dependent on maintaining a place—a ‘homeland’. The essential philosophy of Lakota people is grounded in the relationship of people to the land and people—to all things—and the notion of being caretakers of the land and all things—both now and for the future generations. Natural resources could serve as a vehicle to economic independence for the Sicangu Lakota Oyate. It is important to recognize how care of land, water and other natural resources here affects areas elsewhere and the interrelationship of all things. Interdependence of all things is a cornerstone of Lakota thought and philosophy.

Students will develop knowledge and understanding of Lakota values, thought, and philosophy.

Lakot Wicohan is the basic foundation of Lakota culture. It is critical to understand that Lakota children, because of their worldview, are often in conflict with mainstream societal values and beliefs. Therefore, it is important for students to experience a variety of activities that validate Lakota values, beliefs, thoughts and philosophy.

Students will develop knowledge and understanding of tribal government and economics.

Realizing that Lakota people are a sovereign nation, we need to maintain that strength by understanding the history, culture, responsibilities and spiritual aspects of tribal life. As tribal members, community members and human beings, we need to understand and participate in tribal government for the betterment of our nation.

Students will develop knowledge and understanding of different forms of Lakota communication.

Preservation of the Lakota language, song, art and dance are critical because they are an integral part of the Lakota culture and Lakota philosophy. If the language is lost, the culture will also be lost. Lakota language is sacred; it allows for the transmission of cultural knowledge from one generation to the next and outlines the norms of acceptable social behavior among the Lakota people.

Students will develop knowledge and understanding of Lakota history and culture.

The Lakota perspective has not been portrayed, represented, or interpreted accurately in American history. As a result, Native American history and culture has been distorted. It is important for Lakota children to know their own true tribal history and culture and how it impacts their lives today.

Students will develop knowledge and understanding of the interconnection between spiritual, physical, social and mental health.

With the respect for life, all students will know the consequences of positive and negative influences to make appropriate choices. In order to achieve a balanced lifestyle, all students must know and understand the interconnection between spiritual, physical and mental health and their own relationship to academic, social, cultural and spiritual growth.¹

NOTE

1. Dorothy LeBeau, *Todd County School District Lakota Studies Standards and CREDE (Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence) (Mission, S.D.: Rosebud Sioux Tribe – Tribal Education Code, 2004)*; Dorothy LeBeau, "Culturally Responsive Teaching: What Is It? How Do We Do It?" *SubJournal 5* (Summer 2004).

Appendix D Indigenous D/Lakota-Euro-American Comparative Structures

SOCIAL SPHERE	LAKOTA Traditional Structure	U.S. GOV'T Policy Structure	"AMERICAN" Institutional Structure
Political 1P	Oyate Omnicitye Wicaka yatapiika (Wakanzee)	US/OIA appointed chief of "council" of collaborators	Federal (nation) "Elected" leaders State (system)
Law Enforcement 2P	Wa-wyanyaka, Naca Wicaka champe" (elder societies)	US & Indian Agent appointed "judge" with Indian Police	Judicial courts Police (legal code) Militia (local)
Defense & War 3P	Tokala-Akitchia "common defense"	... these completely "dependent" on US military, marshals	Standing Army Militia conscripts "institutional"
Trade Economy 4F	toka-wiyobpya exchanging trade tiyospye sharing	limited dependency on ration system (farming, ranching)	Businesses (P & P) Corporate profits "capitalism"
Land Tenure 5E	Maka-wakan bioregional no-own Ospapye	Six reservations forcing individual allotted ownership	Government legal Personal boundary all land "owned"
Property 6E	Individual, group Woyaka (xi) socially determined	Indian Agent and "chiefs" minions make distribution	Individual & gov't "ownership" legally defined
Education 7C	Woun spye, Wicoyake Ouhunkaka	Mission, boarding, agency schools, all suppress traditions	Schooling (P & P) Curriculum basis Institutional
Religion 8C	"Wakan" Oinkaga Wt-wanyang wacpi solidarity—"takwycpi"	Christian churches actively suppress Lakota practices	Christian dominant Church ritual Institutional
Language 9C	D/N/Lakota-dialects Teton, Santee, Hoha, Wicoyena (Daku-ye)	English education, elite management w/Lakota functions	English (only?) Civic and social use Socioeconomic base
Family 10C	Tiwa-ye, Tiyospye On-spye, Daku-chyape	Monogamous male household w/tolerance of elders	Nuclear fam. focus Blood relations (ethnic variations)

Source: James V. Fenelon, *Culturalcide, Resistance, and Survival of the Lakota (Sioux Nation)* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 107.

Sometimes the Europeans and colonial Americans wanted to eliminate Indian resistance. Sadly, some of the Indian Nations were completely destroyed, while others fought back, leading to ever smaller numbers. Sometimes historians and social scientists refer to those peoples' experience as genocide—when a dominating or conquering group or nation tries to or succeeds in eliminating another group of people, in this case Indian resistance. While not all “white” colonials and citizens of the United States approved of the actions, very few tried to stop the government from pushing away and destroying Indian peoples.

Later, after the colonial Americans succeeded in their revolution against the European colonial governments that spawned them, the new United States employed many of these same strategies of trying to eliminate Indian resistance, and sometimes Native Nations. These often deadly conflicts continued through the nineteenth century, until at least about 1890, when many Lakota “Sioux” died at Wounded Knee at the hands of the U.S. soldiers, signaling the end of staged warfare and the beginning of new forms of domination.

Great cultural destruction had accompanied these massive conflicts across our nation, often through purposeful policies and practices of the United States government. Before and after 1890, some of these laws continued to take away the lands and rights of Native Americans, while trying to coerce or force Indian peoples to take Euro-American cultures only and leave their own cultures. These methods included what we know as boarding schools and repressive laws banning indigenous religious and socioeconomic practices, including traditional forms of governance and law enforcement.

The practice of eliminating and making illegal the cultures of Native people by force has been called “coercive assimilation” by many mainstream historians and scholars, and it is better known as ethnocide (cultural genocide) and culturicide by some Indian scholars. During the first part of the twentieth century, the United States consistently practiced these approaches of eliminating American Indian resistance. Gradually through the twentieth century these practices were curtailed, especially because American Indians and their supporters began to invoke the civil rights movement, as used by African Americans, during their struggles. This meant that those Indian Nations and peoples that survived genocide, culturicide, and repression for hundreds of years were now in a position to be asserting their rights as Native Americans in the United States. This was great progress.

As the twentieth century finished, surviving and sometimes prospering Native Nations, Indian tribes, and indigenous peoples were finally included as part of the United States. However, many reservations were extremely

Appendix E

Genocide and Culturicide of Native Nations: Teaching Models

Genocide and Culturicide of Native Nations: Teaching Models. James V. Fenelon, Ph.D., California State University, San Bernardino. National Indian Education Association (NIEA) 2000 – Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

Essentially, children can learn about the genocide and culturicide of Native Nations, along with other U.S. Indian policies such as treaty making and breaking, reservations, civil rights, federal recognition, and enrollment issues, as soon as and when they learn about the United States government, the colonial revolutionists, the Civil War, slavery, suffrage, World Wars I and II, the Civil Rights Movement, the Vietnam War, the Gulf War, and virtually any other governmental actions that involve life and death, social struggle, and progress toward democracy with respect for sovereignty.

Here are some of the phrases that can be used to introduce these important topics:

When the early colonists first came to the lands of North America, they met with Native leaders and indigenous peoples in order to negotiate their presence and survival in a new environment. Soon, however, the same European peoples wanted more land and only for themselves, and so they began to push Indian Nations away from their colonies, usually westward. This unraveled great hardship for Native peoples, and a great many died during this time. Many Indian people were killed in conflicts that were akin to wars, others from disease, still more from starvation, while others lost the will to resist and survive.

poor, because of the many long decades, years of oppression, where their lands and property were taken from them, and their cultural practices were repressed and at times disfigured. This is the legacy of the genocide, culture, and coercive assimilation that was practiced for centuries. While progress, even economic success with business and some gaming operations, has occurred, slowly, there is much more to be done. When the United States recognizes its tough oppression and rights some of these historical wrongs, especially through honoring of treaty rights, governmental agreements, and the oral traditions and cultures of its Native peoples, America will be more fully inclusive of all its citizens.

The above passages can be taught (in simplified form with some deletions) as early as fourth grade, when social studies begin in most schools. By middle school and junior high school, most of the above can be taught, especially when it is reinforced through case studies from the local, state, and regional Native peoples. This means that, by the time that students are entering or in high school, they will be familiar with the all important themes of genocide, culture, and coercive assimilation that will prove necessary to deconstruct and understand the mainstream histories that are still a part of most texts.

Now, the teacher needs to place these historical situations into broader social contexts. Therefore, I provide a chart of some historical genocides and culturicides as an example, allowing instructors to also model how just because there is a genocide or culture, there are other modes of domination and adaptation going on as well.

Similarly, instructors need to show how governments and colonializing forces very often employ different strategies, so I provide genocide and culture charts (from my book), which include the major social constructions and institutions under duress. Teachers using this model can hone in on particular cultural practices, such as the family or education.

Finally, I have worked out the paradigms for the cultural domination and culture of Lakota Oyate, and provide that model to show individual and local case studies working.

3

Deconstructing Captivities Indigenous Women Reshaping Education and Justice

Sylvia Marcos

WE COME TO ASK FOR JUSTICE, NOT CRUMBS

On March 28, 2001, at about 10:00 a.m., a crowd of barefoot Indians, dressed in multicolored garments, wearing hats of different forms and sizes, adorned with ribbons, carrying packets in old plastic bags, entered the House of Parliament, meekly but triumphantly, through its main entrance. The wards and the doorkeepers could not believe their eyes. Many invited nonindigenous lawyers, professors, politicians, and supporters accompanied the indigenous reinne. Minutes later, as the session started, a small figure moved up to take the tribune. She was dressed in white with embroidered flowers. Reminiscent of the countenance recommended to women and men in the traditional discourses of *itamatlalli* and *buehuetlalli*,¹ the ancient moral sayings of the mesoamerican peoples,² she bore herself with indigenous composure, taking small steps and with her head covered by a ski mask. Her eyes blinked when she started speaking. It was *Comandanta Esther*. "Here I am. I am a woman and an Indian, and through my voice speaks the *Ejercito Zapatista de Liberación Nacional*."³ A murmur of surprise rose from the assembly. How dare she—a woman and an Indian, so desperately poor—take this stance? The audience was flabbergasted. She started shyly, almost faintly. But as her voice progressively rose, her strength came through her words. She made