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ABSTRACT

The mission of social work is to help people meet their basic needs and enhance their well-being. Through a strong empowerment orientation, the profession can aid people vulnerable to oppression as a result of racism, discrimination, and poverty. Social work can be a powerful force in advancing the practice of Indigenous education. Social workers and educators working together can use empowerment-oriented strategies to enable Indigenous people to influence educational decisions and practices that affect their lives. These strategies include building strong collaborative relationships with parents, teachers, students, and school administrators to increase their personal and political power; moving away from models that blame the student, family, or culture for Indigenous students' low academic achievement, high dropout rates, and nonconforming behavior; and overcoming oppressive structural aspects of school and community life that create disappointing outcomes for Indigenous children. Social workers and educators must acknowledge their professions' role in the painful legacy of boarding schools and mass removal of Indigenous children from their homes. Honest and meaningful dialogues with Indigenous peoples on this subject will promote respect for and validation of their narratives, survival, and experiences. Social workers can advance Indigenous education by assuming various roles: human services broker, teacher, counselor, staff developer, and social change agent. Social workers can use their understanding of social policy to analyze social problems and programs relevant to First Nations communities, and students of social work with field practicum experience in Indigenous communities can bring important cultural knowledge and understanding to schools. Contains 80 references and endnotes. (TD)

CHAPTER 9

The Role of Social Work in Advancing the Practice of Indigenous Education

Obstacles and Promises in Empowerment-Oriented Social Work Practice

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AND
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Education for Indigenous children should empower them to become "full participants in their communities, the country, and the world."[2] However, a major barrier to empowerment for Indigenous peoples is their history of intellectual and cultural oppression in European American schools. Social workers who accept the challenge of rising above their own profession's past involvement in this history can help Indigenous peoples change their children's future.

Schools have generally approached the education of Indigenous children from a deficit model, based upon the belief that First Nations children have "lacked the innate intelligence to succeed in school."[3] Deficit thinking continues today but is couched in slightly

different terms. Social workers and educators alike often identify Indigenous children as an "at-risk" or "vulnerable" school population because of high drop-out rates and low academic achievement. This labeling is individualized to students and rarely takes into account the larger political barriers and dynamics that maintain oppression.[4] Solving personal problems on an individual level, using individual solutions, is important. However, structural approaches aimed at reducing institutional racism and oppression are equally important. Problems are encompassed by both individual and structural frameworks. The professional mission of social work and the roles of social workers can advance the practice of Indigenous education. Empowerment-oriented social work practices illustrate how this is possible. The extent to which social workers can help remains to be seen. However, to create change, educators interested in advancing Indigenous education must develop strong collaborative relationships with social workers, whether they are based in schools or in other agencies. Educators and social workers with progressive, courageous, and collaborative attitudes and an interest in overturning oppressive aspects of Indigenous education will make powerful contributions.

Advancing the Practice of Indigenous Education: A Social Work Perspective

The purpose of what we call social work is to help people surmount personal and environmental barriers that inhibit growth, development, and adaptive functioning. The role of social work in advancing Indigenous education is, then, (1) to help Indigenous children and families resolve *personal and family circumstances* that prevent students from achieving the highest levels of learning and education and (2) to help students, parents, and communities understand and take action to overcome *political and institutional barriers and oppressive conditions* that prevent children and their families from achieving the highest levels of learning, education, and well-being.[5]

Social workers should refer to or provide culturally sensitive services that assist with such issues as communicating; parenting; resolving conflicts; and nurturing spiritual, emotional, physical, and intellectual development. Social workers should also use their pro-

fessional skills and knowledge to mobilize action against oppressive environmental conditions in the school or community that produce racism, substance abuse, and poverty.

Empowerment Theories, Principles, Processes, and Approaches

Empowerment is used to describe much of what is done in social work, but everything that is done is not empowering. Julian Rappaport writes, "To be committed to an empowerment agenda, is to be committed to identify, facilitate, or create contexts in which heretofore silent and isolated people, those who are 'outsiders' in various settings, organizations, and communities gain understanding, voice, and influence over decisions that affect their lives."[6]

Theories of empowerment help explain how forces of discrimination and oppression work in today's society. By understanding these forces, people can figure out practical ways to work toward a more just society. These theories are important to advancing Indigenous education because they

- help explain social class issues and oppression;
- identify the barriers that keep people in a state of powerlessness;
- offer students value frameworks for promoting human empowerment and liberation;
- find practical ways to take down barriers and achieve social justice;
- build on people's strengths, resiliency, and resources.[7]

The social work literature contains many definitions of empowerment: a process, multilevel construct, service-delivery approach, or way to build on strengths of people and communities.[8]

Empowerment as a process. Lorraine Gutierrez says, "Empowerment involves the process of increasing personal, interpersonal, or political power so that individuals, families, and communities can take action to improve their situations." Gutierrez also regards several factors as important to empowerment: developing critical consciousness (ability to perceive social, economic, and po-

litical forces that affect people), reducing self-blame, assuming personal responsibility for change, and enhancing people's confidence and skill in making change happen.[9]

Barbara Solomon thinks of empowerment as a process in which the social worker engages in a set of activities with clients to reduce the powerlessness they experience as members of a stigmatized group. The social worker and client first identify the power blocks contributing to the problem. The social worker then helps the client develop and begin using specific strategies to reduce the effects of the client's long-term belief in his or her own incompetence or worthlessness and overcome the ongoing political, economic, and social barriers that stand in the client's way.

Empowerment as a multilevel construct. Karla Miley, Michael O'Melia, and Brenda DuBois explain:

> On a *personal* level empowerment refers to a subjective state of mind, feeling competent and experiencing a sense of control; on a *political* level, it refers to the objective reality of opportunities in societal structures and the reallocation of power through a modification of social structures.[10]

Judith A. B. Lee suggests empowerment rests on three interlocking dimensions: (1) developing a positive and potent sense of self; (2) gaining a body of knowledge and detecting and understanding social and political realities; and (3) developing the practical ability to attain personal and group goals.

Empowerment as a social work approach. Lee focuses on seven key principles of empowerment practice:

1. All oppression is destructive of life and should be challenged by social workers and clients.
2. The social worker should not lose sight of the larger context when working with people in situations of oppression.
3. People empower themselves (social workers should assist).
4. People who share common ground need each other to attain empowerment.
5. Social workers should establish an "I and I" relationship with clients.
6. Social workers should encourage the client to speak his or her own words.

7. Social workers should maintain a social change focus.[11]

Building on strengths. The strengths perspective of social work focuses on what people, communities, and cultures have versus what they do not have. Almost everything imaginable can be a strength: what people know and learn about themselves; knowledge, talents, cultural customs, and beliefs; personal qualities; and pride. This empowering perspective is founded on the following assumptions:

- Despite life's problems, all people and environments possess strengths that can be used to improve the quality of clients' lives.
- Client motivation is based on fostering client strengths.
- Individuals and groups are more likely to continue autonomous development and growth when it is supported by their own capacities, knowledge, and skills.
- The social worker does not fill the role of "expert." Discovering strengths requires cooperative collaboration between clients and workers.
- Social workers must avoid the victim mind-set and the temptation to "blame the victim"; instead, they should focus on how the individual has managed to survive in an oppressive environment.
- Any environment, no matter how harsh, contains resources.[12]

These ideas can guide social workers and educators as they integrate their efforts and collaborate with Indigenous communities to overcome oppressive circumstances and advance the practice of Indigenous education.

What Is Social Work?

It is important for educators to understand the mission, role, and professional activities of social work and social workers so they can identify areas of possible collaboration. The social work profession uses several definitions to define its scope and mission. *The Code of Ethics of the National Association of Social Workers* (NASW), the largest professional social work organization in the United States, states this:

> The primary mission of the social work profession is to enhance human well-being and help meet the basic human needs of all people, with particular attention to the needs and empowerment of people who are vulnerable, oppressed, and living in poverty. A historic and defining feature of social work is the profession's focus on individual well-being in a social context and the well-being of society. Fundamental to social work is attention to environmental forces that create, contribute to, and address problems in living.[13]

Rex Skidmore, Milton Thackeray, and William Farley define social work as "a profession that helps people to solve personal, group (especially family), and community problems and to attain satisfying personal, group, and community relationships through . . . casework, group work, community organization, and research."[14]

This professional mission statement describes multiple roles for social workers. They provide services, act as agents of planned change, and help individuals who find difficulty relating with other people.[15]

Current Obstacles to Advancing Indigenous Education

There is a crucial need for empowerment-oriented social work practice in Indigenous education. The history of Indigenous education is replete with oppression, racism, discrimination, cultural genocide, social control, and the imposition of hegemonic European American education methods. Understanding the history of a group's oppression raises consciousness and is important to the knowledge base of empowerment social work practice.[16]

Unacknowledged histories of oppression. The greatest obstacle to advancing Indigenous education may be the lack of acknowledgment and redress of its oppressive history. The removal of Indigenous children from their homes by the social work profession is part of this legacy. This painful legacy has generated extensive mistrust, alienation, and resistance among Indigenous peoples toward European American models of assimilationist education. David Gil describes oppression as "relations of domination and exploitation—economic, social, and psychological—between individuals; between groups and classes, within and beyond societies; and, globally, between entire societies." He states that oppression results in injus-

tice, discrimination, dehumanization, and growth-inhibiting conditions of living. Psychological studies of oppression suggest that repeated exposure to oppressive situations leads people to internalize negative self-images.[17]

The most potent and hostile form of oppression brought about by educators was the U.S. government policy of forcing Indigenous children to attend religious and government-sponsored boarding schools. In boarding schools, Indigenous students were exposed to oppressive conditions for extended periods of their childhoods. Educators indoctrinated students to prepare them for subordination to colonialism and assimilation into majority culture.[18]

Boarding schools resembled forced acculturation camps where tribal languages, cultural beliefs, and cultural practices, regarded as impediments to European American *civilization*, were systematically eradicated in the education process. Students were subjected to harsh physical punishment when they spoke their languages and were taught to doubt and devalue the beliefs, identity, and cultures of their communities and parents. While many Indigenous peoples today hold a positive view of education, some still pass on the stories of the oppression and harsh treatment of boarding schools to their children.[19]

Colonialism and its legacy. Boarding schools did not develop in a historical vacuum. They were an extension of the European American colonialization process that exerted control over the economic, political, and social lives of First Nations peoples. Robert Blauner explains, "Colonialism traditionally refers to the establishment of domination over a geographically-external political unit most often inhabited by people of a different race and culture, where this domination is political and economic, and the colony exists subordinated to and dependent upon the mother country."[20]

Social work practice literature rarely encourages the use of the European American colonialism theory to explain the current social, political, and economic hardships faced by Indigenous peoples. Yet Indigenous social work scholars insist that understanding colonialism is essential to effective social work practice with First Nations peoples.[21] Because of this lack in the education of social workers, they rarely understand how colonialism contributed to the creation of a host of ills in Indigenous communities: poverty, internalized

violence, high mortality, destroyed families, broken-up village relations, and subordinated political structures. Yet the point of colonialism was to weaken the resistance of Indigenous peoples so they could be controlled.[22]

Colonialism did not exist in isolation. It was the product of racism. According to Blauner, racism "is a fundamental principle of social domination by which a group seen as inferior or different in terms of alleged biological characteristics is exploited, controlled, and oppressed socially and psychically by a superordinate group." The racism of many Europeans and European Americans made it acceptable to force Indigenous children into boarding schools.[23]

Linda Miller Cleary and Thomas D. Peacock remind us, "The process of colonization, the Christianization and the 'civilization' of the Indigenous peoples in this country today affect both the colonizer and colonized in more ways than we at first discern. Remnants of oppression still affect the daily intercourse of the two peoples." These negative effects of European American colonialism upon the well-being of Indigenous peoples are well documented. Today First Nations experience shorter life expectancy and greater rates of poverty, unemployment, violence, alcoholism, chronic disease, suicide, and accidents than the general population in the United States.[24]

The historical time capsule of boarding school oppression is still manifest in Indigenous education today. For example, Indigenous children drop out of school at the highest rate of all ethnic groups and experience an excess of academic failure and low achievement. W. H. DuBray states that the "inter-generational effect of the boarding school era is still considered one of the major factors in the breakdown of Indian family traditions and has had a major impact on parenting practices for generations." When looking for causes of the disproportionate number of youth gangs and high rates of violence, suicide, and substance abuse among Indigenous communities, social workers and educators should challenge themselves to determine how colonialism has contributed to these problems.[25]

Social workers as historical participants in the oppression of Indigenous peoples. Most social workers do not know the history of their profession with respect to Indigenous peoples. Thus, most do not know how social workers oppressed and tore apart communities by taking Indigenous children and placing them

in boarding schools. Most do not know that attitudes exhibited by their professional predecessors created deep mistrust for social work among Indigenous peoples.

A congressional investigation in the mid-1970s discovered that "many state social workers and judges were either ignorant of Indian culture or tradition or were prejudiced in their attitudes; many children were removed from their homes primarily because the family was Indian and poor. In one state, for example, the adoption rate of Indian children was eight times that of non-Indian children. Entire reservations were being depleted of their youth."[26]

The ignorance and prejudice toward Indigenous cultures by social workers was present for two reasons. First, social workers, like educators, were the products of a European American education system that disrespected or ignored Indigenous cultures while promoting its own history, heroes, language, and culture. Second, the education system did not (and still does not) equip students to understand how European American colonization oppressed the social, political, and economic lives of Indigenous peoples.

Education rarely incorporates the voices (narrations) of Indigenous peoples who have been traumatized by European American racism and colonialism. According to Paulo Freire, a radical Brazilian scholar who promoted "critical consciousness" among oppressed peoples, education uses a "banking approach" when teaching history and most other subjects. In this approach, students are passive receptacles (listening objects), and the teacher or school (narrating subject) deposits selective knowledge that is often detached from the reality of the students. This domination of student thinking subverts students' abilities to challenge or question what they are told and keeps them submerged in a situation where their awareness of and responses to Indigenous peoples' oppression are practically impossible. Consequently, education suffers from narration sickness when it comes to Indigenous peoples.

To counter this reality, social workers and educators must seek out narratives of Indigenous peoples. The narrative is an important way to share the depth of personal and group experiences and to understand the context of behavior, feelings, and thoughts. Narratives bring meaning to the engagement between storyteller and listener. They empower individuals to voice their perspective and reaf-

firm strengths and resiliency while helping raise the consciousness of the listener. For an example of a personal narrative, see the box below.

Social workers were not alone in their "work" of removing Indigenous children from homes; government agents, teachers, and Christian missionaries also participated. Together, they took thousands of children and placed them in off-reservation boarding schools and non-Indigenous foster homes, where there was little or no concern for children's cultural needs.

Without question, the most prolific baby snatcher was Henry Richard Pratt, a European American, Baptist, U.S. Army cavalry officer in the late 1800s. Colonel Pratt believed Indigenous peoples needed to be *civilized* and made into Christians. He believed civilization could best be achieved through a White man's education. This belief led him to open one of the first off-reservation boarding schools

A Personal Narrative

BY MICHAEL YELLOW BIRD

My first experience with social workers happened when I was about eight or nine years old. In my community, we all knew the green car with the black lettering on the doors belonged to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). We knew that the tall, bald-headed White man who drove the car and smiled and waved at us was the BIA social worker. We knew he took children from our community and sent them away to boarding schools or to White families, especially those children whose parents were poor or drank a lot.

It was a hot summer afternoon when the green car drove up to my house. As usual, our house was bustling with many relatives laughing, eating, and carrying on multiple conversations in English and Sahnish. I watched the bald White man get out of his car, walk up to our house, knock on the door, and enter without being asked to do so. Once inside, he glanced around at all the activity, smiled, and finally made eye contact with my mom.

"Well, Mrs. Yellow Bird," he said, "I've come for the children. Are they ready?" With that remark, all conversations immediately ceased, and everyone looked at him. "Yes," said my mother as she got up from the kitchen table, where she had been visiting with several of my aunts.

She slowly walked toward my cousin standing next to me, gently put

for Indigenous children in the United States at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1879.

In his book *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*, David Adams writes, "Pratt liked Indians, but he had little use for Indian cultures." One of his beliefs was to "kill the Indian in him and save the man. . . ." Pratt's fantasy was to place the entire population of Indian children across the nation, with some 70,000 White families each taking in one Indian child." Pratt believed Indigenous cultures were so inferior that Indigenous children would immediately abandon their own homes and cultures once they tasted and understood the superior ways of European American families. For almost 100 years, from Pratt's 1879 opening of the Carlisle boarding school until the passage of the *Indian Child Welfare Act* (1978), which ended the removal of Indigenous children without consent of the tribal community, the

her arm around his shoulders, and guided him toward my other cousins, who had gathered in a small tight circle in the middle of the room. She looked at them with intense pain in her face while at the same time trying to smile at them.

"It's time to go with Mr. Herman," she said. "He's going to take you away to a real nice school." Then all hell broke loose. My cousins started crying and hid behind my mother, who also burst into tears. My sisters, aunts, and girl cousins all started crying too. But us boys just stood still, frozen with confusion, paralyzed by what was happening.

As my cousins were led outside by the social worker and my mom, I unfroze enough to move to the window to watch them loaded into the green car. They continued crying and hanging onto my mother's dress. I don't remember my mother coming back into the house, but as I turned away from the window after the green car went out of sight, I saw her sitting at the table with her face buried in the palms of her hands, crying and saying, "I wanted to keep them." All around her stood my aunts, sisters, and girl cousins sobbing. But us boys, we just stood still, unable to cry, glancing at one another and the floor.

Unfortunately, the events described in this narrative occurred not only at my house but over and over again in Indigenous homes and communities all across the United States and Canada. So widespread was the practice of removing First Nations children from their homes that Indigenous peoples across North America came to regard social work as "baby snatching" and "legalized abduction."[27]

legal abduction and ethnic cleansing of Native children remained an official social policy in the United States.[28]

Early social work practice, like education, was guided by deficit thinking. Governments and religious organizations, which, like Pratt, considered the cultures and religious traditions of Indigenous peoples inferior and in need of eradication, promoted a model of European American Christian belief and virtue. Social workers, who removed Indigenous children from their homes and imposed Christianity and European American education upon them, contributed to the disruption of Aboriginal cultures for many generations.

In Canada, where the treatment of Indigenous peoples and their children was almost identical to that in the United States, social workers continued to remove Indigenous children from their homes well into the 1990s. The mass removal of Indigenous children was so devastating that, when First Nations peoples in British Columbia were given the opportunity to review and comment on provincial child protection legislation, they called on the Minister of Social Services of the province to end the "legalized abduction of aboriginal children."[29]

Recently the Canadian government formally apologized to "its 1.3 million Indigenous peoples for 150 years of paternalistic assistance programs and racist residential schools that devastated Indian communities as thoroughly as any war or disease." The government admitted its role in taking thousands of youths from their families and forcing them to attend schools where they were sometimes sexually abused and often punished for speaking their languages and practicing their customs. The *New York Times* reported, "Residential schools were also operated in the United States, and similar abuses took place. The closest the United States Government came to apologizing was a 1969 Senate investigation, initiated by Robert F. Kennedy, that documented abuses."[30]

To practice empowerment-oriented social work, social workers and educators must acknowledge the painful legacy of boarding schools and the mass removal of Indigenous children from their homes. They must promote honest and meaningful dialogues with community members directly or indirectly affected. Social workers and educators who engage in such dialogue will experience personal empowerment as they become more attuned to the effects of board-

ing schools on the communities where they are practicing. Community members will experience a sense of personal satisfaction when their stories are honored and their resiliency is acknowledged.

On an organizational level, schools and social service agencies that recognize these painful legacies can develop strategies to avoid similar oppressive practices and policies toward Indigenous students and their families. They should create culturally appropriate conditions that promote the personal and political empowerment of Indigenous communities.

However, the point of dialogue is not to saddle current social workers and educators with the sins of their profession. Rather, the aim is to respect and validate the narratives, survival, and experiences of Indigenous peoples. Ignoring the oppressive history of social work and education promotes narration sickness and perpetuates mistrust of social work and education by Indigenous children, parents, and communities.

Professional Behavior

The NASW *Code of Ethics* provides direction for social workers but does not explicitly define professional behavior; instead, it "offers a set of values, principles, and standards to guide decision-making and conduct when ethical issues arise."[31] The code identifies six core values embraced by the social work profession: *service, social justice, dignity and worth of the person, importance of human relationships, integrity,* and *competence.* These values are important to the promotion of individual and political empowerment.

Service. The *service* value suggests "social workers elevate service to others above self interest [and] . . . draw upon their knowledge, values, and skills to help people in need . . . and volunteer some portion of their professional skills with no expectation of significant financial return (pro bono service)."[32]

This value urges social workers to put the needs of Indigenous students and families before their own. For example, if a child's cultural or emotional needs are not being met by a teacher or school, a social worker can (and should) advocate for the child's needs even though it may negatively affect the worker's relationship with the

school or teacher or jeopardize his or her own employment. The service value suggests meeting a client's need for services is an important goal that must be achieved, especially when the client holds little power and is vulnerable to racist and oppressive treatment.

To this end, social workers can use empowerment-oriented social work practice to assist students and parents in identifying and transcending *direct* (institutional) and *indirect* (personal) "power blocks" that deny opportunities important to a child's education. Social workers can work closely with educators to find ways to serve that enable Indigenous families, communities, and individuals to understand and address the challenges affecting their lives.[33]

Social justice. To achieve social justice, "social workers pursue social change, particularly with and on behalf of vulnerable and oppressed individuals and groups of people." This statement suggests "change efforts are focused primarily on issues of poverty, unemployment, discrimination, and other forms of social injustice" and "these activities seek to promote sensitivity to and knowledge about oppression and cultural and ethnic diversity."[34]

To challenge education practices or community environments that oppress Indigenous children, social workers can examine how different forms of social injustice (e.g., inferior education methods and conditions, poverty, poor health, individual and structural racism) affect student education. Social workers and educators can collaborate with children, parents, and the community to strategize how to resolve such conditions. On a *political* level in schools, social workers and educators can promote participation of Indigenous children and parents in policy making, curriculum development, and program and teacher evaluation.

Dignity and worth of the person. Social workers and educators must "treat each person in a caring and respectful fashion, mindful of individual differences and cultural and ethnic diversity" and "seek to resolve conflicts between clients' interests and the broader society's interests in a socially responsible manner consistent with the values, ethical principles, and ethical standards of the profession."[35]

Social workers can collaborate with teachers and school administrators to promote respectful treatment of Indigenous children and

their parents. Such collaboration can lead to better understanding and support for tribal and individual self-determination, identity formation, and increased responsibility as defined by tribal beliefs, values, and customs. By promoting such cultural understanding, social workers can help teachers and schools create a caring, safe, and respectful environment. Social workers can also mediate conflicts between teachers and students or teachers and parents, maintaining support for all parties.

Importance of human relationships. Social workers must understand that relationships among people are central in the helping process. The NASW code encourages social workers to "seek to strengthen relationships among people in a purposeful effort to promote, restore, maintain, and enhance the well-being of individuals, families, social groups, organizations, and communities."[36]

Social workers and educators must recognize Indigenous family, clan, and community strengths, avoiding the tendency to see members of these groups as victims. Community empowerment can be promoted when social workers and educators look for the skills, knowledge, qualities, and customs people have to heal themselves. In many instances, the most effective healing takes place in the tribal community and not in the school office.[37]

Integrity. Social workers must "behave in a trustworthy manner" and "act honestly and responsibly and promote ethical practices on the part of the organizations with which they are affiliated."[38]

Social workers can arrange home visits to discuss concerns parents have regarding their children's education. This includes concerns about their individual children and about the school or school district itself. When attending community meetings, social workers can explain their role and inquire how they can support the Indigenous community. Taking the time to learn about historical oppression is important in empowerment, and a knowledgeable social worker can enlighten teachers, administrators, and school boards about contemporary effects of this history. Indigenous communities, too, often need help in critically understanding this painful legacy. Social workers who gain trust by collaborating with community members can help people find ways to hasten the healing process.[39]

Competence. The *Code of Ethics* states, "Social workers continually strive to increase their professional knowledge and skills

and apply them in practice. Social workers should aspire to contribute to the knowledge base of the profession."[40]

Social workers and educators can improve their effectiveness in working with Indigenous peoples by reading the right literature, newspapers, and research; spending time with Indigenous people from various walks of life including grassroots populations, professionals, scholars, and tribal officials or staff; and using a practical approach that is informed by cultural and tribal sensibilities and that seeks always to empower people.

Professional Education

Social workers receive undergraduate training toward a bachelor of social work (BSW) degree at an accredited program. Many also work toward a master of social work (MSW) graduate degree or doctorate in social work or social welfare. In most instances, students are accepted into professional social work programs only after successful completion of a two-year liberal arts university program. Most social workers practicing in schools have BSW or MSW degrees.

The Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) provides national accreditation for professional schools of social work and social welfare. This organization's curriculum policy requires "a 'professional foundation' of content and learning experiences which constitutes the essential knowledge, values, and skills that all social workers should possess."[41] The curriculum addresses five areas: human behavior in the social environment (HBSE), social work practice, research, social welfare policy, and field practicum.

HBSE. In HBSE courses, students gain knowledge of individual, group, community, institutional, and cultural dynamics and behavior. These courses introduce students to theories of human behavior that include culturally diverse perspectives. For example, students may learn about the theory of *talking circles*, a group process often used in Indigenous communities for problem solving and sharing. They may also be exposed to the theory of the *medicine wheel,* another Indigenous method of explaining human behavior.[42]

Social work practice. Karen Haynes and Karen Holmes observe, "Social work practice courses focus on skill development,

ranging from essential interpersonal skills to specific practice principles of selected models of intervention."[43] These courses provide students with skills to intervene with individuals, groups, families, organizations, and communities. Social work practice courses also provide students with knowledge and skills that can be generalized to diverse client populations. For example, in courses on human diversity, students learn a general set of Indigenous values and helping practices taken from Indigenous social work scholarship. Students can use this knowledge when applying intervention skills with Indigenous peoples.

Research. Research courses require students to understand and apply basic research methods to relevant social work problems. Students, especially those in graduate programs, learn to conduct culturally sensitive research on behalf of Indigenous communities. They may collaborate with educators and Indigenous communities to design research that will help promote social and cultural justice in education settings. For example, content analysis can be performed on classroom textbooks and curricular materials to expose insensitive depictions of Indigenous peoples.

Social policy. Social policy courses enable students to analyze social problems, policies, and programs. This course also enables students to understand the effects of various social programs and policies on their professional practice. With these skills, social workers evaluate social problems, programs, and policies that oppress Indigenous communities.

Field practicum. Field practicum enables social work students to learn under a supervisor or field instructor in direct professional practice. Students working in Indigenous community and agency settings have an opportunity to experience the unique social needs of Indigenous peoples, become involved in cultural sharing, and learn to respect and use Indigenous models of helping. Students can bring this knowledge into education settings.[44]

At some point in undergraduate and graduate social work training, students study human diversity. In social work, this term encompasses "groups distinguished by race, ethnicity, culture, class, gender, sexual orientation, religion, physical or mental ability, age, and national origin."[45] Students learn that practitioners who serve diverse populations must use different forms of assessment and

intervention skills depending on which group they are serving.

These skills are also useful in education. Social workers can sensitize teachers and administrators to the need to use culturally appropriate approaches with Indigenous children and their families.

Generalist Practice

All social work practice has an underlying *generalist* orientation. This framework is important because social workers can apply generalist skills, knowledge, and values to their practice among Indigenous peoples. Many MSW programs also require students to choose a special area of study such as family therapy, administration, corrections, or clinical social work.[46]

So what does generalist practice induce? The 1992 Curriculum Policy Statement of the Council on Social Work Education recommends a generalist practice that

- emphasizes professional relationships characterized by mutuality, collaboration, and respect for the client system;
- focuses practice assessments on the examination of client strengths and problems in the interactions among individuals and between people and their environments;
- includes knowledge, values, and skills to enhance the well-being of people and to help ameliorate the environmental conditions that affect people adversely;
- includes the following skills—defining issues, collecting and assessing data, planning and contracting, identifying alternative interventions, selecting and implementing appropriate courses of action, using appropriate research-based knowledge and technological advances, and termination;
- includes approaches and skills for practice with clients from different social, cultural, racial, religious, spiritual, and class backgrounds with systems of all sizes.[47]

Roles of Social Workers

Social workers should continually focus on empowerment-oriented practice when working with Indigenous peoples. One research group

characterizes social workers as striving to help people create order in a complex world. They do this by helping clients function better and promoting social justice. These tasks require a realistic understanding of how conditions are currently and a positive view of how things could be.[48]

Social workers provide a variety of human services: mental health, corrections, medical care, child protection, housing, and vocational rehabilitation. Practice options include microinterventions that focus on individuals, families, and groups, and macrointerventions, where action is aimed at oppressive institutions, laws, or ideas. Social work clients are both voluntary and involuntary (e.g., clients ordered by courts of law to receive services).

Bradford Sheafor, Charles Horejsi, and Gloria Horejsi describe several professional roles social workers can assume. The following descriptions of roles have been adapted from these authors to show examples of how social workers can advance Indigenous education.[49]

The social worker as a human services broker or case manager. Social workers collaborate with educators to link Indigenous students and their families to needed human services and other resources, and they coordinate and monitor the use of those services. Social workers often begin by interviewing students, families, and teachers to assess the urgency of the situation and to determine who within the family to involve in the client's treatment. Next the social worker meets with all parties to determine what resources are appropriate, available, and necessary. Finally social workers and teachers offer support and advocacy while students and their families are engaged with service providers and resources.

The social worker as a teacher. Clients learn what they need to know and gain skills to prevent problems or enhance social functioning. Social workers help parents and educators teach social and daily living skills and facilitate behavior changes consistent with the cultural norms of Indigenous communities.

Empowerment-oriented social work practice compels practitioners to make sure that what they teach helps increase the personal, interpersonal, and political power of Indigenous peoples so they can take action to improve their situations.[50]

The social worker as a counselor/clinician. Social workers collaborate with schools to help students improve their social functioning by helping them better understand their attitudes and feelings, modify behaviors, and learn to cope with difficult situations.

The functions of this role include psychosocial assessment and diagnosis, ongoing stabilizing care, social treatment, and practice research. There are two important caveats of this role. The first is that the "deficits" or problem behaviors of the student often become the center of attention and focus of change. The second is that assessment and diagnosis flow from this deficit thinking. For example, clinical assessments often do not assess cultural and family strengths nor do they focus on deficiencies in the social environment when developing treatment plans.

Social workers and educators must collaborate to avoid these tendencies by making sure that assessments of student, family, and community *strengths* are included in any treatment plan. Social workers can also critically examine the strengths and deficits of the school to resolve the problems of this environment. Educators may need to be reminded that using diagnostic labels disempowers and shames students and produces a self-fulfilling prophecy. Thus, students become the label or pathology rather than persons and are regarded as having no personal resources to help address their situations.

The social worker as a staff developer. Social workers help facilitate the professional development of school staff through training and consultation. For example, they raise awareness of teachers, administrators, and school boards about the mission of social work and the multiple roles of social workers.[51] Social workers can be especially helpful by explaining how an important part of their role is helping Indigenous students to empower themselves using personal and political strategies. Social workers also provide professional consultation in such areas as child protection, social services delivery coordination, community development, and mental health.

The social worker as a social change agent. Social workers must take an activist position and collaborate with Indigenous students, parents, educators, and communities to identify community concerns and areas where the quality of life can be enhanced. This may involve mobilizing interest groups to examine oppressive social

problems and policies in the school and community and advocating for change. Advocacy can include collecting data and presenting evidence of problems, using mediation skills between opposing parties, or helping others organize protests or boycotts against oppressive actions or parties. In this role, social workers help school personnel to be "sensitive to cultural and ethnic diversity and strive to end discrimination, oppression, poverty, and other forms of social injustice."[52]

It is clear that social workers have multiple skills, sources of knowledge, and commitments at play in their work. Their efforts are guided by an excellent and empowering professional code of ethics. However, the social welfare and education system often does not allow social workers immediately to overturn and transform oppressive conditions of society or change oppressive agency policies and practices. This is especially true when the changes sought are on behalf of populations with limited political power and visibility and numerous social and economic problems. However, educators who are committed to advancing Indigenous education can ally themselves with social workers to form strong, proactive, and justice-oriented coalitions to address oppressive forces.

Micro and Macro (Structural) Issues Affecting the Advancement of Indigenous Education

There are at least six obstacles to advancing Indigenous student success, but social workers and educators can use empowerment-oriented practices to address both micro and macro concerns. Micro concerns are education issues directly affecting individual Indigenous students and families. Macro concerns involve school systems and Indigenous communities. Micro and macro concerns are not mutually exclusive. For example, a micro concern can be getting parents and teachers to work together for the benefit of particular students, while a macro (structural) concern might be raising the consciousness of all teachers about the oppressive legacy of education and its aftermath in Indigenous communities. The two become intertwined when parents and teachers get together to share narratives about the history of boarding schools.

Micro issues. One of the most important micro issues is a *positive working relationship between teachers and Indigenous*

parents. Parents and the extended family strongly influence the educational success of children and should be active partners in their education. However, Indigenous parents often have been excluded from participation. Historically, parents have been regarded as barriers to their children's educational success because they reinforce "Indianness." Dick Littlebear suggests that one way teachers can make education more friendly to Indigenous parents is to have them come to school to share their experiences with students.[53]

Social workers and educators can improve relations between teachers and Indigenous parents by using an empowerment-oriented strengths perspective. Educators should call upon the skills, talents, and knowledge of Indigenous parents, grandparents, and other extended family members. For example, schools can use individuals who have good mediation skills to resolve conflicts between teachers and parents and teachers and students. Individuals with a lot of patience can mentor children who are having a difficult time in school and serve as a lifeline in the community. Individuals who have talents such as cooking exotic foods, knowledge of organic gardening, or math skills can become helpful partners to educators by sharing what they know with students and other parents. Teachers, social workers, and parents are all empowered through these interactions. Teachers and social workers develop a greater understanding of and appreciation for the skills, talents, and knowledge of parents; parents, in turn, experience a personal sense of competence when they find that their knowledge is valued.

Another important micro concern is *drop-out rates.* Indigenous students have the highest drop-out rates of all ethnic groups. However, the cause has been studied largely from an individual deficit perspective. Studies focus on student characteristics related to dropping out; however, they very seldom investigate the attributes of schools that produce dropouts. Donna Deyhle and Karen Swisher observe, "Youth who leave school are described as deviant, dysfunctional, or deficient because of individual, family, or community characteristics."[54]

It is important that social workers and educators hear the voices of Indigenous students who have dropped out of school. Social workers have a variety of methods at their disposal for collecting information and soliciting personal narratives. For example, they can use

data collection skills to interview students and their parents after students drop out. Social workers can collaborate with teachers, parents, and students to examine the school characteristics that contribute to youths' decisions to drop out. Social workers can hold focus groups, bringing together concerned parties and identifying key personal and institutional factors that prevent or promote dropping out of school.

The crossover effect is a well-known phenomenon among Indigenous education scholars. Deyhle and Swisher explain, "This phenomenon suggests that, at some point in school Indian students, who had been achieving at or above the level of their White peers, 'cross over' and begin doing poorly." However, these researchers point out that more recent research suggests the crossover effect does not exist in schools with a more supportive context for Indigenous cultures, identity, and languages, which suggests this phenomenon "is not simply a problem of adolescent development."[55]

Social workers and educators can collaborate with parents and the community to raise consciousness about the crossover effect. They can design supportive environments in the school and community that honor Indigenous cultures, identity, and languages. Social workers can help students understand the strengths of Indigenous cultures and can learn to use a helping lexicon in the languages of students.

Structural concerns. Indigenous-developed curricula is needed in schools. Cultural materials with positive portrayals of Indigenous peoples help Indigenous children develop healthy cultural identities and have a positive influence on their education. An assimilationist approach in education "often results in school failure while an intercultural, antiracist orientation allows students to develop the confidence and motivation that lead to academic success."[56]

One explanation for the long-standing *lack of culturally appropriate curricula* is the lack of political power of Indigenous peoples. School policies, teachers, or administrators can represent direct power blocks for Indigenous students, parents, and communities who desire inclusion of their cultures in schools. In such situations, empowerment-oriented social workers can collaborate with teachers and parents to find suitable textbooks, readings, and lessons for different grade levels. Social workers can use their advocacy training

to organize parents and teachers to present lawmakers with evidence of the need for more culturally appropriate curricula.[57]

The general lack of knowledge among educators and curriculum developers about *tribal diversity* represents another structural concern. Indigenous peoples share a common history of colonialism and educational oppression, resulting in poor economic and social outcomes; however, there is no generic Indigenous culture or language. Important differences exist among the hundreds of tribal nations—and even *within* particular nations—with respect to levels of adaptation to majority culture. Also, particular Indigenous students can have very different school experiences.[58]

Social workers can help schools regard this diversity as an honorable, beautiful, and important part of any child's identity. Social workers can share respect for diversity gained through their training, experience, and professional code of ethics. Social workers can promote appreciation for diversity by helping teachers understand that Indigenous peoples compose a unique minority group that includes more than 500 different tribes, the majority of which are sovereign nations. Each tribe has a unique history, language, land, dress, and food. Social workers can also help educators understand diversity by bringing Indigenous peoples from different nations into the school to share their experiences.

Deyhle and Swisher indicate that little research has been conducted on the effects of racism, prejudice, and discrimination on students, even though these conditions clearly exist and may contribute to students' lack of success in school. Agnes Grant and LaVina Gillespie maintain that systemic prejudice and racism must be acknowledged within the education system and that "teachers with the support of administrators and tribal groups must actively work to combat racism." Andy Bowker has found that individual and structural racism is a major reason young Indigenous women leave school.[59]

Social workers can do much to address individual and structural racism, discrimination, and prejudice. President Clinton's dialogue on race in the United States has proven irrelevant for Indigenous peoples. As of 1998 not one First Nations person serves on the president's panel, reflecting the contemporary lack of political power and the invisibility of First Nations peoples in their own homelands.

Racism is, very often, a much avoided subject. Many people believe that racism no longer exists and that all people in the United States are treated equally. To test this notion, social workers and teachers can initiate dialogues in schools and communities about race and invite parents and students to share their experiences. Social workers can collect and publish these stories, making them available to all school personnel. Such stories can raise the consciousness of many people.

Social workers can also collaborate with educators, racism specialists, parents, and children to identify different dimensions present in a school and community. For example, presenting Indigenous peoples as mascots for sports teams or emblems for selling products is visual racism. Words such as *squaw,* used to identify an Indigenous woman, or *savage,* used historically to explain the habits or personalities of Indigenous people, are examples of verbal racism. To help develop dialogues, social workers can enlist Indigenous grassroots activists who have a wealth of experience with racism.

Summary

Social work can be a powerful force in advancing the practice of Indigenous education. Social workers and educators can use numerous empowerment-oriented practice strategies to enable Indigenous students, families, and communities to gain a strong voice, understanding, and influence over the education decisions and practices that affect their lives. Empowerment-oriented practices also offer important ways to increase the personal and political power of students, parents, teachers, school administrators, and communities. Social workers can also suggest strategies to overcome oppression, achieve social justice, and build on Indigenous peoples' strengths, resiliency, and resources.

The mission of social work is to help people meet their basic needs and enhance their well-being. Through a strong empowerment orientation, the profession pays particular attention to people vulnerable to oppression, especially as a result of racism, discrimination, prejudice, and poverty.

An important way for social workers and educators to begin advancing Indigenous education is by using empowerment-oriented practices to build strong collaborative relationships with parents,

teachers, students, and school administrators. A primary agenda of collaboration must include movement away from models that seek to identify and treat individual deficits. These models are premised on the belief that the student, family, and culture are the causes of Indigenous students' low academic achievement, high drop-out rates, and nonconforming behavior. Social workers can help teachers and school administrators develop strategies for overcoming the oppressive aspects of school and community life that play such a large part in creating disappointing outcomes for Indigenous children.

Several obstacles remain in front of Indigenous education. Perhaps the most important is the painful legacy of boarding schools and the mass removal of Indigenous children from their homes. Social workers and teachers can practice empowerment-oriented social work by promoting honest and meaningful dialogues with the Indigenous peoples directly and indirectly affected by these painful legacies. To advance Indigenous education, social workers and educators must seek out narratives of Indigenous peoples to understand how these legacies continue to affect people today.

The professional education of social workers is important to advancing Indigenous education because it enables social workers to understand human behavior, and, it promotes skills, knowledge, and approaches that can work well with Indigenous peoples. Social workers can also use their understanding of social policy to analyze social problems and programs relevant to First Nations communities. The field practicum aspect of social work education enables social workers to experience direct practice situations. Students of social work who practice in Indigenous communities and agencies can help bring important cultural knowledge and understanding to schools.

Finally several micro and macro issues present obstacles to advancing Indigenous education. Social workers and teachers can use empowerment-oriented social work practices to address these concerns. The extent to which social workers can help advance Indigenous education remains to be seen. However, educators and social workers with progressive, courageous, and collaborative attitudes will make powerful contributions.

Notes

1. Michael J. Yellow Bird (Sahnish/Hidatsa) is an assistant professor in the School of Social Welfare at the University of Kansas. Venida Chenault (Prairie Band Potawatomi) is a faculty member at Haskell Indian Nations University. The authors wish to thank Priscilla Ridgway; Hilary Weaver; Francis Waukazoo; Wally Kisthardt; Dennis Saleebey; Ed Canda; Cornel Pewewardy; Pem, Mike Jr., Jason, Pete, and Matt Yellow Bird; Karen Swisher; and anonymous reviewers for helpful suggestions and comments.

2. Garcia and Ahler, "Indian Education," 13. This chapter uses the terms *Indigenous* and *First Nations peoples* to refer to the Aboriginal nations of the continental United States. The authors remind readers that Native Hawaiians and residents of U.S. territories are also Indigenous peoples; however, this chapter focuses primarily on Indigenous peoples of the 48 contiguous states. The terms are capitalized to signify their heterogeneity. The terms *Indian*, *American Indian*, and *Native American* are avoided because they are inaccurate and confusing colonized identities. For example, Indigenous people in the United States are not from India; therefore, they are *not* Indians. Rather, they are the descendants of the First Nations of these lands. Indigenous people are native Americans, but, so is anyone else who is born in the Americas. The authors believe this term should not be used for or by Indigenous peoples because use of the term *native* Americans cannot be restricted to mean descendants of the original peoples of the Americas. For more information on this subject, see Garcia and Ahler, "Indian Education"; Russell, *After the Fifth Sun;* and Yellow Bird, "Spirituality."

The term Indigenous peoples is a more appropriate term. *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* defines *indigenous* as "having originated in . . . or occurring naturally in a particular region or environment"; whereas *Indian* is defined as "a native or inhabitant of the subcontinent of India or of the East Indies." *Indigenous peoples* is an internationally accepted descriptor for descendants of the original inhabitants of the lands wherein they reside and have suffered from a history of colonization. For more information on this distinction, see Stamatopoulou, "Indigenous Peoples."

The term *First Nations* is also a more appropriate phrase because it conveys a clear political statement that such persons are the original inhabitants of the land, retaining Aboriginal title and self-government. Michael Asch notes, "The United Nations has stated that this 'right to self-determination' is held by colonized peoples everywhere in the world, and that no successor colonial regime can extinguish that right by unilateral claims to sovereignty over the same territory" ("Political Self-Sufficiency," 47). The term *First Nations* comes from tribal elders in British Columbia who believe a creator placed their nations on these lands to care for and control the lands. See reference to Assembly of First Nations in Yates and Yates, *Canada's Legal Environment.*

3. Deyhle and Swisher, "Research," 118.

4. See Robbins and others, "Theories of Empowerment."

5. See Germain and Gitterman, "Ecological Perspective."

6. Saleebey, *Strengths Perspective*, 8. For more information on empowerment, see Lee, *Empowerment Approach* and Robbins and others, "Theories of Empowerment."

7. Robbins and others, "Theories of Empowerment," 89.

8. See Miley, O'Melia, and DuBois, *Generalist Social Work Practice;* Lee, *Empowerment Approach;* Pinderhughes, "Empowerment for Our Clients"; Rose and Black, *Advocacy;* Solomon, *Black Empowerment;* Staples, "Powerful Ideas"; and Zimmerman and Rappaport, "Citizen Participation."

9. Gutierrez, "Beyond Coping," 202. See also Gutierrez, "Empowerment." Critical consciousness is "learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality," as defined in Freire, *Pedagogy*, 17.

10. Miley, O'Melia, and DuBois, *Generalist Social Work Practice*, 84.

11. Lee, *Empowerment Approach*, 27-28.

12. See Saleebey, *Strengths Perspective.*

13. National Association of Social Workers, *Code of Ethics,* 1 (hereafter cited as NASW, *Code*).

14. Skidmore, Thackeray, and Farley, *Introduction,* 8.

15. Johnson, *Social Work Practice* (1995), 13. See also Pincus and Minahan, *Social Work Practice.*

16. See Lee, *Empowerment Approach.*

17. Gil, "Confronting Social Injustice," 233. See also Freire, *Pedagogy;* Lee, *Empowerment Approach;* Shulman, *Skills of Helping;* and Solomon, *Black Empowerment.*

18. See Attneave, "Wasted Strengths"; Deyhle and Swisher, "Research"; Bearcrane and others, "Educational Characteristics"; DuBray, "Role of Social Work"; Dykeman, Nelson, and Appleton, "Building"; Grant and Gillespie, *Joining the Circle;* Littlebear, "Getting Teachers"; Cleary and Peacock, *Collected Wisdom;* Meriam, "Effects of Boarding Schools"; Thompson, Walker, and Silk-Walker, "Psychiatric Care"; Noriega, "American Indian Education"; and Reyhner and Eder, "History of Indian Education."

19. See Yellow Bird, "Spirituality"; Adams, *Education for Extinction;* Deyhle and Swisher, "Research"; Bearcrane and others, "Educational Characteristics"; and Dykeman, Nelson, and Appleton, "Building."

20. Blauner, "Internal Colonialism," 395.

21. See Morrisette, McKenzie, and Morrisette, "Towards an Aboriginal" and Yellow Bird, "Deconstructing Colonialism."

22. See Frideres, *Native Peoples.*

23. Blauner, "Internal Colonialism," 396.

24. Cleary and Peacock, *Collected Wisdom,* 60. For more information on

the negative effects of colonialism, see Anders, "Internal Colonization"; Bee and Gingerich, "Colonialism"; Churchill, "Open Views"; Fleras and Elliot, *Nations Within;* Frideres, *Native Peoples;* Hagen, *On the Theory;* Jacobson, "Internal Colonialism"; Nafziger, "Transnational Corporations"; Snipp, "Changing"; and Wilkins, "Modernization."

25. DuBray, "Role of Social Work," 40. For more information on Indigenous drop-out rates and low school achievement, see National Center for Education Statistics, *Dropout Rates* and Swisher and Deyhle, "Research."

26. Pevar, *Rights of Indians,* 296.

27. Aboriginal Committee, *Liberating Our Children,* 63. See also Ratner, "Child Welfare" and Smith, "Young Once."

28. Adams, *Education for Extinction,* 51, 52, 54.

29. Aboriginal Committee, *Liberating Our Children,* 63.

30. De Palma, "Canada's Indigenous Tribes," A1, A3.

31. NASW, *Code,* 2.

32. Ibid., 5.

33. See Rappaport, "In Praise of Paradox."

34. NASW, *Code,* 5.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., 6.

37. See Saleebey, *Strengths Perspective* and Canda and Yellow Bird, "Another View."

38. NASW, *Code,* 6.

39. See Lee, *Empowerment Approach.*

40. NASW, *Code,* 6.

41. Kolevzon, "Conflict and Change," 51.

42. See Nabigon and Mawhinney, "Aboriginal Theory."

43. Haynes and Holmes, *Invitation,* 227.

44. See Summers and Yellow Bird, "Building Relationships."

45. Lum, *Social Work Practice* (1996), 3.

46. See Zastrow, *Practice of Social Work.*

47. Lum, *Social Work Practice* (1996), 7-8.

48. See Miley, O'Melia, and DuBois, *Generalist Social Work Practice.*

49. Sheafor, Horejsi, and Horejsi, *Techniques,* 16-27.

50. See Gutierrez, "Beyond Coping."

51. See Gutierrez, "Working with Women" and Lee, *Empowerment Approach.*

52. NASW, *Code,* 1.

53. For more information on the relationship between parents and teachers, see Baruth and Manning, "Understanding"; Cummins, "Empower-

ment of Indian Students"; Dykeman, Nelson, and Appleton, "Building"; Littlebear, "Getting Teachers"; Lum, *Social Work Practice* (1986); and Deyhle and Swisher, "Research."

54. Deyhle and Swisher, "Research," 127. See also Wehlage and Rutter, "Dropping Out."

55. Deyhle and Swisher, "Research," 120.

56. Cummins, "Empowerment of Indian Students," 5. See also Baruth and Manning, "Understanding"; Deyhle and Swisher, "Research"; Grant and Gillespie, *Joining the Circle;* Littlebear, "Getting Teachers"; and Reyhner, "Adapting Curriculum."

57. See McMahon, *General Method.*

58. Baruth and Manning, "Understanding"; Dykeman, Nelson, and Appleton, "Building"; Gilliland, *Teaching the Native American;* Littlebear, "Getting Teachers"; and Lum, *Social Work Practice* (1996).

59. Grant and Gillespie, *Joining the Circle,* 43.

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