

# **What Do We Want Our Children To Know About Being Chehalis?**

## ***Development of the Chehalis Tribal Curriculum Model***

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### **History and Context**

While developing a tribal curriculum for use in local school districts, Mary Du Puis and myself, were directed by the Chehalis Tribe to determine which tribal information should be included in the final curriculum content since both Native and non-Native students would comprise the audience. We needed a method to establish the criteria by which materials would be judged as appropriate for sharing outside of the Tribe. This decision-making process was the primary focus of our research paper. Following is some background information about the curriculum we are in the process of developing.

Historically, Washington State school districts improvised individual curriculum when teaching the history of Washington State Tribes. In teaching tribal curriculum, school districts may choose to invite tribal representatives to give presentations or personal histories to students learning Native history. Additionally, school districts had a tendency to develop “tribal” curriculums that focused on the history of non-regional Tribes living outside the local vicinity (sometimes even outside the state). Such attempts to teach students a general history of Native peoples ignores the diversity inherent in Washington’s Tribes. Curriculum reliance on non-local or regional Indian Tribes results in reaffirming global stereotypes associated with ‘pan-Indians’ such as the use of tee-pees and war bonnets; items not used by Washington’s northwest coastal Tribes. This improvised type of tribal

curriculum does not assure that students are learning acceptable or accurate versions of Washington tribal histories.

In 2005, Substitute House Bill 1495 (HB-1495) was passed by the Washington State Legislature and signed by Washington State Governor, Christine Gregoire. HB-1495 attempts to support school districts to teach “valid” tribal curriculum which incorporates and represents the true histories of the Tribes within the school districts’ geographical area from a tribal perspective. HB-1495 encourages Washington State school districts to teach their students about the culture of Indian Tribes residing within their geographic location. School district officials and local Tribes are encouraged to collaborate together on developing tribally specific curriculum for implementation in the school districts.

In 2002 the Evergreen State College, the Oakville School District and the Chehalis Tribe entered into a partnership as participants in a five year, grant funded project, known as *Gaining Early Awareness and Readiness for Undergraduate Programs* (GEAR UP). The intent of the GEAR UP grant is to provide educational support to five partner schools and to facilitate a cooperative relationship between the Oakville School District and the Chehalis Tribe. Any resulting outcome of the grant becomes the property of the Chehalis Tribe which is an important distinguishing factor in the Tribe’s participation. Assisting the Chehalis Tribe and the Oakville School District with the development and implementation of a Chehalis Tribal Curriculum was one solution the Evergreen

State College identified as facilitating a cooperative relationship between the two partners.

In 2004 the Evergreen State College (TESC) approached the Chehalis Tribe with a proposal for utilizing TESC's curriculum specialists at the Evergreen Center for Education Improvement to assist in development of a Chehalis Tribal curriculum in anticipation of the passing of HB-1495. The effects of this proposal would be twofold: first the Chehalis Tribe would be able to access professional curriculum development specialists for designing a school-based tribal curriculum. Secondly, these curriculum specialists would assist the Oakville School District in training teachers to teach the completed tribal curriculum in a culturally appropriate manner. The Evergreen Learning Center gathered much of the important historical documentation for the project while the Tribe provided the tribal perspective and commentary on the information. This tribal perspective is considered absolutely necessary and of primary importance for the Tribe and Evergreen State College and is the essential element that ensures the curriculum is accurate and sensitive to Native Americans. Evergreen's curriculum specialists then ensure that all resulting information is organized to meet the Washington State Essential Academic Learning Requirements (EALR's) for Washington State history, a requirement for all curriculum topics. An anticipated benefit to this proposal would include the addition of other school districts within the historic boundaries of the Chehalis Tribe. All participating schools would attend trainings focused toward teaching the tribal curriculum. Finally, once the curriculum had

been drafted, the TESC curriculum specialists, the Chehalis Tribe and the local school districts would work together to design learning units for teaching the tribal curriculum.

### **The Participants**

Typically when the Chehalis Tribe makes decisions regarding cultural information, there are several tribal departments involved, depending on the nature of the inquiry. These departments include myself, Marla Conwell as the Tribe's Language & Culture Program Manager; the General Manager of the Tribe; the Director of Natural Resources; the Office of the Tribal Attorney (OTA); and some sub-committees such as the Heritage Committee and the Fish Committee.

For instance, in terms of cultural information about traditional tribal arts, practices or displays, I coordinate and consult with the Chehalis Heritage Committee, a sub-committee of the Tribe's Business Committee (the main governing body for the Chehalis Tribe). The Heritage Committee is comprised of 5 tribal members over age 18 who are elected to serve for 2-year terms. The Heritage Committee positions are staggered, with 2 positions expiring one year and the remaining 3 positions expiring the following year to provide continuity. I serve as a staff member to the Heritage Committee and also as the contact person. The Heritage Committee typically considers requests for public and private presentations and performances, traditional and cultural items for display at

the Tribe or its enterprises, and also selects the content for program activities such as cedar classes, regalia classes, etc.

The General Manager represents the Tribe's best interests in terms of archaeological information such as areas of cultural sensitivity, traditional (usual and accustomed) lands claimed by the Tribe, and related matters. The General Manager works with the Washington State Dept. of Transportation and the State Historical Preservation Office on any areas of possible sensitivity to ensure that important tribal sites remain undisturbed. The General Manager is also responsible for ensuring that all state and federal agencies work with the Tribe to determine suitable alternatives to any proposed actions that may impact areas considered sensitive by the Tribe.

The Natural Resources Department Director attends most state and federal meetings with the General Manager to assist in questions regarding the Tribe's jurisdiction over fish, wildlife, rivers, streams, and forests. A recent example of this interaction took place when the Tribe needed representatives present for a possible archaeological dig in Lewis County that was located near the Chehalis River. Obviously, the Tribe needed to represent itself in two very distinct areas- potential sacred sites and water management. Other matters that involve the Natural Resources Department include local citizen or regional entities affiliated or interested in issues such as the Chehalis River Basin. This year a group of regional organizations are banding together to celebrate the Chehalis River Basin's importance to the local communities. The Chehalis Tribe intends to

participate and both the General Manager and Natural Resources are working together to determine the Tribe's role in this event.

The Office of the Tribal Attorney (OTA) is consulted in most matters involving culturally sensitive areas or issues of tribal jurisdiction. OTA researches and advises on tribal concerns such as sovereignty, jurisdiction, and intergovernmental coordination. It is not uncommon for the OTA to be involved in any sensitive area development or environmental protection issues.

The Fish Committee serves a similar function as the Heritage Committee, but manages the Tribe's environmental quality and riparian concerns. The Fish Committee is comprised of 5 tribal members who are elected annually to serve for one year terms. This Committee is responsible for working with Natural Resources and the State to determine fish runs and other harvests.

All of the above mentioned committees and departments work with the Tribal Business Committee to disseminate information to the tribal community and outside organizations or interests. Although the Business Committee is the final authority and decision-maker in terms of which information is to be shared or withheld, it is not uncommon for decisions to be delegated to the appropriate department or committee.

In terms of the curriculum participation, the Business Committee delegated the project to Mary Du Puis, the Chehalis Tribe's Education Coordinator and me, Marla Conwell, the Chehalis Tribal Language & Culture Program Manager. In an effort to ensure adequate community participation, we posted flyers throughout the

tribal offices and articles in the tribal newsletter (which is mailed out to every tribal member over age 18) announcing the new project and asking for community involvement. This campaign was repeated for a period of 3 months, during which we collected the contact information of everyone who expressed an interest.

Although the original plan was to limit participation to enrolled tribal members only, we quickly realized that this would result in the exclusion of some important non-tribal members who were instrumental in the Tribe's early development. One elder, age 86, is an enrolled Quinault member who has resided on the Chehalis reservation for her entire life. This woman was present and participated in early seniors programs and Tribal Days celebrations as well as serving on the Chehalis Elders Committee early on.

### **The Curriculum Development Process**

After several months of advertising, we scheduled an initial meeting at the tribal hall to gather potential participants. Once the date and time was established we posted more flyers around the tribal hall, in the newsletter, and also flyered the homes of the on-reservation tribal members. All Tribal members over age 18 receive copies of the Tribal Newsletter (the Tribe completes an annual update of any new members who have reached the age of 18). Our initial curriculum meeting brought together a very broad representation of tribal families and community members. Mary was careful to document attendance at both the initial meeting and at every subsequent gathering.

The Curriculum Committee is comprised of a somewhat fluctuating group of tribal and community members who are interested in determining the answer to the question “What do we, the Chehalis Tribe, want our children to know about being Chehalis?” This guiding question steered the topics that would be included in the final curriculum materials. The variety of participants helped ensure that every important subject was included. The Committee included several elders, youth, young adults, parents, grandparents, and other relations.

After nearly a year of regular meetings which resulted in the collection of personal accounts of Chehalis tribal history and the refining of overall information gathered from these tribal participants, we began the process of collecting additional primary documents for use as research materials once the curriculum was implemented. Many primary documents were gathered and provided by one of the Evergreen staff members, Richard Britz, who assisted with this project. Mr. Britz also accompanied us on several visits to the Lewis County Historical Museum in Chehalis, Washington where we discovered first hand accounts of the Indian and settler interactions that took place during the 1800’s. The Museum assisted us in locating the appropriate files and provided us with copies of pertinent materials. Some information collected during these museum visits contained racist comments about Indians generally, and the Chehalis Tribe specifically.

Additional activities that occurred at this time included a trip to the Elma School District office after the district’s superintendent expressed an interest in

implementing the completed curriculum materials. The Elma School District is located approximately 30 miles from the reservation which has resulted in fewer Chehalis tribal students enrolled there. For this reason we had initially overlooked Elma as a possible partner in our curriculum development. Once contact with the school district was established, Elma became a willing participant in the development process. While attending a meeting with the Elma school staff, Mary and I were told of an impressive Indian basket collection belonging to the school district and which was displayed at the Elma Middle School. Mary and I received a complete tour of the 70+ basket collection, which also contained several Chehalis baskets.

The Evergreen Learning Center arranged for a video-taped interview session with four of the elder tribal participants. These four individuals gave statements and recollections in four specific areas. Mel Youckton provided information on the development of the tribal government from the 1970's to the present. Mr. Youckton spoke about the fish wars that led to the Boldt ruling which honored the treaty fishing rights of many Northwest Tribes. Curtis DuPuis shared collections of his youth on the reservation and the fishing and gathering traditions that are still practiced regularly and were taught to him by his maternal grandparents. Katherine Barr spoke about the local tribal history and the changes that have developed in response to federal Indian policy. Ms. Barr also shared some traditional stories and Chehalis beliefs as well as her knowledge about the Chehalis language. Lastly, Yvonne Peterson was interviewed about the traditional

arts of the Tribe which include basketry, carving, regalia making, and other activities. These interviews are in the editing process with a planned result of several mini-videos for use in the classroom as an accompaniment to some of the curriculum themes. All of these activities were an integral part of the curriculum development and resulted in an impressive collection of materials and information.

### **Defining the Criteria**

Once these materials were assembled, Mary and I approached the tribal Chairman for direction about establishing the criteria for determining which information should be included in the final curriculum product. This was a very important issue because the final audience would include both tribal and non-tribal children. As I have outlined above, there are specific departments that are responsible for making these types of determinations. In terms of the tribal curriculum, an argument could be made for its inclusion under any of the above individual's or department's authority due to the wide range of topics.

The Chairman directed Mary and I to review the information and make a recommendation to the Business Committee about which materials should be excluded from the final curriculum results. With this guidance in mind, we began to review the notes and transcripts from the initial tribal informational collection meetings to identify if there were any indicators present to guide the process.

While establishing the criteria for determining information inclusion/exclusion, Mary and I considered the justifications that supported the

determinations. We were mindful that that our decisions could result in setting a precedent for future tribal decisions or actions. Fortunately, some responsibility would rest with the Business Committee which has ultimate approval authority. This understanding of the over-arching implications of the task compelled a consideration of the wider implications of the project. The current responsibility matrix was not as helpful in this matter, which piqued our interest in the variety of decision-making methodologies at our disposal.

When determining whether specific information is appropriate for non-tribal audiences to receive, Tribes may review various decision-making tools or methods that have been used successfully in the past for similar kinds of decisions. In consideration of the decision-making issue we faced, Mary and I began the literature review to determine how other tribal and non-tribal organizations fared in similar circumstances. As an additional guideline, we reviewed Chehalis Business Committee decisions made during the 2005 calendar year related to the inclusion or exclusion of tribal information to non-tribal sources. Does terminology play a part in distinguishing between appropriate and inappropriate materials, in terms of confidentiality?

After reviewing the 2005 Business Committee minutes, we were unable to identify any similar information exclusion-related decisions. We realized that no applicable tribal procedure exists relating directly to the inclusion or exclusion of curriculum data for non-tribal member use. We believe that several existing

decision-making methodologies may prove useful for the Chehalis Tribe when establishing criteria for the sharing of the tribal curriculum information.

Our research hypothesis is that the Chehalis Tribe will benefit from establishing the criteria used in the inclusion or exclusion of curriculum information based on a combination of tribal participants' concerns and results experienced by other organizations, both tribal and non-tribal, in similar situations.

Our null hypothesis is that the Chehalis Tribe will not benefit if the criteria used to determine the inclusion or exclusion of materials for the tribal curriculum is based on either the Chehalis tribal participants' documented concerns or the results of other organizations' decisions in similar situations, or a combination of the two. We will be conducting a descriptive study to identify what procedures are currently in use at the Chehalis Tribe, what concerns have been expressed by the tribal participants, and what, if anything, we can learn from the outcomes of other tribal and non-tribal organizations' experiences.

The establishment of procedures to determine whether information is considered confidential or open to non-member use is a concern that is experienced in many tribal governments and enterprises. The general lack of formal decision-making procedures in the tribal context may be due to the overriding importance of other tribal concerns such as the maintenance of tribal sovereignty and on-going intergovernmental activities. Research and study conducted during the 1<sup>st</sup> year Tribal MPA program did not immediately reveal any existing exclusion/inclusion decision-making matrixes in use in Northwest Tribes.

Mary and I are assuming that we will be able to develop an appropriate and applicable recommendation for the Chehalis Tribe by identifying decision-making methodologies used by other organizations (both tribal and non-tribal), and that the Tribe will benefit from our recommendation when making the final determination about the curriculum information that is excluded from non-tribal use and that the tribal member community's input should be adhered to as the ultimate authority.

These assumptions directed one of our guiding questions "What criteria should be used to evaluate the inclusion of tribal info for non-Indian review?" Identify and explain research hypothesis. We determined that the criteria would be based on tribal member community preference, past decisions of a similar nature (related to the inclusion/exclusion of sensitive Chehalis cultural information for non-tribal use) made by the Chehalis Business Committee in 2005, and possible the results experienced by other organizations which chose to share or withhold their own cultural information in different situations (i.e. was the result successful and the community in question satisfied?).

### **Methodology**

Mary and I determined that we had three different units of analysis. These units were comprised of Chehalis tribal member community preferences; Chehalis Business Council decisions made in 2005 which were of a similar nature (related to the sharing or withholding of sensitive cultural information from non-tribal

member use); and primary documents from other organizations' experience , both tribal and non-tribal, in which cultural information was either shared or withheld from non-member use.

Mary and I will be using an explanatory design. Since our objective is to develop a defining description of how the Chehalis Tribe determined what information would be included or excluded from the tribal curriculum project, the need to identify how similar decisions were made in the past and how other organizations have reached their decisions became the focus of our research. Due to the time constraints posed by the 2006 Spring Quarter, Mary and I will limit our research of previous similar decisions to those decisions which were approved by the Chehalis Business Committee in 2005.

Once I have identified any similar recommendations that were approved by the Business Committee in 2005, I will analyze the recommendations to determine which department was responsible for the recommendation and how the recommendation was developed. If no applicable decisions were reached in 2005, I will make a recommendation based on the results of the literature review and the tribal participants' recommendations as noted in the meeting transcripts.

Mary's literature review should provide some examples of organizations that chose to share private, traditional information with outsiders and organizations that elected to keep such information private and the results of either decision. It is hoped that the Chehalis Tribe will benefit from other organization's experiences so as to avoid "reinventing the wheel".

One of the major variables involved in the problem is the relative 'newness' of tribally driven curriculum development. We will focus on the similar decisions that the Chehalis Tribal Business Committee has made in the past for two reasons. First, there is a lack of tribally created curriculum in Washington State. Secondly, the review of past Chehalis tribal decisions of this nature may assist in the development of a 'best practices' model for this type of decision-making in the future. We hope that our curriculum project will prove useful for other Tribes who may develop curriculum for their surrounding regions.

Fortunately, many of the comments and concerns expressed by the tribal participants addressed the importance of keeping some information private- particularly subjects of a religious or traditional nature. This community input is considered of primary importance at the Chehalis Tribe because one of the main unspoken purposes of the Tribe is to contribute to the well-being of its tribal membership- which often means meeting the needs and desires of the membership in a way that supports the community health. Tribal members are therefore considered to be primary stakeholders in the Tribe's decisions and as such are able to direct the functions of the Tribe in a manner that will benefit the most people. Thus, the expressed wishes of the tribal participants carry a substantial weight in terms of deciding what information will not be shared.

### **Analysis Section**

Mary conducted the literature review to identify the most applicable texts for our case study. Due to the lack of published research material on development of tribal curriculums, we focused on published materials addressing the ramifications of sharing sensitive tribal materials in a non-tribal forum, rather than those geared specifically on curriculum development. Applicability was based on consideration of tribal needs or decision-making in the tribal realm and also organizations, both tribal and non-tribal, that made decisions about the inclusion or exclusion of culturally sensitive data for non-member review. The completed literature review identified five texts which included works by the following authors: E. Bardach, Vine Deloria Jr., W. Espeland, S. Guyette, and A. Mills.

We interpreted the literature results as implying that the inclusion of culturally sensitive materials should only occur when necessary and only with a majority of the population's consent. Although total consensus may not be reached, it is of primary importance that the governing body attempt to meet the community's expectation and needs in this type of situation. Tribes in particular need to consider their tribal constituency's opinion as the ultimate guide when making these information sharing decisions.

I documented the existing decision-making routes for the sharing of cultural information at the Chehalis Tribe, none of which proved useful or applicable for the curriculum inclusion decisions. I also researched the 2005 Business Committee minutes for any decisions related to the sharing of culturally sensitive

information and did not find any applicable decisions from that timeframe. Due to this limitation, Mary and I eliminated this unit of analysis from our consideration.

In terms of Chehalis tribal community input, all participants were in agreement that the following culturally sensitive topics being excluded from the final curriculum content. Information on any religious activities or beliefs was not to be shared or included. The Chehalis community chose to approach this topic by a sentence which will say something similar to: "There are several religions practiced on the Chehalis reservation, however this information is considered private and sensitive by the tribal community and will not be shared with anyone outside the tribal membership". Another topic which has been deemed of a sensitive nature is the racist or biased remarks made about Indians generally and the Chehalis Tribe specifically in many of the primary documents obtained from the Lewis County Historical Museum, the internet, and various state and federal government agencies.

After reviewing these racist remarks, the community initially had two conflicting concerns. First, that the inclusion of some of the more explicit materials might lead to their use on the playground as a means to denigrate the Chehalis students or other Indian children. Secondly, the exclusion of this material does not accurately portray the regional history or share the social and political climate experienced by the Chehalis Tribe.

After several meetings at which the curriculum participants attempted to solve these concerns, it was decided that the more demeaning remarks would not be included in the actual curriculum materials. The participants acknowledged that high school students conducting research would likely be able to access this material and be able to form their own opinions about this particular piece of tribal history. Additionally, the community participants hoped that after several years of learning this curriculum in grade school, high school students would be more mature and able to process potentially sensitive or harmful language as an educational component rather than a playground taunt.

Ultimately, Mary and I felt that the Chehalis tribal community's concerns and suggestions would be easy and sensible to implement. The inclusion of information based primarily on Chehalis tribal community preferences became the culmination of our research into defining the criteria for inclusion or exclusion of culturally sensitive information for non-tribal member consumption. The use of other organizations' experiences became a secondary consideration which resulted in our establishment and acceptance of the fact that the inclusion of culturally sensitive materials should only occur when necessary and only with a majority of the population's consent if total consensus may not be reached.

### **Recommendation & Conclusion**

Our final recommendation to the Chehalis Tribal Business Committee is that the Chehalis tribal community participants' suggestions about the exclusion of the following materials be accepted and utilized in the final curriculum model. In terms of Chehalis tribal community input, all participants were in agreement about the following culturally sensitive topics being excluded from the final curriculum content.

Information on any religious activities or beliefs was not to be shared or included. The Chehalis community chose to approach the topic by limitation to a single sentence which will say something like: "There are several religions practiced on the Chehalis reservation, however this information is considered private and sensitive by the tribal community and will not be shared with anyone outside the tribal membership".

The other topic which had been identified as being of a sensitive nature is the racist or biased remarks made about Indians generally and the Chehalis Tribe specifically in many of the primary documents. After reviewing these racist remarks, the Chehalis tribal community's two initial concerns about the inclusion of some of the more explicit materials leading to playground usage as a means to denigrate the Chehalis students or other Indian children, and the exclusion of this material not accurately portraying the regional history or social and political climate experienced by the Chehalis Tribe during this time were addressed by the following proposal.

The more demeaning remarks should not be included in the actual curriculum materials, although high school students conducting research would likely be able to access this material and form their own opinions about this particular piece of tribal history. Additionally, the community participants hope that future high school students will be sensitive to any acts of hostility during that time period.

### **Literature Review & Bibliography**

A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis identifies an “eightfold path” approach for conducting policy analysis research, distinguishing alternatives and evaluating relevant data. Utilizing the steps of the eightfold path will be beneficial in determining which cultural data ought to be used in developing a cultural curriculum and how the curriculum should be adapted to meet the contextual needs of the intended audience.

Eagle Down is Our Law describes the culture of the Gitsksan and Witsuwit'en peoples of Canada and their legal fight for recognition of their aboriginal rights. This text is a comprehensive examination of the Gitsksan and Witsuwit'en peoples as presented in Canadian legal courts and illustrates the internal debates of the clans in determining which aspects of their culture were appropriate to discuss in a public forum.

The Struggle for Water is a detailed analysis of the proposed Orme Dam development and the effects the dam development would have on the Yavapai

Tribe of Arizona. This text describes the cultural history of the Yavapai Tribe and is another example of how tribal history is presented in a non-tribal forum for assessment by non-tribal peoples.

Planning for Balanced Development illustrates a plan for economic development in Indian Country and takes into consideration the effects of cultural mores on tribal economies. Included in this text are examples of incorporating culture into economic development models and presenting cultural history and traditions to non-tribal peoples.

Spirit and Reason is a collection of essays written by Vine Deloria, Jr. on contemporary issues which face native peoples today. A series of essays in Deloria's text address teaching native based curriculum in public schools and universities and the challenges in utilizing information which may be culturally sensitive for Indian Tribes.

A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis outlines an "eightfold path" for policy analysis to utilize when analyzing or developing policy. These steps are adaptable and can be utilized as a whole, or steps can be modified and removed depending on the type of research or policy analysis being conducted. As a method for developing a tribal history curriculum many of these steps in the eightfold path will prove useful.

The eight steps of the eightfold path are;

1. Define the problem
2. Assemble some evidence

3. Construct the alternatives
4. Select the criteria
5. Project the outcomes
6. Confront the trade-offs
7. Decide!
8. Tell your story

(Bardach, 2005, pg. xiv)

Beginning with the first step, define the problem, developers of tribal curriculum should meet with the tribal community to determine appropriate subject matter for inclusion in a tribal history course. This step will be the beginning point for the curriculum process and should create dialogue which will highlight differences in opinion regarding appropriate historical and cultural curriculum content. Although Bardach recognizes “there are no obvious or accepted ways to resolve philosophical differences” (Bardach, 2005, pg. 4) amongst participants, beginning a dialogue should be the first step towards project completion and acceptance of the completed project from the tribal community.

The second step is to assemble some evidence. In this step, curriculum developers begin to obtain data. Data will be assembled from several sources, tribal government, tribal members, museums, state and federal governments, local newspapers, local historical society, other Tribes, etc. Data collection activities should target many different sources of information, keeping in mind that not all data will be relevant. Nevertheless, data collectors should not edit data in this step,

the significance of the data will be determined in subsequent steps of the eightfold path.

For tribal curriculum development, step three, construct the alternatives, may not be applicable for tribal curriculum projects. An alternative to teaching tribal curriculum may not be possible, although alternatives to whether some of the data is utilized or how it is utilized may be. However, this step may be better utilized in conjunction with step five of the eightfold path and will be discussed presently.

The fourth step, select the criteria, is very important for tribal curriculum development. This step addresses the issues of which data will be utilized and how data will be utilized. Knowing the audience for whom the curriculum is being developed for is important in this step. Different age groups will process data differently. If a portion of the data may be considered “racist” by some tribal members, it may not be appropriate for use by grade school students, who may focus on the negative aspects of the data rather than its educational value. Likewise, some tribal members may feel that the potential for negative outcomes from the non-tribal community as a result of the data may be too high to include all of the data collected. In addition, establishing a criteria for utilizing data will enable participants to decide whether portions of the data are to culturally sensitive for use by non-tribal members.

Steps three, construct the alternatives, and five, project the outcomes, further expand on step four in tribal curriculum development. Combining these two steps continue the discussion of which data will be utilized and how. Curriculum

developers should identify alternatives for utilizing the data, perhaps developing a tribal curriculum for teaching only to tribal members and developing a separate curriculum for use in a non-tribal forum. Additionally, the potential outcomes of utilizing portions of the data should be discussed, how will the data be received and perceived, is it in the best interest of the Tribe? What is the historical significance of the data and will it advance the learning objectives of non-tribal peoples in a positive way? What are the potential outcomes of including culturally sensitive data in a tribal curriculum developed for non-tribal people?

Step six, confront the trade-offs, is an expansion of steps three and five. Once alternatives and potential outcomes have been identified, commensurability must be determined. "We can choose between two alternatives only if we can weight the importance of the criteria and if we can express their relative weights in units that are commensurable across the criteria" (Bardach, 2005, pg. 49). Calculating whether including culturally sensitive data is "worth" a potential outcome is considered in this step, as is, the trade-off for including data which has been deemed "racist". Curriculum developers must carefully weigh the different alternatives and decide whether the potential outcome justifies including some of the data.

Step seven, decide, is the step in which the data has been analyzed, the alternatives have been identified and weighted, the potential outcomes have been assessed and final decisions are ready to be made. This step assumes that curriculum developers and tribal participants have thoroughly evaluated and

discussed the information generated from the previous steps and are in a position to make final decisions for the curriculum project. This step will also determine whether previous steps need to be revisited or whether the group is ready to make a final decision.

Step eight, tell your story, is the final step of the eightfold path. In this step, all applicable previous steps have been completed and the tribal curriculum project is ready to move forward towards the final draft stage. In a tribal curriculum project it may not be necessary to outline all previous steps in the final draft, as the final draft for a tribal curriculum project should be the curriculum itself.

Admittedly, the eightfold path does not address specific questions for including culturally sensitive or potentially harmful data in developing a tribal curriculum. However, the eightfold path does outline a path for discussion and development for tribal curriculums and establishes a forum for dialogue. Although all steps in the eightfold path may not be applicable for tribal curriculum developers, the general outline of the path is relevant for tribal curriculum development.

The Struggle for Water is an analysis of the proposal for the development of Orme Dam in Central Arizona, land which encompasses the traditional land of the Yavapai Indians. The text outlines the positions of three competing groups; two are defined as the “New Guard” and the “Old Guard” while the third is identified as the Yavapai. This composition will focus solely on the position of the Yavapai

peoples and their decision to focus on the historical aspects of their culture in defining their position against the development of Orme Dam.

“For the Yavapai community, their ties to their land, their sense of themselves as cultural beings, and the meaning of the Orme dispute have all been profoundly shaped by earlier struggles over land” (Espeland, 1998, pg. 184). The Yavapai’s historical struggles to retain their traditional and cultural identity in spite of over a century of forced relocations, extermination and termination attempts by the federal and local governments, and often brutal aggression by local settlers fortified their determination to preserve their ties to their historical land base. Regrettably, the proposed development of Orme Dam threatened to cut their ties with their land forever, as the proposed site for the dam would flood portions of their lands which contained some homes and many sacred sites. In response, the Yavapai embarked on a mission to educate Orme Dam officials and dam proponents on the negative affects the development of Orme Dam would have on their culture by teaching their history and its influence on their contemporary culture.

Essentially, Orme Dam developers attempted to place a value on the land of the Yavapai people, however, the Yavapai viewed their land as having an “incommensurate value, and money or other land, regardless of the amount, could not capture its value or compensate for its loss” (Espeland, 1998, pg. 205). Using rational choice theory, the dam developers sought to determine the value the Yavapai would acknowledge for their land and assumed that previous financial

offers were too low and therefore rejected, rather than the Yavapai simply not being willing to accept any payment, financial or otherwise.

The Yavapai sought to teach the developers that their land did not have an incommensurate value to the Yavapai, for the Yavapai embraced the land as an embedded sense of themselves, their people and their culture. In teaching the developers this lesson, the Yavapai choose to present their history through primary documents, personal histories and tribal narratives. In choosing to do so, the Yavapai also chose to leave some important elements out of the discourse, namely, their connection to sites which were designated as cemeteries, sacred, or the site of violent atrocities. In fact, to discuss some of these subjects was inherently forbidden within the Yavapai culture. As Espeland points out, "Asking people to talk about the cemetery created my most awkward moments interviewing. I gradually began to appreciate how painful the topic was for residents, how inappropriate it was for them to discuss it with me, and how tolerant they were in their responses to me", (Espeland, 1998, pg. 204).

Essentially, the Tribe may not have taken a "position" on deciding what was appropriate for discussion in a public forum; however, tribal members had an inherent, cultural understanding on what topics were appropriate for discussion in a public forum. Thereby, tribal members acted as their own "editors" on topics and directed the Yavapai history by what they were willing to discuss or not discuss.

The Yavapai's decision to discuss their history with area residents and Orme Dam developers proved to be beneficial towards publicizing the Yavapai's

position on the dam development. “The exclusion of history does not affect all the interest groups equally in this decision. The ahistoricity of the decision procedure harms the Yavapai community more than other groups. The Yavapai believed that its exclusion from the framework fundamentally misrepresented the stakes of the decision for them, since past injustices and broken promises were not explicitly part of the decision calculus. Ignoring Yavapai history meant excluding relevant information about which most white people knew little or held wildly distorted views” (Espeland, 1998, pg. 211). In fact, some supporters of the Orme Dam project did misrepresent the Yavapai culture in an attempt to swing support away from the Yavapai position against Orme Dam and towards the pro-development position of the dam developers. Through public portrayals and discussion of Yavapai history, the Yavapai were able to present the history in a culturally appropriate and meaningful way.

Eventually, the Orme Dam project was determined to be unfeasible and Orme Dam was never built. The Yavapai were successful in gaining support for their position by educating the public about the historical and traditional significance of the land to their culture and identity. The Yavapai tribal members' decisions to not include significant cultural aspects of their history, i.e. sacred sites, cemeteries, etc. does not appear to have had a detrimental affect on the non-Yavapai communities' understanding and empathy with the Yavapai's position against Orme Dam. Indeed, sharing the Yavapai history with the general public

appears to have enhanced their position as having a genuine and vested interest in the land associated with the Orme Dam development.

Planning for Balanced Development addresses the issues Native American and rural communities face when planning economic development opportunities. One chapter of the text addresses cultural revitalization issues as a tool for economic development in Native American communities. While the text focuses specifically on developing cultural resources as financial opportunities, it also provides valuable insight on how cultural activities may be adapted for use in a non-tribal forum.

The text recommends that Tribes who decide to utilize cultural resources as economic development opportunities insure that the tribal community is an integral part of the decision making process in determining which resources will be utilized. As such, a community cultural committee may be enacted to participate as representatives of the tribal community. One of the duties of the cultural committee may be to conduct a community assessment which would identify the cultural resources the community may want addressed. This format could be adapted for developing a tribal history curriculum, i.e. the cultural committee or otherwise appointed tribal members would survey the tribal community to determine which aspects of tribal history should be included in a tribal curriculum.

Once priorities have been identified for inclusion by the tribal community, Guyette recommends establishing a method for further development. Guyette's

methods for cultural economic development could be adapted for a tribal curriculum as follows;

1. Get the community together
2. Conduct a community assessment
3. Set priorities
4. Identify resources
5. Create a timeline
6. Determine who will learn
7. Develop learning materials
8. Hold workshops for teaching the materials
9. Encourage children to learn

(Guyette, 1996, pg. 99)

Guyette recognizes that not all aspects of tribal culture may be appropriate for discussion with non-tribal people. As such, she recommends restricting access to sensitive materials for use by non-tribal members, in the case of tribal curriculum, restricted access could be achieved through a separation of teaching areas. Ideally, an edited but comprehensive version of the tribal history would be available for use by local school districts, while an unedited version would be available for tribal members through a tribal site (Guyette, 1996, pg. 107).

According to Guyette, "In Native American culture, the privacy issue involves the protection of cultural meaning. Teaching the arts often occurs in a religious context, with only tribal members present. Cultural significance of art

items if to be guarded very closely and is rarely imparted to non-Indians” (Guyette, 1996, pg. 116). The same holds true for portions of tribal history or culture, as such it is up to the tribal community, as a cooperative endeavor, to determine which elements of tribal history and traditions will be shared with non-tribal members through development and implementation of a tribal curriculum for local school districts.

Eagle Down is Our Law is a historical and cultural account of the Gitsksan and Witsuwit'en people of Canada as prepared by anthropologist Antonia Mills for use as testimony in *Delgamuukw v. the Queen*, a Canadian court case establishing the aboriginal rights of the Gitsksan and Witsuwit'en peoples. The Gitsksan and Witsuwit'en peoples hired Mills to represent their history and culture from their traditional point of view in a format which would be considered “scientific” or “acceptable” from a non-aboriginal point of view. Gitsksan and Witsuwit'en leaders decided “write a report and to give evidence which described Gitsksan and Witsuwit'en society from the perspective of the Aboriginal peoples themselves and to do so within the framework which would enable the court to understand and respect that perspective” (Mills, 1994, pg. xviii).

Historically, the Gitsksan and Witsuwit'en people did not share all their culturally sensitive information with non-Gitsksan or Witsuwit'en peoples (it is necessary to note that the Gitsksan and Witsuwit'en people are two distinct cultural groups who decided to work together in this court case) However, in this case, the Gitsksan and Witsuwit'en felt the Canadian government, a

representative of which would be hearing the case, did not have an adequate understanding of their historical and cultural ties to the area in which they were asserting their aboriginal title to. As a result, Gitsksan and Witsuwit'en leaders decided to share with professional representatives, anthropologists and lawyers, all traditional, personal and private aspects of their cultural mores and beliefs. This decision was reached after many discussions amongst their leaders and was considered representative of the majority of Gitsksan and Witsuwit'en peoples. Anthropologist Antonia Mills was hired on behalf of the Gitsksan and Witsuwit'en to develop an in-depth accounting of their cultural and history. Ms. Mills spent fifteen months participating in the daily life and many intimate ceremonies of the Gitsksan and Witsuwit'en, the information she gathered was utilized as testimony on their behalf in the *Delgamuukw* court case.

Unfortunately, the judge in the *Delgamuukw* case did not decide favor of the Gitsksan and Witsuwit'en aboriginal land rights and the case was subsequently appealed. The Gitsksan and Witsuwit'en's decision to publicize intimate details of their culture as an example of their historical ties to the land in question did not hold much sway with the judge hearing the case. After the judge's decision was rendered, Chief Mas Gak responded by speaking of the sadness her people felt about the decision, "Sadness because our Elders had trusted their lives and beliefs to a court that showed no respect for the culture of the Gitsksan and Witsuwit'en. Sadness because so many of our people who taught us and gave us the strength to begin and continue this case have died" (Mills, 1994, Epilogue).

In publicizing intimate aspects of their culture in a non-native forum, the Gitsksan and Witsuwit'en hoped to assist non-native peoples in developing an understanding of the cultural and historical ties they felt towards the disputed land. Regrettably, their decision did not benefit the Gitsksan and Witsuwit'en in the original *Delgamuukw* case and their private information is now available in the public domain. Divulging confidential cultural information to the public is a decision Tribes do not make lightly, care should be taken when deciding when it is appropriate to share such information. Fortunately, during the appeal process the Gitsksan and Witsuwit'en did win a small victory when the provincial government of British Columbia and "claims to be potentially willing to negotiate Aboriginal rights" (Mills, 1994, Epilogue).

Spirit and Reason is a collection of contemporary essays written by Vine Deloria, Jr. on philosophy, social science, education, Indians and religion. Deloria does not specifically address the issue of developing tribal curriculum for use in a non-tribal forum; however, he does speak to issues of presenting tribal history in non-tribal forums.

Deloria expresses the need for Tribes to present tribal history in a tribal context rather than adapting tribal history and culture to a Western paradigm.

Deloria maintains that historically, the validity of tribal identity and culture has been defined by non-tribal people according to their belief systems. As such, tribal customs are either vilified or accepted in public arenas in accordance with mainstream public opinion, which is often influenced by approval or disapproval of

tribal economic developments, state and federal policies, etc. Deloria also believes that some tribal people have become accustomed to adjusting their tribal history and culture to meet these parameters when conversing with non-tribal people about tribal issues. According to Deloria, “Developing a sense of ourselves that would properly balance history and nature and space and time is a more difficult task than we would suspect and involves a radical reevaluation of the way we look at the world around us” (Deloria, Jr., 1999, pg. 289). In essence, tribal people need to reexamine the ways in which they define themselves, their culture and their history to non-tribal people. Are tribal people defining themselves or allowing Western culture establish the definition of Native peoples and then conforming themselves to the Western ideal? As Deloria states, “we have been taught to look at American history as a series of land transactions involving some three hundred Indian Tribes and a growing U.S. government” (Deloria, Jr., 1999, pg. 306). In effect, the Western viewpoint minimizes tribal cultures and experiences into a timeline of events without taking into account the personal histories of Tribes and tribal members and the effects the “events” had on them. Deloria explores this point further, “What appears to have survived as a tribal conception of history almost everywhere was the description of conditions under which the people lived and the location in which they lived” (Deloria, Jr., pg. 294).

Deloria’s essays recognize that some tribal people have taken advantage of non-tribal peoples “glorification” of Native culture and history. Throughout his text he speaks of tribal people and non-tribal people who have “sold” ceremonies,

artifacts, and other items of dubious distinction to non-tribal people. According to Deloria, this further muddies non-tribal people's perception of the Indian culture and inhibits a full understanding and appreciation of tribal history and its cultural significance. Unfortunately, the sale of tribal ceremonies and culture eradicates any tribal ceremonial or religious importance they may have had and only furthers the non-tribal objectification of Tribes and their history.

Following Deloria's reasoning, developers of tribal curriculum need to look beyond the timeline of federal-tribal relations and begin to examine the personal history of Tribes and tribal peoples. This includes moving beyond the location of tribal lands on a map and beginning dialogue on the significance of historical land bases to Tribes. One must begin molding historical issues into contemporary issues and look at tribal history as a path from yesterday to today to the future. Tribal curriculum must also attempt to explain the issues of tribal ceremonies and educate non-tribal people on the sacredness of certain ceremonies and objects, without revealing confidential rituals. Rather than educate through sharing all, Tribes need to educate about why the information cannot be shared, and why information that is sold is not always valid. Most importantly, Tribes need to decide what information is shared, how it is shared and to whom it is shared. Finally, Tribes need to not be afraid to develop a tribal history which reflects themselves rather than the Western concept of how a tribal history should be written.

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