RESILIENCY IN A NATIVE AMERICAN COMMUNITY

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"It takes a whole village to raise a child" (Zona, 1994, p.55). The message behind this Omaha proverb is clear. The community as a whole has a definite effect on the daily lives of the people living there. Regardless of the community, the various sectors, institutions, and the members of a community are interdependent, each having an influence on and being influenced by the others (Centre for Community Enterprise, 2000).

When groups of people or communities are subjected to disruptions of their social and physical environments and livelihoods they become vulnerable or at risk for decline or disintegration of the ability to meet the collective needs of the community and its members (Adger, 2000; Waller 2001). How the community as a whole responds to adversity plays an important role in the continued well-being of the community itself, and its members. The presence of protective factors within the community such as adequate resources to meet the needs of its members, local community support networks, opportunities for participation or contribution, and a strong sense of community can buffer the effects of the disruption and promote not only recovery, but further growth and development (Benard, 1997; Kulig, 2000; Waller 2001). Protective factors are those influences occurring at any level (individual, family and community) that contribute to

positive outcomes of individuals, families, and communities faced with difficulty (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000; Waller, 2001).

The history of Native American communities has been one of mass disruption (Graham, 2002; Gross, 2003; Zaferatos, 1998). Colonization, the reservation system and assimilation focused policies and practices have fundamentally altered traditional tribal social organization and ways of life. Forced dependency severely diminished tribal ability to govern their communities and maintain a positive quality of life for community members (Adams, 1988; Zaferatos, 1998). The social disruption brought about by these oppressive practices and the deficit orientation toward Native Americans held by the majority culture has resulted in pervasive negative images and the devaluing of the strengths inherent in Native American communities (Long & Nelson, 1999).

Another way to view Native American communities is from the perspective of strength and resilience. Despite centuries of aggressive attempts to destroy traditional Native communal lifestyles, and to force Native American tribes to assimilate into the mainstream some Native communities continue to show tremendous resiliency (Smith, 2000; Strand & Peacock, 2002). Further, a number of tribes have begun to break away from the cycle of poverty and dependence on the federal government and are developing stable and sustainable governments (Begay, Cornell, & Kalt, 1997). Among these tribes, social problems have declined and employment rates have risen as reservation economies have stabilized. The purpose of this study is to gain a deeper understanding of what promotes Native American community resilience.

Problem Statement

There is an acute gap in the research literature about Native American communities. We assume that Native American communities have been oppressed and many are poverty stricken with all the consequent ills. A few are recovering from this condition. However, little is known about how or why some Native American communities are recovering and emerging stronger in spite of oppressive conditions or about what characteristics mark resilient Native American communities. Most of the research done on resilience has been either on individuals or families. Further, the work that has been done on communities has been largely on white, rural farm communities (Luther & Wall, 1991), or on very narrow aspects of resilience in Native American communities such as economic vitality (Begay et al., 1997; Jorgensen & Taylor, 2000).

There are many factors that influence a community's resilience. Therefore, an understanding of the larger social and cultural characteristics of Native American communities that foster resilience is needed. This study addressed this gap by examining resilience at the community level in one rural Native American community in order to identify patterns of attitudes and behaviors and other themes that promote this community's resilience. This was accomplished by interviewing community leaders, tribal employees, and other individuals who have multiple perspectives of the development of the community. Multiple areas or factors were examined for indicators of resilience including the local economy, leadership activities, quality of life (personal, cultural, spiritual/religious, and material resources) and future planning. These factors were examined using qualitative methodology. The qualitative model of descriptive case

study was used to organize the data and assist in the development of new themes or areas of resilience that emerged from the data.

Theoretical Framework

One explanation of the resilience observed among Native Americans is a theory called cultural resilience. Cultural resilience, as explained by HeavyRunner and Marshall (2003), is based on traditional Native cultural beliefs, values and practices that sustain and reinforce Native American individuals, families and communities and are still in use today. Cultural resilience as a theoretical framework was selected because it offers a shift from a pathological approach to studying Native American communities (and the people in them) to one that focuses on the strengths of individuals, families, and communities to adapt positively despite adversity. Resiliency is the process of coping with adversity in a manner that results in positive outcomes or adaptation. This process involves the mitigation of risk factors by protective factors resulting in positive outcomes or adaptation (Atlantic Health Promotion Research Center, 1999). Protective factors are those influences, occurring at any level (individual, family and community), that contribute to positive outcomes of individuals, families, and communities faced with tribulations (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000; Waller 2001). Conversely, risk factors are aversive or disruptive influences occurring at any level that could lead to negative outcomes.

Clauss-Ehlers (2004) defines cultural resilience as the "cultural background such as cultural values, norms, supports, language, and customs that promote resilience for individuals and families" (p. 36) and therefore resilience cannot be examined outside of

Association (n.d.) identified several factors that increase cultural resilience among ethnic minorities. Relevant concepts include a strong social and emotional connection with others that promotes group identity; a high value of community; cultural adaptation or the need to be bicultural; spirituality; generativity or the promotion of future generations' well-being; and creativity, such as the use of music and humor to cope with oppression. Cultural resilience, as it relates to Native Americans, refers to traditional Native American cultural factors as integral to resilience (HeavyRunner & Marshall, 2003; Long & Nelson, 1999; Montgomery et al., 2000) and addresses them in terms of their influence on the creation of conditions that aid in overcoming the effects of historic and contemporary oppression and discrimination.

Traditional Native American communities have protected their members and promoted their well-being throughout time by a variety of means. Based on the overarching circular worldview from which most Native people traditionally operated and that still influences many Native Americans today, HeavyRunner and Marshall (2003) and LaFromboise and Medoff (2004) identified several foundational cultural factors that enhance resiliency including: (1) spirituality – fundamental to traditional Native spirituality is the belief that all things and beings are connected in a sacred hoop, also known as the circle of life (Orr, 2000). This foundational belief has a significant influence on building cohesiveness and connectedness among Native people and in Native communities (LaFromboise & Medoff, 2004; Waller, 2006). Additionally, Native spiritual beliefs have been identified as an important source of strength, comfort, and hope (LaFromboise & Medoff, 2004; Waller, 2006); (2) family or kinship (support

networks) – the traditional extended family or kinship system of Native peoples is structured around values of interdependence, reciprocity and mutual obligation. Again, these relations promote a sense of belonging, safety and security which enhances resilience among members and teaches them to reciprocate or give back and to contribute to the overall welfare of the unit (Bendtro, Brokenleg, & Van Bockern, 1990; Cross, 1998; LaFromboise & Medoff, 2004; Waller, 2006); (3) involvement with traditional cultural ceremonials, rituals, and activities and identifying with traditional culture according to LaFromboise and Medoff (2004) and Waller (2006), cultural identity and involvement with traditional cultural activities also promote a sense of community or connection. Further it encourages mutual assistance or reciprocity in which everyone is seen as having a role in mutually supporting the family and community (LaFromboise & Medoff, 2004; Luther & Wall, 1987); (4) economic development - LaFromboise and Medoff (2004) list current economic development as a resiliency factor. This is particularly relevant when economic development is approached as a means to an end and revenues are used to strengthen tribal sovereignty and self-sufficiency within the cultural context of the community (LaFromboise & Medoff, 2004; Smith, 2000).

A community approach to examining resilience among Native Americans was used due to its compatibility with traditional Native American values. High group orientation and a strong sense of community are important aspects of traditional Native American culture and continue to have significant influence on many Native American communities today (Edwards & Edwards, 1995; Garrett & Garrett, 1994). Where these values are found in practice, there is a close link between individuals, families, and the community (LaFromboise & Medoff, 2004). Native American people who identify

strongly with their tribal heritage and community see themselves as an extension of their tribe - a part of a whole - rather than simply an individual (Garrett & Garrett, 1994).

Further, emphasis is placed on the benefit of the unit be it family, clan, or tribe (Edwards & Edwards, 1995; Garrett & Garrett, 1994). Closely related is the concept of mutual obligation and collective responsibility, which emphasizes the responsibility of the individual to the community as well as the community's responsibility to care for its members (Edwards & Edwards, 1995; LaFromboise & Medoff, 2004).

Supplementing the cultural resiliency at a community level, Luther & Wall's (1991) case study model for studying communities in transition was utilized. Their study examined why some rural, largely Anglo, farm communities were surviving the mid 1980's farm crisis while others were dying out. Luther & Wall's model was chosen for several reasons. First, utilizing a case study approach to research and analysis, they explored four dimensions of community resilience: (1) quality of life; (2) local economy; (3) leadership and citizen participation; and (4) planning for the future (Luther & Wall, 1991). These four areas closely match a holistic approach for studying Native American communities as discussed in the next section.

Second, it helped to organize studying resilience at the community level. Several researchers have identified the major institutions or subsystems common to most communities. Major institutions are the subsystems or organizations that meet the needs of community members and maintain community functioning and include government, economy, education, religion, and family (Beaulieu, 2002; Poplin, 1979; Warren, 1972). The four broad areas of community explored by Luther and Wall address the major institutions or subsystems common to most communities (see Table 1). While Luther and

Wall did not specifically explore cultural resilience, the four areas were easily adapted by building in relevant questions that facilitate addressing the unique Native American cultural factors that may influence resilience.

Table 1

COMPARISON OF HEARTLAND MODEL
TO MAJOR COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS

Dimensio	one of Thrivino	Communiti	es (Luther & W	/all 1001)
Major Community Institutions	Quality of Life	Local Economy	Leadership and Citizen Participation	Planning for the Future
Beaulieu (2002)				
Major Community Institutions				
1. Kinship	X			
2. Economic		X		
3. Education				X
4. Political			X	
5. Religious	X			
6. Associations			X	
Warren (1972)				
Institutional Areas of Community				
1. Economic		X		
2. Government			X	
3. Educational	37			X
4. Religious5. Health/welfare	X			
6. Recreational	X X			
7. Communicational	Λ			X
D. 1' (1070)				
Poplin (1979)				
Major Subsystems of Community 1. Government			X	
2. Economics		X	Λ	
3. Education		Λ		X
4. Religion	X			4 1
5. Family	X			

Another reason for selecting the Heartland approach is that it is a qualitative case study approach, and utilized in-depth interviews while others (Centre for Community Enterprise, 2000) advocated the use of a survey. The method of in-depth interviews was preferred for this study to paper and pencil surveys because it corresponds more closely to the storytelling tradition of Native Americans (Montgomery et al., 2000).

Holistic Community Model

Toward an integrated framework that encompasses examining cultural resilience at the community level, a Holistic Community Model (see Figure 1) was considered essential in understanding the study data. The Holistic Community Model was adapted from the medicine wheel, which is widely shared among tribal people. In many medicine wheels, the four quadrants represent the holistic view of human beings, that is, the spiritual, physical, emotional, and mental elements of human functioning. In the Holistic Community Model, the emotional construct was broadened to social and mental to intellectual. It is believed these concepts better reflect the community level. The four broad areas of community identified by Luther and Wall (1991) were integrated into each quadrant as a representative component of each. Located under each of the four community components are the related cultural resilience factors and subcomponents of community, as identified in Table 1. The four quadrants are considered interrelated and interdependent parts of the whole community. They are not isolated or exclusive, but rather, overlapping. Following is a brief discussion of each quadrant.

Spiritual: Quality of Life. The Spiritual quadrant is represented by the community component Quality of Life. Quality of life refers to overall well-being or

satisfaction with life (Kahn & Juster, 2002; Sawatzky, Ratner, & Chiu, 2005) and is based on both objective social conditions and subjective perceptions (Diener & Suh, 1997; Kahn & Juster, 2002; Michalos, 2004). In relation to communities, objective social indicators include quality health care, education and other services, elevated standards of living and safe neighborhoods (Diener & Suh, 1997; Jamieson, 2004). Some subjective measures of the quality of life include peoples' perceptions about their religious or spiritual experiences (Sawatzky, Ratner, & Chiu, 2005; World Health Organization Quality of Life Instrument Spirituality, Religion & Personal Beliefs Group, 2006) and a sense of belonging to the community (Bramston, Bruggerman, & Pretty, 2002; Bramston, Pretty, & Chipuer, 2002; Jamieson, 2004).

Social: Leadership and Citizen Participation. Here, the Leadership and Citizen Participation component is fitted. This quadrant encompasses the attitudes and behaviors of the leadership and how citizens are involved in various aspects of community life and decision-making.

<u>Physical: Economics.</u> The physical quadrant of the medicine wheel addresses the physical body or taken more broadly, that which can be seen. At the community level the physical is thought to be represented by the economy, since it is objective and the building foundation for much of the services, programs and businesses that support a community.

<u>Intellectual: Planning for the Future</u>. Planning for the Future represents the Intellectual quadrant of holistic community, which includes the community subsystem of education and the cultural resiliency characteristic of generativity or promotion of the future generation.

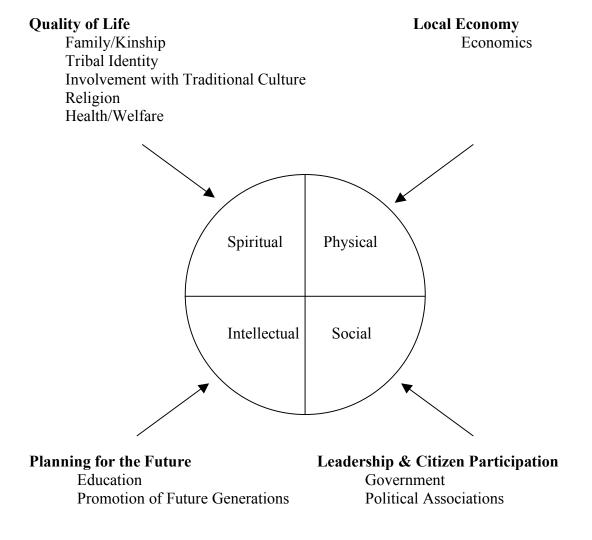


Figure 1 Holistic Model of Community

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to describe the patterns of behaviors, attitudes, and characteristics of one rural Native American community that has been identified as a resilient community. A descriptive case study of one resilient Native American community was developed in order to investigate evidence of community resiliency in a four-quadrant theoretical frame and the important lessons that can be adapted or adopted by other Native American communities.

Research Questions

The research questions for this study were: (1) How are some Native American communities coping, even thriving, despite historic patterns of oppression and marginalization? (2) How is resilience facilitated at the community level? (3) What characteristics mark resilient Native American communities? (4) In what ways does cultural resilience contribute to the understanding of community resilience? By examining one Native community, this study has helped to address the gap in the literature by identifying patterns of attitudes and behaviors and other themes that promote resilience in this particular community.

Significance

The information obtained in this study is significant for several reasons. It added to the body of existing knowledge about community resilience. Currently, limited studies are available that address resilience at the community level in Native American

communities. The information gained in this study provided a deeper understanding of what contributes to community resilience in one Native American community. This study can provide practical insights and tools to other Native American communities.

Instances where Native American leadership has tapped into local and cultural strengths and increased capacity to respond to the needs of the community have the potential of being replicated or adapted in other communities. Further, a deeper understanding of what contributes to the community's resilience can assist other tribal communities and their leaders in proactive change rather than operating in a reactive mode. The resilience or strength-based focus of this study brings an alternative perspective on Native American communities that can help counter the pervasive negative images held by the majority society. Broadening the Heartland study to incorporate cultural resilience highlighted unique Native American cultural strengths that promote resilience.

Definition of Terms

Native American. Federal law defines "Indian" as one who is enrolled or registered as a member of a federally recognized tribe or village according to the tribe's eligibility requirements (Definitions, 2005). In this study, the terms Native American, Native, Indian, tribe and tribal are used interchangeably to refer to people with indigenous ancestry in North America.

Native American Community. Native American community is defined as any state or federally recognized tribe. The tribe selected for study defined the focus community eligible for inclusion in this study.

Rural. Rural is defined as: "All territory, population, and housing units located outside of urbanized areas and urban clusters" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Native American communities include reservations, pueblos, and rancharas and Alaskan villages (Zaferatos, 1998). Many are located in isolated, rural areas, due to the reservation system that strove to further white encroachment on Native American lands and separate tribes from the rest of American society. Therefore the focus of this study is on one rural Native American community.

Resilience. Resilience has been defined variously, depending on the discipline. A simple definition of resilience is a measure of how quickly a system recovers from risk or adversity (Buckle, Marsh, & Smale, 2000). A system may be an individual, family, community or subsystem within a community. Resilience has also been defined as a natural, innate, self-adjusting force or capacity within all human beings to seek balance, harmony, and self-actualization (Masten, 2001; Richardson, 2002). By nature of its definition, resilience emerges from a process of interactions between and within a "system" and its surrounding environment (Masten, 2001; Richardson, 2002). Waller (2001) defines resilience as "a multidetermined and ever-changing product of interacting forces within a given ecosystemic context" (p. 290).

<u>Cultural Resilience</u>. Cultural resilience incorporates traditional Native American cultural factors as integral to resilience (HeavyRunner & Marshall, 2003; Long & Nelson, 1999; Montgomery et al., 2000) and addresses them in terms of their influence on the creation of conditions that enhance resilience and aid in overcoming historic and contemporary oppression and discrimination.

<u>Community Resilience</u>. Community resilience has been defined as the "ability of a community to not only respond to adversity, but in so doing reach a higher level of functioning" (Kulig, 2000, p. 375).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The purpose of this study was to describe patterns of behaviors and attitudes in one Native American community that promote community resilience to capture important lessons that can be adapted or adopted by other Native American communities. To best understand the issue of resilience in Native American communities, this literature review encompasses several related topics. First is the concept of resilience itself. Recent literature on resilience at the individual, family, and community levels is reviewed. Then the history of Native American communities and the continued effect of governmental practices in creating and maintaining barriers or risk factors, hindering Native American community resilience is considered. Finally, studies of resilience among Natives at the individual, familial, and community levels are examined.

Overview of Resilience

Simply stated, resilience is a measurement of how quickly a system can adjust and recover from disruption (Buckle, Marsh, & Smale, 2001). That system can be an individual, family or community. A more detailed description of resilience involves the recovery and further growth and development of a system as a result of or, in spite of having experienced significant disruption that threatens healthy growth and development

(Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000, Masten, 2001). Resiliency has been studied from many perspectives and disciplines. Following is a brief overview of previous investigative work on resilience.

Richardson (2002) describes resilience research as having come in three waves. The first wave focused on identifying and describing the qualities that characterize resilient individuals. The driving question behind these early inquiries was, "What characteristics mark people who will thrive in the face of risk factors or adversity versus those who succumb to destructive behaviors?" (Richardson, 2002, p. 308). Myriad characteristics or qualities and protective factors were identified and described as a result including being female, possessing good communication skills and having positive self-esteem, and supportive relationships with at least one adult (Richardson, 2002).

The second wave emphasized the process by which resilient qualities are cultivated through interaction between protective mechanisms and risk factors, both internal and external (Meschke & Patterson, 2003; Richardson, 2002). From this approach resilience is seen as dynamic and responsive rather than static or as fixed traits. Efforts are placed on learning how protective factors contribute to positive adaptation (Luthar et al., 2000). It expands the meaning of resilience to include growth and further strengthening of resilience through coping with challenge or disruption, rather than simply recovering (Richardson, 2002).

Work in the third and most recent wave suggests that resilience is a motivational energy, spiritual force, or human adaptation mechanism common to all human beings, as opposed to an exceptional trait of a few, that drives them to pursue restoration, harmony, and balance (Bonanno, 2004; Richardson, 2002; Tse & Liew, 2004). According to

Masten (2001) resilience is a "common phenomenon that results in most cases from the operation of basic human adaptations systems" (p. 227). Bonanno (2004) states that resilience is in fact "relatively common" (p. 23).

Individual Characteristics of Resilience

Individual resilience is defined as a "dynamic process encompassing positive adaptation within the context of significant adversity" (Luthar et al., 2000, p. 1). Most research on resilience to date has focused on individual resilience. Early research sought to understand why some individuals are more resilient to adversity than others. Studies have identified myriad internal (personal) resilient qualities and external (family, community, and cultural) protective factors that help people recover from adversity. The qualities or attributes most consistently identified with resilient individuals will be discussed first followed by a discussion of familial and community or societal factors.

The personal or internal attributes most commonly identified with resilient individuals have fallen under the broad categories of social competence, autonomy or sense of self-efficacy, problem-solving and planning skills, and a sense of purpose or direction (Benard, 1991; Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005) and in the case of ethnic groups, strong cultural or ethnic identity (Lee, 2003; Lee, 2005; Miller, 1999; Phan, 2003; Waller, 2001).

Social Competence. Social competence includes the ability to establish and maintain caring relationships, be empathic, remain flexible and adaptable, possessing an easy temperament and a sense of humor (Benard, 1991; Richardson, 2002; Waller, 2001). In a 3-year study with 849 suburban junior high school students, Griffin, Scheier, Botvin,

and Diaz (2001) examined the correlation between competency skills and substance abuse. They found that among the youth they surveyed, personal competency skills are protective factors that promote resilience and help prevent substance use.

Autonomy. Individuals who exhibit resilience share feelings of empowerment, have positive self-esteem, and believe that they have some control over their environment and can exercise that control (Benard, 1991; Richardson, 2002). Werner (1995) reported that the resilient Kauai youth she studied were outgoing, autonomous, believed in their own effectiveness and had positive self-concepts. Similarly Kim-Cohen, Moffitt, Caspi, and Taylor (2004), in their study with same-sex twins born to mothers 20 years of age or younger, found an association between resilience and children with outgoing and sociable temperament.

Problem-solving and Planning. Problem-solving and planning skills includes the ability to make decisions, think abstractly and reflectively, ask for and accept help from others and recognize alternative ways to solve problems (Benard, 1991; Richardson, 2002; Waller, 2001). Dillon, Liem, and Gore (2003) examined a diverse sample of 182 Boston area high school dropouts to find out how the more resilient subjects "got back on track" (p. 429). Among other things, they found that the on-track group more was more likely to have an active coping style and to accept help from others.

Sense of Purpose. Having a sense of purpose and future includes healthy expectancies, hopefulness, goal-directedness, and achievement or success orientation (Benard, 1991; Richardson, 2002; Waller, 2001). In their study with 111 mothers with children with disabilities (cerebral palsy, spina bifida, or diabetes), Horton and Wallander

(2001) found hope, as well as social support, to be resilience factors against psychological distress. Wyman et al. (1999) interviewed parents of 122 urban children who were 7-to -9 years old and had been exposed to multiple risk factors. Parents of more resilient children (classified as such based on various screening measures) viewed their children as competent, optimistic about their futures, and having positive self-concept.

As research evolved, researchers recognized that individual resilience is interrelated with the larger systems with which the individual interacts such as the family and community, and that focusing exclusively on the individual ignores these relationships and processes (Benard, 1991; Luthar et al, 2000; Waller, 2001; Walsh, 2003). Building on research done with individuals, research expanded to include families, community and the broader social context.

Resilience at the Family Level

Johnson (1995) defines family resilience as a "family's ability to use its inherent strengths to challenge and triumph over diversity and, in doing so, emerge stronger and more confident" (p. 318). McCubbin and McCubbin (1988) define family resilience as "characteristics, dimension, and properties of families which help families to be resistant to disruption in the face of change and adaptive in the face of crisis situations" (p. 247). Many researchers have identified various protective factors that promote resilient families. McCubbin and McCubbin (1988) report the most prominent factors in their studies are family celebrations, family hardiness or a sense of control over their lives, family time and routines which contribute to togetherness, and family traditions that

honor the importance of family experiences. Walsh (2003) presents a family resilience framework that identifies three domains of family functioning that are crucial contributors to family resilience. They are: (1) family belief systems – the way the family perceives and approaches challenges. Resilient families approach adversity as a shared challenge that they will work through together. Included under belief systems are: hope, an optimistic view of life, an ability to see their distress as normal under the circumstances, and a sense of being connected with their cultural and religious traditions; (2) organizational patterns – regardless of the family form, resilient families are flexible, cohesive or closely connected, and are able to utilize social and economic resources; and (3) communication and problem-solving processes – resilient families rely on three communication processes during times of stress: clear communication, the ability to openly express emotion, and collaborative problem-solving.

In their study of indicators of family strengths that promote resilience with 373 low-income families, Orthner, Jones-Sanpei, and Williamson (2004) found that communication, problem-solving skills and abilities, family cohesiveness, and adequate social support predicted more positive outcomes. Lee et al. (2004) conducted in-depth interviews with 11 parents with a chronically ill child. They identified a variety of conceptual attributes of family resilience that they organized into four dimensions. The first dimension is family characteristics considered to reside within the family including continuity, spirituality or faith, a positive outlook on life, maturity, and family self-esteem. The second dimension addresses the orientation of family members. It includes the family's ability be flexible and reorganize, connectedness among family members, the ability to communicate openly and express their emotions and come to mutual

understandings. The third dimension describes how the family responds to stress. It includes acceptance of critical situations, a sense of control or manageability, and a desire to maintain equilibrium or balance. The fourth dimension, external orientation, includes the ability and resourcefulness of the family to mobilize and collaborate with external support systems and resources (Lee et al., 2004).

Greeff and Van Der Merwe (2004) studied 98 single-parent families in South Africa in order to identify resilience factors. Based on one open-ended question and self-report questionnaires, they found that the most important factors promoting resilience were support provided to each other by family members, support from extended family, faith or religion, and social support from friends, neighborhood, church and other institutions.

Resilience at the Community Level

While families are seen as the most important unit to fostering resilience in individuals, the community in which a family resides must likewise be capable of supporting positive and healthy functioning. Similar to individuals and families, communities have identifiable characteristics and undergo processes that enhance their ability, thus the ability of the people living in the community, to recover from setbacks (Larson & Dearmont, 2002). How the community as a whole responds to adversity plays an important role in the continued healthy state of the community itself, and its members. Additionally, research on community events shows that there are benefits to collective response such as increased stress resistance, better coping and reduced psychological distress (Lyons, Mickelson, Sullivan, & Coyne, 1998).

Community resilience is the ability of the community to collectively respond to adversity and not only recover, but also reach higher levels of functioning (Chenoweth & Stehlik, 2001; Kulig, 2000). The presence of protective factors within the community can buffer the effects of the disruption and promote not only recovery, but also further growth and development (Benard, 1997; Kulig, 2000; Waller, 2001). How political and power structures are organized and make decisions, economic trends, and community values and norms can create conditions that either enhance or hinder resilience (Buckle et al., 2001; Centre for Community Enterprise, 2000; Luther & Wall, 1991; Wall, 1999).

Several researchers have identified characteristics or protective factors within communities that buffer the effects of disruption and promote resilience. In general, resilient communities have been characterized as those that are responsive to the needs of their members and provide effective leadership, have a strong infrastructure, provide economic and employment resources (Buckle et al., 2001; Centre for Community Enterprise, 2000; Luther & Wall, 1991; Wall, 1999), possess adequate social, educational, and cultural resources, provide opportunities for membership, participation, and a sense of community (Centre for Community Enterprise, 2000; Kulig, 2000; Luther & Wall, 1991; Tse & Liew, 2004; Wall, 1999; Waller, 2001), provide flexible and responsive educational experiences (Benard, 1997; Waller, 2001), and exhibit optimism or hope (Centre for Community Enterprise, 2000; Kulig, 2000).

The Atlantic Health Promotion Research Unit (1999) found social or community support, community connectedness or a sense of community, involvement with and participation in community functioning, adequate educational services, and pulling together to cope as a collective or community as the major protective factors promoting

resilience in three small coastal communities in Atlantic Canada. Related work in the area of community capacity reveals similar findings. In their study with four Toronto communities, Jackson et al. (2003) identified the following as positive indicators of community capacity, which they define as the potential of a community to act in its best interest: (1) the community is inclusive and welcoming; (2) active participation from all segments of the community in the various aspects of community life; and (3) people have a sense of control and ownership in community decision making. Looking at community resilience in relation to assessing a community's capacity to recover from disaster the following variables have been found predictive of a community's resilience to hazard effects: a sense of community, a problem-solving approach to coping (Bachrach & Zautra, 1985; Miller, Paton, & Johnston, 1999; Paton & Johnston, 2001), and self-efficacy or the perception that the community is capable of performing tasks needed for recovery (Lindell & Whitney, 2000; Miller et al., 1999).

This study proposes to explore resilience in one Native American community based on the Heartland Study (Luther & Wall, 1991; Wall, 1999) of thriving rural communities. Initially, they examined five resilient (what they termed thriving) rural, largely Anglo, farm communities that were surviving the mid 1980's farm crisis when others were dying out (Wall, 1999). Through a series of interviews with community leaders and members they explored four broad aspects of each community: (1) quality of life; (2) local economy (3) leadership and citizen participation; and (4) planning for the future (Luther & Wall, 1991; Wall, 1999). They describe the resilient qualities or characteristics shared by these communities as clues to rural community survival (see Table 2).

Table 2

TWENTY CLUES TO RURAL COMMUNITY SURVIVAL

- 1. Evidence of community pride.
- 2. Emphasis on quality in business and community life.
- 3. Willingness to invest in future.
- 4. Participatory approach to community decision making.
- 5. Cooperative community spirit.
- 6. Realistic appraisal of future opportunities.
- 7. Awareness of competitive positioning.
- 8. Knowledge of the physical environment.
- 9. Active economic development program.
- 10. Deliberate transition of power to a younger generation of leaders.
- 11. Acceptance of women in leadership roles.
- 12. Strong belief in and support for education.
- 13. Problem-solving approach to providing health care.
- 14. Strong multi-generational family orientation.
- 15. Strong presence of traditional institutions that are integral to community life.
- 16. Attention to sound and well-maintained infrastructure.
- 17. Careful use of fiscal resources.
- 18. Sophisticated use of information resources.
- 19. Willingness to seek help from the outside.
- 20. Conviction that, in the long run, you have to do it yourself.

Each of these clues can be organized around the four broad areas of community. Again, the clues are often overlapping, with some clues relevant to more than one community area. Clues one through five, and thirteen through fifteen are linked with quality of life, clues six through nine, and seventeen through nineteen are related to local economy, clues ten and twelve address planning for the future, and clues ten, eleven, and eighteen through twenty are all also relevant to leadership and citizen participation.

The current study looked for evidence of each of these clues as well as any "cultural resiliency clues" in the Native American community under study through a series of open-ended questions adapted from the questions utilized by Heartland.

Similar to research trends with mainstream Americans, resilience research with Native Americans has been largely with individuals and to some extent with families. Very little has been done in the area of community resilience. Since by its definition resiliency involves the element of risk or adversity and the positive response and adjustment to it (Atlantic Health Promotion Research Unit, 1999), a brief historical overview of Native American communities and the adversities virtually all of them have had to deal with is necessary.

Historical Overview of Native American Communities

Historically, Native American communities suffered tremendous disruption. As more and more immigrants arrived on the North American continent, the demand for land grew and grew. Until the turn of the 19th century, the gain of Native American land was accomplished largely through warfare, termination, and forced removal. Additionally, the reservation system and assimilation focused policies fundamentally altered tribal

social structures and severely diminished tribal ability to govern their communities and maintain the well-being of community members (Adams, 1998, Zaferatos, 1998). The net effect was huge losses of land base, massive social disruption, forced dependency on governmental aid, and stark poverty (Zaferatos, 1998). The social disruption brought about by oppressive practices and the deficit orientation toward Native Americans held by the majority culture has resulted in pervasive negative images and the devaluing of the strengths inherent in Native American communities (Long & Nelson, 1999).

Despite the fundamental restructuring and forced dependency resulting from federal policies and the reservation system, researchers such as HeavyRunner and Morris (1997) and HeavyRunner and Marshall (2003) have found what many Native American people know from their own experience – that Native American individuals and communities continue to show tremendous resilience. The fact that tribes still exist as sovereign nations in distinct tribal groups with much of their cultures intact testifies to this resilience (Bergstrom et al., 2003). Further, a number of tribes have begun to break away from the cycle of poverty and dependence on the federal government and are developing stable and sustainable governments (Begay et al., 1997). Among these tribes, social problems have declined and employment rates have risen as reservation economies have stabilized. Further, successful gaming is not the common denominator (Cornell & Kalt, 1997).

Cultural Resilience

One explanation of the resilience observed among Native Americans is cultural resilience. Clauss-Ehlers (2004) defines cultural resilience as the "cultural background,

supports, values, and environmental experiences that facilitate the process of overcoming adversity" (p. 29). Cultural resilience, as explained by HeavyRunner and Marshall (2003), stems from ancient cultural beliefs, values and practices that support, nurture and encourage Native American individuals, families and communities and are still in use today. The theory of cultural resilience embraces the notion of traditional cultural ways as strengths that buffer and help to over come the negative influences of oppression, poverty, and other disruptive factors (HeavyRunner & Marshall, 2003).

Cultural Resilience at the Individual Level

A number of studies provide evidence that ethnic identity and other cultural factors serve as resiliency factors for Native American individuals. Napholz (2000) in her interviews with 8 urban Native American women found that incorporating culturally traditional roles into their contemporary lives was an effective means of finding balance to their multiple-role lives.

In a study of Native Hawaiians living in a rural community, Austin (2004) conducted 2 focus groups (6 subjects in the first group and 5 in the second group) and surveyed 88 others. Findings suggest that ethnic pride is an important protective factor against experiencing violent behavior and in encouraging resilience.

LaFromboise and Medoff (2004) identify spirituality, participation in traditional activities and the extended family as three major areas of traditional Native American culture that act as protective factors and enhance resilience for Native American youth.

Both the extended family and involvement in traditional activities provide opportunities

for participation, a sense of community and belonging while spirituality provides a sense of hope, meaning, and purpose.

Other researchers have examined the effect of cultural resilience on school success among Native American children and youth. In a study with 120 Native students from the United States and Canada, key cultural factors found to promote resilience were connections to traditional Native American spirituality, having a supportive network that includes family and school, a strong tribal identity, feelings of belonging to a Native community and participation in community culture (Bergstrom, Cleary, & Peacock, 2003). Whitbeck et al. (2001) examined factors affecting academic success of 196 fifth through eighth grade Native American children in the upper Midwest. They found that enculturation (involvement with traditional Native culture, activities and spirituality) is an important resiliency factor as demonstrated by school success. Other factors positively associated with school success found in this study were maternal warmth, involvement in extracurricular activities, and self-esteem.

Native American values and practices have also been connected to resilience in Native American college students, demonstrated by persistence in academics. These values and practices include: the utilization of internal dialog that draws upon traditional wisdom of the tribe or elders to encourage ones self to persist; using traditional ways of learning that extends beyond the classroom such as learning through observation and direct experience; drawing upon traditional cultural ways to help bridge between the culture of their tribe and that of academia; and the practice of traditional network behaviors to build an extended support network of family, tribal members, and other Native American students on campus (Montgomery et al., 2000).

<u>Cultural Resilience at the Family Level</u>

A few researchers have explored cultural resilience in Native American families. In their work with 20 Native educators, HeavyRunner and Morris (1997) identified spirituality, family strengths, elders, ceremonies, the oral traditions, tribal identity, and support networks as cultural factors essential to preventing alcohol and drug abuse in Native American families and communities.

Cross (1998) describes Native American family functioning through a relational model which has its roots in traditional Native culture, and consists of mental, physical, spiritual, and contextual (culture, community, family, etc.) factors that work interdependently to support family resilience (see Figure 2). The quadrants represent the four aspects of family functioning that must work together toward harmony or balance (Cross, 1998). Context represents the environment in which the family lives and functions and includes community and culture. Embedded within the traditional culture are the heritage and history of the family, which provides them with identity and a sense of belonging. The mind includes cognition, learning and emotion. Discussion of this quadrant is on traditional Native values that enhance resilience such as the values of "getting by" and "not needing" (Cross, 1998, p. 52). The spiritual includes both the churches and the traditional Native spiritual practices that uplift and encourage in times of hardship. Finally the physical represents the family structure and roles. Kinship or the extended family is a supportive structure that sustains family members and family functioning. Viewing family resilience from the relational model focuses attention on the interrelationships of the family and their environment or context from a more traditional, holistic perspective rather than looking at it linearly (Cross, 1998).

The things listed below are meant to be examples only. All of life and existence is included in the circle. Balance between all four of these parts brings harmony and harmony is the same as health. Nothing in the circle can change without every other thing in the circle changing as well. The circle is in constant change due to the cycles of the days, weeks and seasons and because of development and changing experience. We are said to be ill if the circle becomes out of balance. Lack of balance causes "dis-ease". In this way of looking at health or mental health, healing may come from any or all of the four parts of the circle.

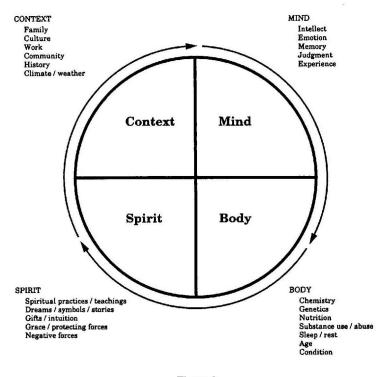


Figure 2 Relational Worldview Model

Note. From "Understanding Family Resiliency From a Relational World" View by T. Cross, 1998, *Resiliency In Native American And Immigrant Families*, p. 148, in H.I. McCubbin, E.A. Thompson, A.I. Thompson, & J.E. Fromer (Eds.), Thousand Oaks, CA: Copyright 1998 by Sage. Reprinted with permission (see Appendix B).

In a study based on the National American Indian Adolescent Health Survey of 13, 454 students attending on-reservation schools, Cummins, Ireland, Resnick, and Blum (1999) found that family caring was the strongest correlate of emotional health for both males and females.

While few studies of resilient Native American families were found, studies of resilience with other culturally diverse families offer useful insights. Johnson (1995) interviewed 15 families from culturally diverse backgrounds including 5 African American, 3 first-generation Mexican American, 2 Central American, 3 Native American, and 3 Asian American. He identified 10 resiliency mechanisms common to the families. They are: (1) the belief of the family as sacred, that is, the family unit itself is sacred and a vessel for maintaining and perpetuating traditions, rituals, stories and other sacred myths (2) the vital role of the extended family in providing love and economic and emotional support; (3) the family as a source of spiritual support; (4) the role of elders as the keepers of traditional wisdom and of passing it down to the younger generation, often through story-telling; (5) the extended family acts as a safety net; 6) the family unit provides socialization and communication; (7) the family acts as a buffer for its members against the detrimental effects of racism and oppression; (8) use of native languages to protect and preserve heritage; (9) the family eases acculturation stress; and (10) the family nurtures the resilience of individual members.

Cultural Resilience at the Community Level

Very few researchers have examined resilience in Native American communities.

One aspect of community resilience, however, is a robust economy. Researchers with the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development (Begay et al., 1997) examined why some Native American communities were able to achieve sustainable economic development when others were not. Begun in the mid 1980's the Harvard Project has conducted comparative and case research with nearly 70 tribes to learn more

about why some tribes were experiencing economic success while others were not. Three factors emerged as key to successful economic development. First, sovereignty is essential. Tribal economic development strategies are more successful when tribes are self-governed than when controlled from the outside. Second, tribes must have capable institutions that can exercise their sovereignty effectively. This includes fair conflict resolution, management of businesses independent of the influence of elected tribal officials; and implementation of policies that are advantageous to their strategic plan. The third factor is cultural match. Not only is culture itself a resource to tribal governments, congruence between the form of government of a particular tribe and the community being governed also mattered to success (Begay et al., 1997; Cornell & Kalt, 2003; Jorgensen & Taylor, 2000).

Summary

Resiliency has been extensively examined at the individual and family level.

Studies on individuals and families have identified protective or supportive aspects of the environment that serve as protective or resiliency factors and promote resilience in individuals and families. It stands to reason that many of these factors such as community support and community connectedness are resiliency factors to the community itself. Communities are entities that are greater than the sum of its parts, and can themselves be assessed for the presence or absence of resilience and what characteristics and qualities mark them as resilient. Similar to individuals and families, those few studies that have looked at resilience on a community wide level found that indeed resilient communities share some common characteristics. However, it is clear

from the literature presented that studies of resilience at the community level, particularly in Native American communities, are lacking.

A review of the historical disruption to Native American communities is critical to an understanding of the resilience in said communities. All Native American communities have historically been disrupted through warfare, removal policies, and the reservation system. The effects of this disruption are still seen and felt in their communities today. Nevertheless, there is evidence of recovery and resilience in some Native American communities. Cultural factors, or cultural resilience, has been identified as influential in promoting resilience among Native American and other ethnic groups at the individual, family and community levels. This is just one factor that appears to promote resilience at the community level. Looking deeper into other factors that promote resilience at the community level will aid in addressing the limited number of studies that currently exist.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

The purpose of this study was to explore the behaviors, attitudes and characteristics in one rural Native community that promote community resilience. In light of a history of displacement, dependency, and marginalization of Native people, and its continued effect on the physical, social, and economic well-being of entire tribal communities, it is vital the local and cultural strengths of Native communities be documented, described and analyzed to contribute to scant research, expand the concept of resilience, and to refine and broaden its application to an historically marginalized population. Doing so offers potentially practical applications to other Native American communities. In this chapter research participants, instruments used, the design and procedures followed, and data analysis are described.

Site Selection

One Native community was selected for study. It was selected through a purposeful sampling strategy, which allowed the selection of a specific community for study because it is an example of a resilient community (Patton, 2002). First, through word of mouth, one community was identified as a possible study site. Next, available census data including educational attainment, employment status and poverty status was

collected and comparisons were made between the possible site study and other Native communities in the surrounding area and with the total Native population in Oklahoma. The Citizen Potawatomi Nation had higher educational attainment, higher rates of employment, and lower levels of poverty among families than the comparison groups, and thus was selected for study.

While located in close proximity to the city of Shawnee, one of the interview participants reported in post interview conversation that the jurisdictional area of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation begins south of the North Canadian River, which puts them just outside the city of Shawnee. The rest of their jurisdictional area is very rural, and therefore the Citizen Potawatomi Nation is considered rural and qualifies for rural grants from federal governmental agencies such as the United States Department of Agriculture and the United States Department of Health and Human Services. Secondly, the fact that the Citizen Potawatomi Nation's jurisdictional area is located within their original reservation boundaries, and reservations are, by definition considered rural, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation is considered rural (R. Brown [pseudonym], personal communication, 03/21/2006).

Criteria for selection were based on theory-derived criteria of a resilient community. One indicator of a resilient community is a sound economy (Buckle et al., 2001, Luther & Wall, 1991). Therefore, relevant economic factors indicating the state of resilience are the percentage of people in employment, growth in the employment rate and income levels. Other indicators of community resilience are tied to educational factors (Luther & Wall, 1991; Waller, 2001). Since it has been demonstrated that cultural

resilience is linked to persistence in academics (Bergstrom et al., 2003; Whitbeck et al., 2001), evidence of educational attainment was sought.

Gaining Entrance

Once a community was selected, the researcher, who is Native American, utilized the network behavior common in Indian country to gain entrance into the community. This consisted of networking with other Native people to find and meet a community member who could act as a guide. Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, and Allen (1993) assert that the "keys to access any setting are in the hands of certain gatekeepers, or those who have the authority to allow one to enter their world" (p. 56). An acquaintance of the researcher who is an employee of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation facilitated introductions to the Business Committee Vice Chair. The Vice Chair then acted as the community liaison, since it was felt that obtaining permission would be more likely if a trusted member acted as a liaison between the Business Committee and the researcher. The Vice Chair proposed a resolution at a regularly scheduled Business Committee meeting giving the researcher permission to conduct her study with the Citizen Potawatomi Nation (see Appendix C). The resolution was passed by a vote of four in approval and one abstaining. Upon approval, the Vice Chair identified the majority of participants for the study and facilitated the scheduling of meetings with each individual.

It was anticipated that the ethnicity of the researcher would offer both distinct advantages and some disadvantages. First, being an insider as another Native American, offered the advantage of reduced distrust and hostility towards outsiders and research (Zinn, 1979). Distrust of outside researchers stems from past experience with Anglo

researchers who have "systematically (if unintentionally) exploited minority peoples" (Zinn, 1979, p. 211) and given nothing in return.

Giving back to the community in which the research was conducted was considered of great importance to the researcher, both from a cultural and ethical standpoint. Traditional Native American values and practices promote generosity and reciprocity. The researcher went into a community and asked them to give their time, knowledge, and expertise. It is expected that she give back. Sharing of findings is an important means of giving back, and the Citizen Potawatomi Nation requested a copy of the finished product as a means of giving back.

Another advantage of being an insider was that certain aspects of the Native American experience and culture are unique and may be "difficult if not impossible for a member of the dominant group to grasp empirically and formulate conceptually" (Zinn, 1979, p. 212). Having a shared background provided a similar perspective of the social context and allowed the researcher to ask questions and gather information that others, outside of the culture, probably could not have (Zinn, 1979).

While similarities among tribes exist, the differences are equally important. One of the important areas of diversity among Native Americans is their tribal affiliation.

Many Native American people place great emphasis on their particular tribal membership, as it is an integral part of their identity. One is a Lakota or Creek or Seminole first, and a Native American second (Garrett & Garrett, 1994). The researcher was an outsider based on tribal affiliation. Nor was she a member of the community in which the research was conducted. This necessitated the aid of a guide who was a trusted tribal member to act as a liaison.

Finally, an aspect of this project itself that helped to reduce distrust is the strengths perspective from which it was conducted. Much research with minorities, particularly with Native Americans, has been from a deficit perspective. Often, from an outside perspective, cultural differences were misinterpreted and seen as dysfunction or pathology. To explore the resilience of the community focused on what is working well, rather than what is not working.

Some of the disadvantages the researcher anticipated were being so close to the cultural context that she may take for granted and not note as significant something an outsider would see as important (Merton, 1972). On the other side of that coin, she may make assumptions about the meaningfulness of an event based on her perspective as a Native American without checking out what it means to the participants. To avoid this, member checks were conducted. Two members of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation were asked to read chapter four, the findings of the study and to provide feedback on the accuracy of the reported findings and the interpretation of the findings. Further, Zinn (1979) warns of unique disadvantages of the insider such as overdependence or excessive expectations of reciprocity from an insider. This was not the case in my experience.

Participants

Twenty interviews were conducted at the Citizen Potawatomi Nation (CPN) headquarters located in Shawnee, Oklahoma between September 2005 and January 2006. Additionally, two archival interviews conducted with 1 employee and 1 elected official in 2003 for a class project, were included in the data set. Current interviewees included 2 elected leaders, 15 employees, 1 independent contractor, and 1 elder of the Citizen

Potawatomi Nation. The ethnic or racial breakdown of all participants was 11 members of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation, 6 Natives from other tribes or nations, and 5 non-Indian or Anglos. They too were selected through purposeful sampling strategy. That is, those who were known to have in-depth knowledge of the activities of the community, such as elected officials and traditional leaders, and employees were selected for interviews.

The purposeful sampling strategy helped to ensure that the sample was information-rich and from which "insights and in-depth understanding rather than empirical generalizations" (Patton, 2002, p. 230) were gained. Subsequently, a snowballing or chain sampling strategy was utilized in order to gain multiple perspectives. Initial interviewees were asked to identify other community members and representatives who knew about the community for further interviews. It was expected recommended informants would initially be divergent as possible sources were recommended and then converge into the few key names that are repeatedly suggested (Patton, 2002). However, few new names emerged that were different from those identified by the Vice Chair. No interviews were conducted with Citizen Potawatomi Nation members located in the nine regions (see discussion of regions in Chapter IV: Findings) since they do not reside in the historical reservation area or community of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation and are therefore unable to observe first hand the daily operations of the Nation.

When considering sample size in a qualitative study, generally, it is recommended that sample selection extend to the point of redundancy (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) or saturation (Creswell, 1998). Redundancy or saturation occurs when no new information

is learned from subsequent interviewees (Creswell, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The focus of data gathering is on information richness rather than information volume (Erlandson et al., 1993). While there are no rules for sample size in qualitative studies (Patton, 2002), Creswell (1998) suggests that 20-30 interviews are typical in order to reach saturation, at which point no new information is being added. The researcher knew saturation had been reached when she was able to anticipate the response to certain questions such as how future leaders emerge and what the economic strengths of the community were.

Design and Procedures

Given the focus of this study is the perception of community members of their community's resilience, a qualitative research design was determined most fitting, since qualitative methods facilitate in-depth study of a particular issue or setting (Patton, 2002). Further, qualitative methods focus on the "socially constructed nature of reality" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, p. 13), and thus work to preserve the social, political, historical, and cultural setting - the context - in which the phenomenon takes place, as it is crucial to the analysis, interpretation and understanding of raw data (Patton, 2002).

An ethnographic case study method was employed where there is one unit of analysis, in this case, the community. Yin (1994) defines the case study research method as:

an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its reallife context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. In other words, you would use the case study method because you deliberately wanted to cover contextual conditions – believing that they might be highly pertinent to your phenomenon of study (p. 13).

Beyond a mere description, case study seeks a holistic, deep understanding of cultural systems of action from the perspective of those inside the system (Tellis, 1997). It is best suited to situations in which a how or why question is being asked about "a contemporary set of events over which the investigator has little or no control" (Yin, 1994, p. 1).

A major strength of case studies is the use of triangulation. Triangulation is the use of multiple strategies for collecting diverse forms of data that all provide insights to the phenomenon under study (Erlandson et al., 1993; Patton, 2002). The strategies can include interviews, documentation review, and field observations (Patton, 2002). Triangulation was accomplished in this study through interviewing, direct observation, and document analysis.

Interviewing Procedure

Prior to the actual interview all participants were provided with a brief verbal and written description of the project and consent form. In-depth, face-to-face interviews were then conducted which lasted for approximately 1-1 1/2 hours. All interviews were conducted at a time and place of the interviewee's preference. Interviews were tape-recorded. This helped to ensure that everything was captured and improved accuracy.

Using Luther and Wall's (1991) model for community case study research and analysis in the four broad areas as stated, open-ended questions were asked to elicit people's knowledge, experiences, and perceptions of their community's resilience. These four areas were matched to the holistic model of community as follows:

- Spiritual Quality of Life
- Physical Local Economy
- Social Leadership and Citizen Participation
- Intellectual Planning for the Future

A modified version of Luther and Wall's (1991) interview protocol was developed to guide the interviews and make cross-interview analysis possible (see Appendix D). Modifications were largely confined to a slight altering of wording to better reflect a Native setting. For example, the question "what do you see as the strengths of this community" was altered to read; "what do you see as the strengths of the tribal community."

Observation

Observation is an important source of validation of what has been gained from interviews. While conducting interviews, I was given an office out of which to operate, so I was able to be in the Citizen Potawatomi Nation Headquarters and observe the interactions of the various departmental staff as they went about conducting their daily business. This direct, personal contact with and observation of participants in their natural setting provided first-hand contextualization of the subjects and their thoughts and behaviors. It also provided the opportunity to see things participants may miss because it is second nature to them, or they are unwilling to discuss in an interview (Patton, 2002). Further, direct observation allowed me to move beyond the perceptions of those interviewed (Patton, 2002) and gain access to the real time inner-workings of the community (Erlandson et al., 1993).

Documents

Documental data are a "particularly rich source of information" (Patton, 2002, p. 293). Available descriptive documentary data were collected for further analysis. This included the Citizen Potawatomi Nation constitution, organizational chart, newspaper, official webpage, an abbreviated Citizen Potawatomi Nation biography, the 2001-2002 and 2004 Statements of Economic Impact, and numerous departmental overviews, annual reports, and other program literature. Document analysis helped to support and/or expand on evidence from interviews and observations (Yin, 1994) and provided leads for further investigation (Patton, 2002).

Establishing Trustworthiness

This qualitative study utilized several techniques to establish the trustworthiness of the data and the credibility of the analysis. External validity, referred to as transferability was established through, among other things, the use of thick descriptions, purposive sampling (Erlandson et al., 1993), and generalization back to theory (Yin, 1994). Thick descriptions, or heavily detailed descriptions of data collected in the field, were utilized to establish evidential links between data and findings (Yin, 1994). A purposive sampling method that sought information richness and maximum variation of respondents was also utilized during this study. Further the process was continued until redundancy of information occurred. Finally, research findings were generalized back to the literature on resilient communities to see if the patterns or themes that emerged from the data matched those outlined in the literature (Yin, 1994).

Internal validity or credibility was accomplished through several techniques including triangulation, prolonged engagement in the field, and member checks (Erlandson et al., 1993). Triangulation, when utilized as a tool for analysis, addresses credibility through the provision of several measures of the same phenomenon allowing one to test for consistency in results (Patton, 2002; Tellis, 1997; Yin, 1994). Triangulation both enhances in-depth understanding through multiple sources and aids in establishing if the data gathered is supported or disconfirmed (Erlandson et al., 1993; Patton, 2002). It is believed that 20 interviews and the field observations provided enough time in the field to "understand daily events and relationships that are most relevant" (Erlandson et al., 1993, p. 30) to the study. To further strengthen credibility a member check was conducted. Two informants, both members of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation were asked to read the draft case study and offer feedback on the accuracy of facts and interpretation. Both indicated the findings accurately reflected the Citizen Potawatomi Nation community. One respondent asked if there were no negative findings. As a result, a discussion on what could be better was added to Chapter IV.

Analysis

Data analysis in qualitative research is ongoing (Erlandson et al., 1993; Patton, 2002). In this study, as data were gathered, they were analyzed to ascertain any themes that emerged or recurred. Initial analysis was the basis for tentative working hypotheses that served to refine data collection procedures (Erlandson et al, 1993; Patton, 2002). Working hypotheses were further developed through member checking for accuracy, and document analysis for multiple sources of information that support or disconfirm

hypotheses. Constant comparisons of subsequent data were made with previous data to identify consistencies as well as discrepancies.

Case study analysis was conducted. This involved organizing the raw data from the community into a case for in-depth study (Patton, 2002). The unit of analysis was the community. A three-step, largely inductive, process outlined by Erlandson et al. (1993) was utilized. The first step was unitizing the data which involves breaking it down into the "smallest piece of information that can stand alone" (Erlandson et al., 1993, p. 117). Units may consist of a few words up to a complete paragraph. To unitize the data, verbatim transcriptions of tape-recorded interviews, field notes, and documentary data underwent a careful line-by-line content analysis and the main idea in each unit was identified.

The second step was emergent analytical theme designation. Units were sorted into themes as patterns emerged. The interview protocol, structured to address each of the four major areas of community (quality of life, economics, leadership and citizen participation and planning for the future) as identified by Heartland Model (Luther & Wall, 1991) provided a tentative guide for inclusion or exclusion of emergent themes within the four community categories. Themes were identified by significant individual instances as well as from multiple occurrences or discussions on a particular topic, omission of items that are expected to emerge based on theory, and declaration or items identified by the participants themselves (LeCompte, 2000). To the extent possible, terms used by the participants themselves formed the basis of analytical themes. In this way, themes were allowed to emerge from the data. Finally, research findings were

generalized back to the literature on resilient communities to see if the patterns or themes that emerged from the data match those outlined in the literature.

The third step planned was negative case analysis. Here, exceptions or cases that were divergent from the working hypotheses were to be considered to aid in testing the authenticity, accuracy, and appropriateness of the findings and developing alternative or expanded interpretations (Erlandson et al., 1993; Patton, 2002). However, none of the interviewees differed markedly in their responses that they might be considered divergent; therefore no negative case analysis was conducted.

Summary

The primary goal of the analysis was to come to understand the community as a whole (Stake, 1995) and to begin to understand the relationship of the parts in the creation of a whole. The methodology described in this chapter utilized both technical or procedural and creative processes (Patton, 2002) to arrive at that understanding. How the community and respondents were identified, and the verbatim transcription of interviews and unitizing the data are all established procedural methods that supported the trustworthiness and credibility of this qualitative study. Patton (2002, p. 513) states, "Because the researcher is the instrument of qualitative inquiry, the quality of the result depends heavily on the quality of that human being." Drawing upon shared understandings and experiences as another Native American and the use of creative thinking played an important role in the analysis, interpretation and reporting of the data as themes were explored and meaning was assigned to the findings. To test the accuracy of the findings, member checks were conducted with two respondents who have

extensive knowledge of the history and culture of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation as well as the present day life and operations. The feedback received from both was positive.

Again, both felt that the findings as reported accurately reflected the community life at the Citizen Potawatomi Nation.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

This chapter presents the findings of the data collected at the Citizen Potawatomi Nation located in Shawnee, Oklahoma associated with resiliency within a Native American community. These findings represent the analysis of multiple forms of data including personal interviews, community documents, and personal observation. The discussion begins with a brief overview of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation followed by a description of the themes that emerged from the analysis. The themes are contextualized within the four main quadrants identified in the holistic community model used to guide the interview and identify factors that influenced resilience and positive adjustment in this Native American community, according to the theoretical framework of the study (see Figure 1, Chapter I). All interviewees' names have been changed and pseudonyms assigned to protect their confidentiality. Further no one has been identified by position or job title within the Citizen Potawatomi Nation.

Overview of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation

Originally from the Great Lakes region, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation (CPN) was forcibly removed in the 1830's to a reservation in Kansas (Edmunds, 1978). In 1867, seeking better opportunities for its people, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation (then

known as the Mission Band), sold their land in Kansas and relocated to their present location near Shawnee, Oklahoma (Edmunds, 1978). Currently, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation has a jurisdictional area of approximately 30 miles by 30 miles, bounded by the north bank of the North Canadian River, the south bank of the South Canadian River, the Pottawatomie-Seminole County boundary on the east, and the Indian Meridian on the west (see Appendix E).

In addition to their headquarter in Shawnee (the area of interest for this study), the Citizen Potawatomi Nation has formally established nine regional offices throughout the United States to facilitate contact with and delivery of services to Nation members living in these areas. These nine regions are concentrations of Citizen Potawatomi who historically relocated due to the dust bowl era of the 1930's (Citizen Potawatomi Nation, 2006) as well as due to federal relocation programs of the 1950's. Examining the tribal rolls to determine where the largest concentrations of Citizen Potawatomi Nation were located identified the regions. Weston (pseudonym, 01/25/2006) explained: "What they [the leadership] do is they take a map of the United States and they color code it by zip code with the highest concentrations of Potawatomi Indians." Each region has an office staffed by a Citizen Potawatomi Nation member, whose responsibility is to develop contacts with other members in their geographical area. These offices serve as an extension of the main headquarters in Shawnee, Oklahoma and as such allow for increased access to services to members living outside the historical reservation jurisdiction. Some of the services available to members living in the regions include medical assistance for elders, higher educational scholarships, enrollment assistance to those seeking tribal membership, burial insurance, and prescriptions at cost (Citizen

Potawatomi Nation, 2004a). The enrolled membership of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation is approximately 26,000. Membership is based on proof of being a descendent of persons who were enrolled or were entitled to enrollment on the official census roll of 1937 (CPN Const., art. III, \$ 1). About 8,000 of the enrolled members live in Oklahoma. The rest are, by and large, located in the nine regions.

All Citizen Potawatomi Nation members, 18 years of age or older constitute the Citizen Potawatomi Nation Indian Council. The governmental structure of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation includes executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The Chairman, Vice Chairman, and Secretary/Treasurer make up the Executive Committee (CPN Const., art. VI, \$ 1). The legislative branch, which is also the Business Committee, is comprised of the Executive Committee and two Councilmen, who are also elected (CPN Const, art. VII, \$ 1). The judicial branch is comprised of one supreme court and other inferior courts as established by Tribal law (CPN Const., art. XI, \$ 1).

The Citizen Potawatomi Nation Headquarters is a beautiful building. To me, it is very clear that this tribe has pride in their community, which shows in their facilities.

The buildings and grounds are well maintained. These appear to be visible signs that they feel good about what they are doing. Pictures by Woody Crumbo, a well-known Citizen Potawatomi artist, are hanging in every room. Several rooms have border paper, placed about mid way up the wall, that has differing Native designs such as geometric patterns or pictures of tipis, horses, etc. Two receptionists sit at a large central desk in an open foyer.

Thirty years ago, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation operated out of a trailer house with only \$500 in the bank. Today, with all their assets and holdings, the Citizen

Potawatomi Nation is worth over 200 million. In the last 5 years they have grown from a 40 million dollar entity to their current 200 million today. What brought about such phenomenal change? I wanted to know how this Native American community is coping with the fundamental restructuring caused by forced dependency resulting from federal policies and the reservation system when others seem to surrender to dependency, disenfranchisement and marginalization. Further, I wanted to know what characteristics mark resilient Native American communities that are thriving in the face of adversity.

Spiritual: Quality Of Life

Living within the jurisdiction of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation is of great benefit to and enhances the quality of the lives of the Nations' members in a variety of ways.

When asked what was important to people about living in the tribal community (or more accurately, jurisdictional area), three major themes emerged: community connectedness, religion/spirituality, and social support. This section discusses each of these themes.

Community Connectedness

Community connectedness describes the extent to which members of the community feel a sense of belonging to the community and a connection to the members with whom they share the community (Kulig, 2000; Tse & Liew, 2004; Werner, 1995). Community connectedness is seen as an important source of well-being and resilience to members of the community and thus to the community itself (Sonn & Fisher, 1998). A number of factors have been found to encourage sense of community including a feeling of connection among community members, support for community members from the

community, and citizen participation in community activities and decision-making (Atlantic Health Promotion Research Centre, 1999; Buckle et al., 2001; Wall, 1999).

Being connected to the tribe, nation, or community is an important part of traditional Native American cultural value systems. Native people were and continue to be identified by their tribal affiliation, clan, and extended family systems. HeavyRunner and Morris (1997) and LaFromboise and Medoff (2004) both identify connection to community and culture as important cultural resiliency factors. Two sub-themes emerged related to community connectedness at the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. One sub-theme was the sense of being a family or kin. The other was cultural identity.

Family/kinship. Perhaps the most fundamental traditional belief among many Native people is that all things and beings are connected or related (Lowery & Mattaini, 1999), so it was not surprising that one of the major themes that emerged was the sense of kinship or family held among the members of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. In reality, the members of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation are all family. They are descendants of the 42 original families that were removed to Oklahoma. What was surprising about this sense of family at the Citizen Potawatomi Nation was that, above and beyond tribal membership, others who work for the Citizen Potawatomi Nation, who are not members, also felt a strong sense of family. Over and over I heard the Citizen Potawatomi Nation referred to as a family, by members, other Native Americans and Caucasians alike. As they talked about the Citizen Potawatomi Nation, many used the term we, even the non-Indians. Often it was well into the interview when I learned they were not members of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation.

Morgan (pseudonym, 09/09/2005), talking about a proposed change to the constitution said, "We are going to propose...a change in our constitution – I say 'our', I am a member of [names another Native nation] – but I feel at home here." Cross (pseudonym, 10/20/2005), when asked what was important to people about living in the Citizen Potawatomi Nation community said:

The sense of family I think. It's just real family oriented. I'm personally not a Potawatomi tribal member, but I've been here at this job for 13 1/2 years, and it feels as though they're my family.....Everyone feels real closely related even when they're not.

Sands (pseudonym, 10/21/2005) said it was because he and his wife both felt so much at home in the community that they decided to retire there:

We came here in '93 on our way through to Florida. We were just traveling around. We came here and it seemed like we always just came back, because for some reason I've never really felt at home anywhere...until I came into the tribe....We are part of this tribe and as part of this tribe this is my family now.

Letters from tribal members published in the tribally owned newspaper, the *How Ni Kan: People of the Fire* (both those living within the tribal jurisdictional area and those living in other states) reflected a strong sense of connectedness with such comments as: "I am a part of this tribe....I love you my people" (Alford, 2003, p. 4) and "I appreciate this tribal family so much and I hope I can continue to share the same opportunity with other tribal members in the future" (Trousdale, 2003, p. 4).

Among the twenty clues identified by Luther and Wall (1987) was a "strong multi-generational family orientation" (p. 9). Further, LaFromboise and Medoff (2004)

identified the extended family system, found in traditional Native American communities, as a key cultural resiliency factor that enhances a sense of community and belonging.

<u>Tribal/cultural identity</u>. The second sub-theme related to connectedness or belonging that emerged from the data focused on the importance of maintaining tribal or cultural identity. Respondents discussed the importance of maintaining a sense of their tribal community identity even while actively participating in the larger community in which they are located. Flood (pseudonym, 09/08/2005) said;

Here in central Oklahoma, we are also part of a greater community....We are fully assimilated in the community. And yet it is an assimilation on our terms. It's an assimilation by which we have our tribal identity. We are not all just scrubbed white. We have a tribal identity and a sense of national pride.

Currently, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation is undergoing what can be described as cultural renewal. Cultural heritage is a major priority for the leadership of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation and the Tribal Heritage Department because as Weston (01/25/2006) put it, "Once you start losing [your culture] you start losing the tribe....and that's the first chink in the armor."

Toward renewing their culture, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation has implemented several activities. One of the most talked about was the Family Reunion Festival.

Several years ago, the Citizen Potawatomi held one of the biggest inter-tribal pow-wows around. It drew thousands of people and dancers competed for large amounts of money. Then the leadership took a closer look and realized that very few Potawatomi were actually participating and made what was at the time a very controversial move. They

stopped having the pow-wow. In its place, they began having a Citizen Potawatomi Nation Family Reunion. Now, each year Citizen Potawatomi gather from all over the United States and Canada to celebrate their heritage. For several days, they engage in traditional activities and ceremonies that reinforce their cultural identity and sense of belonging to the Nation. Here's how Northrop (pseudonym, 09/08/2005) explained it:

... we have a festival every year in June and I've come to that festival several years in a row. It's kind of our way of getting together as a family, as a tribe, and celebrating our uniqueness if you will.

Luther and Wall (1987) also identified showing community pride through holding community festivals and events where community members can celebrate their "community, its history and heritage" (p. 11) as a characteristic or clue common to thriving communities.

A second effort toward cultural preservation is the Tribal Heritage Project. Over the past three years, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation has been systematically recording their tribal heritage through the production of a series of DVD's. Each DVD traces the history of the original Citizen Potawatomi families who immigrated to Oklahoma beginning with the earliest records available through the formation of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation (Citizen Potawatomi Nation, n.d.). The stories are being archived for the reference of current Citizen Potawatomi members as well as the future generations. The following quote represents the feelings of many respondents about the importance of the Tribal Heritage Project as a means of preserving the history and culture of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. LeRoy (pseudonym, 12/16/2005) discussed the project enthusiastically:

Do you know what the most exciting and neat thing is? Someone had to tell you where they're collecting the stories and the videotapes. What an incredible idea! Download your grandfather you've never seen. A great grandfather you've never ever seen and you've only heard about, or just researched and found out about. And there they are. You can see their face and you're going to hear the way they talk, and they're going to talk about your family!

A third component of cultural renewal is the Cultural Heritage Center. In January, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation had the grand opening of their new Cultural Heritage Center. It is a state of the art facility that includes a museum, research library, multipurpose room, gift shop and much more. Brown (pseudonym, 09/08/2005) described the pride it is generating:

...when they walk into the Heritage Center... I've never seen people so proud....we've got a heritage project going to actually videotape the...42 original families of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation...that was just exiting to watch people see their history come to life. And they want more, they were clamoring for more.

The fourth area of cultural renewal and one of the newest additions to the Citizen Potawatomi Nation organization is the Language Department. They now offer adult and family Potawatomi language classes, the language instructors also teach the Potawatomi language to the little ones at the Citizen Potawatomi Child Development Center three times per week. Their website has interactive links you can click to hear and learn more of the language. In speaking about the importance of one's native language to maintaining cultural ties one respondent said:

I believe that it all really goes back to the language, because the language ties it all together. It is something that is the fabric, really, of who a people are. I mean once you understand the language on a deeper level, you are without a doubt, going to understand the traditional ways on a higher level....It's like, it takes hold of you, and you start to understand your language and it takes you places. It changes the way you look at the world almost, because the language is another way to look at the world. It's the way our ancestors looked at the world (Northrop, 09/08/2005).

These findings relevant to community connectedness are similar to those of other researchers who have found that in resilient communities there is a presence of social support and a strong sense of community connectedness or belonging (Centre for Community Enterprise, 2000; Kulig, 2000; Luther & Wall, 1991; Tse & Liew, 2004; Waller, 2001). In a qualitative study that examined resiliency in three small coastal communities in Canada, the Atlantic Health Promotion Research Center (1999) found that shared history, culture, language, and traditions all contributed to community connectedness.

Religion/Spirituality

The second theme that emerged as an important part of the resiliency of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation was their spirituality. In addition to being a source of strength to individuals, spirituality and religion have also been found to facilitate the development of a sense of community (Atlantic Health Promotion Research Centre, 1999; Hill, 2000; Maton, 2001). Luther and Wall (1987) identified "a strong presence of

traditional institutions that are integral to community life" as a clue to thriving rural communities (p. 9). LaFromboise and Medoff (2004) assert that Native spirituality provides a sense of hope, meaning, and purpose. Waller (2006) also says that Native spirituality provides meaning and connectedness.

The Citizen Potawatomi Nation has deep roots in spirituality, both traditional and Christian. As early as the mid 1600's Jesuits were among the Potawatomi converting them to Catholicism. There are numerous Indian churches in the area. These are Christian based churches, but the majority of the congregation and often the minister are Native. While many of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation have fully embraced Christianity, others are conscientiously holding on to their traditional spirituality. Still others are blending the two. There is a general feeling of not having to choose, but rather taking what is good from both. Describing this blending, one respondent said:

In around 1650 to 1660 a Jesuit came along...and made early converts....We have been Christians since the middle of the seventeenth century. And yet there is a rising spiritual consciousness that I would characterize as being on the Red Road. We have a prayer circle with a fire. We start it in a certain way. Our women spread the cedar. We have our protocols. We offer the pipe. And yet amen is offered at the end of our prayers. So it's a hybrid already, but it's a hybrid in the same sense that chocolate milk is a hybrid. There really is no picking the chocolate out of the milk any longer. It is neither the dark color of the skin nor the lily white of the Englishman, but rather it is the vibrant and healthy tan of the modern American Indian. It is that hybrid that so many of us have become in a spiritual sense (Flood, 09/08/2005).

Regardless of how an individual chooses to worship, religion or spirituality is considered vital to the resilience of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation community and considered the "backbone of our tribe" (Jones, 09/09/2005) as can be seen in the following quote:

I think that's [spirituality] a big part of it, because I don't think anything ever works without the spiritual commitment to something. And that comes first and then there's a manifestation in the physical world, after there is a thought or a commitment in the nonphysical world (LeRoy, 12/16/2005).

Social Support

Social support is another community factor that has been identified by various researchers as promoting a sense of community and enhancing resiliency (Atlantic Health Promotion Research Centre, 1999; Buckle et al., 2001; Centre for Community Enterprise, 2000; Luther & Wall, 1991). Members of resilient communities feel that the leadership and community members support one another and their community. This support is often manifested by member participation in community events and activities. The perception of social support was the third theme related to Quality of Life that emerged from the interviews. Two types of support were perceived as important: 1) giving back to the community, or support of the community by community members and 2) the support offered to community members via community support systems.

Giving Back to the Community. The Citizen Potawatomi Nation views involvement with traditional activities as a very important way that the community supports members and for members to support their community. More than 7,000 tribal members attended the 2005 Citizen Potawatomi Nation Family Reunion Festival (Barrett,

2005). Volunteerism (in addition to turning out in large numbers dressed in their finest to dance) during the Festival is a major way Citizen Potawatomi Nation members invest in the welfare of their community. When asked how community members gave back to the community, Caldwell (pseudonym, 11/10/2003) said,

You'd be surprised at the calls we get from people in the community who say "How can we help?" "What can we do?" And lots of times there are ways that they can help, like maybe they can help at our annual festival. We have a family reunion at the end of June every year....And lots of times they can give back by helping during that time.

Responding to this same question Reed (pseudonym, 09/14/2005) said,

Tribal members are asked to do a lot. They're asked to serve a lot....I think that's another area where they [the tribal leadership] really shine. If someone is willing to participate in the tribal activities there is a way for them to do that....a good example is, they call it a festival.... all of the local tribal members...get involved in planning that.

Still another spoke of giving back through utilization of businesses and services as well as volunteerism:

Everyone who participates in a festival that's a dancer or plays the drum, or any of those things, gives back....When they have an account at our bank they're giving back, all those things. We go around the country to the different regions of highly concentrated Potawatomi populations. They all show up to the meeting and we all gather together as family and they're giving back (Weston, 01/25/2006).

Community Support Systems. Resilient communities have been characterized as those that are responsive to the needs of their members (Atlantic Health Promotion Research Centre, 1999; Buckle et al., 2001; Centre for Community Enterprise, 2000; Luther & Wall, 1991), possess adequate social, educational, and cultural resources, (Centre for Community Enterprise, 2000; Kulig, 2000; Luther & Wall, 1991; Tse & Liew, 2004; Waller, 2001), and provide flexible and responsive educational experiences (Benard, 1997; Waller, 2001). Many respondents said that the services and benefits provided by the Citizen Potawatomi Nation were part of what was so important to people about living within their jurisdiction. LeRoy (12/16/2005) said, "The first thing is accessibility because it's always easier to do business in person." Another respondent commented, "Well, number one, you're close to your tribal administration. They do help you with benefits if you're within jurisdiction on some things, some things don't matter on jurisdiction. Some do" (Drake, 09/16/2005).

These findings are similar to various researchers' findings that social support promotes a sense of community and enhances resiliency. Among the twenty clues Luther and Wall (1987) found in thriving rural communities was a "cooperative community spirit" (p. 9). The Centre for Community Enterprise (2000) offers a similar characteristic of resilient communities, "a spirit of mutual cooperation and assistance" (p. 1-14) in the community. Jackson et al. (2003) identified a supportive and welcoming community environment as evidence of healthy community capacity.

Similarly, the literature on cultural resilience has identified specific traditional

Native cultural practices and values that promote community support. Waller (2006)

states that among First Nations Peoples there is great emphasis placed on generosity and

mutual assistance. Bendtro et al. (1990) also claim that the Native value of generosity or giving back to others and the community is central to many Native cultures.

LaFromboise and Medoff (2004) state that the involvement in traditional tribal community activities enhances community resilience because it emphasizes "not only the responsibility of the community to care for individuals, but the obligation of those individuals to be productive members of the community" (p. 47). Furthermore, most people felt that the quality of the programs and benefits offered by the Citizen Potawatomi Nation was superior.

Healthcare. The Citizen Potawatomi Nation took over the operation of their health care program (versus letting the Indian Health Service continue to run it) approximately four years ago. As a result, they have been able to tailor the program to better meet the needs of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation members and other Native Americans who utilize the facility. When asked about the quality of their health care, everyone was very enthusiastic, "...if you would visit our clinic, you would know that ours is quality. And I'm very proud of it....I would put up our director and our doctors...with anyone. We do have excellent care" (Caldwell, 11/10/2003). "Health care is great! It is so much better than it was when I first came out here....the tribe went self-governed [and] we have good doctors now out here as compared to when it was I.H.S." (Sutherland, 09/09/2005).

This tribal health program [is] probably the best in the west to be very plain about it....I could go on and on but I think the diabetic condition that we have here is probably the best example of how well we care for specific groups of patients. We have a diabetic program....and we have...540 people on our diabetic registry and

we literally monitor those people on a daily basis. Once someone is diagnosed with diabetes type 1 or type 2 here, they fall under the closest scrutiny short of the FBI that anybody could fall under. That's just one example of the type of care that people get here. I think it's far, far above average (Reed, 09/14/2005).

The Citizen Potawatomi Nation also provides quality health care benefits for its employees. Williams, (pseudonym, 09/09/2005) said:

Employees, we have the best health insurance. The tribe pays 100% of it. Major medical, dental. So as an employee, this is the best insurance I've had. We have a \$15 co-pay so we just go pay 15 bucks and whatever we need, we get done.

Concern with local health care and a problem-solving approach to providing quality care locally was also identified by Luther and Wall (1987) as a common concern in thriving communities.

Education. While opinions about the quality of education in the Shawnee public school system was mixed, all agreed that the higher educational opportunities were excellent and all agreed that education was a high priority for the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. One of the many ways they promote education is through their scholarship program. Several respondents discussed the importance of education (names are pseudonyms):

First priority of delivery of services has to be education; it has to be college scholarship. And when we do educate them, [we] make it absolutely crystal clear that they do something to pay the tribe back. If that's networking, if that's physical presence, whatever, in some form they are obligated to help their people (James, 10/21/2005).

Another respondent said:

... more and more we're educating our young to come back into the fold so to speak and work here. But we want them educated so our scholarships are very very good. And we just promote education all the time. And it's very important, very important to us (Jones, 09/09/2005).

In addition to college scholarships, the educational opportunities offered by the Citizen Potawatomi Nation include a substance abuse and drop out prevention program for all grade school level children in the Shawnee public schools, a youth employment and training program, the Native American Vocational Technology Education Program that provides a stipend to income eligible Native American students who are attending a vocational technical school, GED classes, and an accelerated adult continuing education program in partnership with St. Gregory's College. Some of the employees also benefit from this service:

I myself am still in college trying to get my bachelor's so I have a chance to be able to go do that and work full-time on top of that....[the Citizen Potawatomi Nation] pay up front for me and then they take it out of my check with no interest, to pay for it...(Drake, 09/16/2005).

Employment. Employment was also an important community support. The Citizen Potawatomi Nation states they are the largest employer in Pottawatomie County. Their workforce is approximately 1000 and is expected to almost double when the new grand casino they're currently working on opens. The employment opportunities they offer, not only to members of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation or other Native people, but to the entire community of Shawnee has been of tremendous benefit to all. In regard to

the quality of employment with the Citizen Potawatomi Nation, many respondents felt the employment practices of the Nation added a great deal to their quality of life. Two sub-themes emerged as important regarding the quality of employment:

Hire the Best. The hiring policy of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation, as with other Native nations is Indian Preference. This however does not mean they are willing to sacrifice hiring the most qualified person in order to hire an Indian. According to federal definition, Indian Preference means if there are qualified Indian applicants for a vacancy in the selection pool, then any non-Indian applicants are not considered (Indian Health Service, 2001). Further it is important to note that Indian Preference is not race-based, but sovereignty-based (Indian Health Service, 2001; Macklem, 1993). This stance can be particularly challenging in Native communities where feelings of resentment may arise when a Native applicant is passed over for a more qualified non-Native or non-member applicant. Nevertheless, it appears to be a beneficial policy for the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. Numerous respondents spoke of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation's commitment to hiring the best-qualified person. Williams, (09/09/2005) said, "...what I see here is that it's not who you are or if you're tribal member it's who's the best person we can find to do this job...." Another person said:

One thing the chairman is to be commended [on]; he has always said Indian Preference is the hiring policy but if that's not the most qualified person, don't hire them. You hire the most qualified people that you can find. We've got quality people working for us and I think that makes a big difference (Brandt, 09/16/2005).

A third person said:

One of our goals here in this facility is to hire as many qualified tribal members as we possibly can. We are not under any pressure by the hierarchy to hire tribal members simply because they're tribal members, but if we can find an Absentee Shawnee Indian and a Potawatomi Indian that are equally qualified, we're going to hire that tribal member every time and its paid a lot of dividends for us (Reed, 09/14/2005).

And finally, "Unlike other tribes that are rampant with nepotism, the Potawatomis will hire a qualified person and if you're a tribal member and you're not qualified for the position, they won't hire you..." (LeRoy, 12/16/2005).

<u>Do it Well</u>. Community and job pride is also a priority at the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. Many spoke of the pride they felt being a part of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation and its workforce:

The culture, the message that you get when you talk to [the chairman] is if you're going to do something; do it well. Don't do it halfway and I think that culturally has pervaded the entire organization. We just don't do things halfway (Reed, 09/14/2005).

Another respondent, who is not a tribal member also voiced pride:

I'm not a Potawatomi member, but I'm so proud of just working here and being around these people all the time. Sometimes I just think I wish some of the people that just started could feel the kind of pride I feel for being a part of this for so long. And people who have been around here a long time, they do feel that pride (Cross, 10/20/2005).

A third respondent said:

Just to be a part of this great Nation [gives me pride]. If you had seen it when I first came and be able to look back as I do now and know how far we've come. You just get goose pimples. Really it's just been a wonderful experience and I wouldn't have missed it for the world. Just to be a part of something that is good and growing and a part of an organization that cares about it's people (Jones, 09/09/2005).

This echoes Luther and Wall's (1987) assertion that people in thriving communities place "emphasis on quality in business and community life" (p.9) and believe in doing things right.

Social: Leadership and Citizen Participation

How political and power structures are organized and make decisions has an important impact on the conditions that either enhance or hinder a community's resilience (Buckle et al., 2001; Centre for Community Enterprise, 2000; Luther & Wall, 1991).

According to Wall (1999) the leadership plays a significant role in community success and survival, as opposed to outside factors having the total control over whether a community thrives. Kulig (2000) in her studies in mining communities also found that leadership was considered a vital component to the resiliency of a community.

Four major themes emerged within the Social: Leadership and Citizen

Participation area of community. The first was leadership. This theme examines the role
the leadership of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation plays in the resilience of the Nation or
community. Specifically it discusses the beliefs, characteristics and actions taken by the

leaders that promote the resiliency of the community. A second theme was sovereignty. Respondents discussed the necessity of effectively exercising tribal sovereignty to build a resilient community which, among other things, means taking control of those programs and services that have major influence in their lives and implementing them in ways that better meet the needs of the Nation than when governed from the outside. A third theme, closely related to sovereignty was self-reliance. This theme focuses on the efforts of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation as a whole to move away from dependency on the federal government for resources as well as to assist individual community members in becoming more productive citizens. The fourth and last major theme was political associations. Here, relations with the greater non-Indian community and other Native American tribes are examined.

Leadership

When asked what were the strengths of the tribal community, the message was loud and clear. It all begins with the leadership. Respondents firmly believed their leadership is a major strength to the tribal community. Some of the comments I received were, "I think it's our leadership. Bar-none" (Carson, 09/08/2005). "I think, if I were just listing off some of the things, at the top would have to be our tribal leadership, because they set the tone, they set the standard, they set the vision..." (Brown, 09/08/2005). "Tribal leadership is definitely the biggest strength of all.... They definitely know what they're doing here" (Cross, 10/20/2005). "Tribal government comes to mind. Once again it's young, it's vibrant, it's leaning forward. It's in the vanguard of exploring ways to benefit the members of the tribe" (Reed, 09/14/2005).

The leaders of resilient communities share characteristics in common. In their study of six resilient communities in British Columbia, the Centre for Community Enterprise (2000) found that the leadership in the communities under study were visionary and "understood the importance of creating a clear vision for the future" (p. 1-14). Wall (1999) also described the leaders in the resilient communities as forward thinking. This is also the case with the leadership at the Citizen Potawatomi Nation.

<u>Visionary Leaders</u>. When asked to describe the leadership, over and over again people described them as visionary. Johnson (pseudonym, 09/15/2005) said, "[names a leader] ideas are still way farther ahead than most of us can think…he's already two years ahead of us in his thought pattern, and so everybody is trying to catch up to where he's already at." Still another said, "They are very forward thinking. They are really looking at great things for the Potawatomi" (Cross, 10/20/2005). Finally a third simply said, "Ah, visionary. Yeah" (LeRoy12/16/2005).

Others referred to the leadership as balanced, "They're a nice balance. You know [names a leader] is such a visionary, it seems like you're always trying to catch up with him and [names another leader] is more of an implementer and...a people person" (Brown, 09/08/2005). Lyman (pseudonym, 12/16/2005) said almost the same thing:

[Names a leader] is very, very visionary. He's got ideas galore...that's what a visionary does. Then you've got [names another leader] who is sitting there saying, "Well, we can implement that one but that one there I don't think we can implement." So they work hand-in-hand.

Other characteristics of the Citizen Potawatomi leadership that emerged as important are:

Long-term Stability. Two of the elected officials have been in office for approximately 20 years. This long-term tenure has served the Citizen Potawatomi Nation well. In addition, the elected officials' terms are staggered so that only one person is up for election each year, then in the fourth year, two are up for election. In this way, the Nation avoids the complete overhaul that frequently happens when elections for all positions are at the same time and thus maintains more continuity. Speaking of the benefit of staggered terms Brandt (09/16/2005) said:

That has helped, I think, to keep a level without the turnover of the leadership. We are much more stable and that has added I think so much to the tribe's resiliency and the ability to move forward. It's not every four years you take a step back and start over. So I think that is probably one of the main things that has created so much resiliency in the tribe and the fact that our leadership is so dedicated to moving the tribe forward and doing what's best for the tribe.

Another respondent said:

... our committee has been basically stable, you might say, because [the chairman], has been the chairman since 1985...But I think stability makes a big difference, and you don't have as much turmoil, you don't have as much turn over in your work place (Caldwell, 11/10/2003).

<u>Business-minded</u>. Another strength or quality of the leadership I heard over and over again was that they are business-minded. This is reflected in the fact that the elected officials are referred to as the Business Committee.

One respondent said, "...the people that make the decisions, I think, have a business background and they understand entrepreneurial things" (Reed, 09/14/2005). Still another commented, "...we're business oriented, this tribe is very business oriented..." (Drake, 09/16/2005). A third stated, "I think one of the big strengths of this tribal community is the fact that their leadership is so stable and they have such quality leadership, educated business people that are running their business committee" (Brandt, 09/16/2005).

Here again it would seem there is a need for balancing the traditional with the mainstream. Tribes really are large, extended families and it is conceivable that such closeness could interfere with business. For example, the researcher heard a story from a tribal Vice Chairman from a different reservation about how the tribal ranch went out of business because they kept giving the beef away to families whenever requested, rather than selling it. While the Citizen Potawatomi Nation is generous, and many times it was reported how they donate in many ways to the community, clearly it is not to the point of jeopardizing their enterprises.

Potawatomi Heart. While being good business people and having a vision are critical, an equally important characteristic was caring about and being committed to those they are leading. One respondent described this caring as having a Potawatomi heart, "My conception of a Potawatomi heart is making our Nation better for our people" (Jones, 09/09/2005). When asked to describe the Citizen Potawatomi leadership this same respondent said:

Next to the good Lord. There, right next to the good Lord. Believe me, ok. I have seen many administrations come and go through my tenure and we've just

been so blessed the last few years to have the leadership we have now....I see everyday what they accomplish and how they care (Jones, 09/09/2005).

Another said, "I've never, in the four years that I've been here, I've never seen anyone do anything for his own self-serving" (Carson, 09/08/2005). Still another person put it this way,

The tribe isn't all about the tribe, you know. And I'm not going to mention tribes, but I've been around other tribes before that, if you're not a tribal member or part of that tribe, they don't talk to you....The Potawatomi are not that way. They're about the community. Not just the tribal members, but everybody in the community (Williams, 09/15/200).

Cross (10/20/2005) said, "[The tribal leaders] have the best interests of the tribe as a whole, and not just some. They are really trying to make a good future for all Potawatomis, especially the young ones."

Inclusive. Researchers have found that leaders in resilient communities are inclusive, share power with community members and work to build consensus so that people feel a sense of ownership and involvement in community decisions (Buckle et al., 2001; Centre for Community Enterprise, 2000; Wall, 1999). Again, the actions of the leaders of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation coincide with the findings of other researchers. The leaders of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation work hard to get Nation members involved in many aspects of the Nation's functioning. The remainder of this section will discuss the various strategies they utilize toward being inclusive.

Get on Board. Communication is vital to sharing the vision. Something that became clear as interviews were conducted was that everyone was well informed. Most of the respondents knew exactly where the tribe was going, felt ownership in the plan and an important part of helping the tribe get there. One respondent said:

It's absolutely imperative that everyone in your tribe knows what the mission statement, the goals are of the tribe, because they're your public relations. And everyone that works out here needs to know that they are the Potawatomi tribe to that person that's in front of them. That when that person leaves this reservation, they should have had a positive interaction with everyone they talked to, everyone they speak to. Because for that person they're talking to, they're the tribe. And that's something you have to sell everyday all the time. (James, 10/21/2005).

A second talked about how the community itself has bought the vision,

We bought into a vision, that's the thing. There's a vision out there for this tribe. And a lot of tribes, I don't think, have sat down and thought about a vision. What are our priorities? What's important to us as a Nation? And we've laid down the framework...(Johnson, 09/15/2005).

Still another person, in response to my comment about everyone being "on board" said, "Get on board or get out of the way 'cause we're going on" (Cross, 10/20/2005).

Community involvement in decision-making is another characteristic resilient communities hold in common (Buckle et al., 2001; Centre for Community Enterprise, 2000; Wall, 1999). When asked how the Nation involved its members in the decision-making process many respondents said all business meetings were advertised to the public via their tribally owned newspaper, radio station, and website and the public are

encouraged to attend. Discussing the growth of community participation in open business meetings, one respondent said,

We used to have meetings in this room [indicating the small conference room we were sitting in], and rarely did we have outside guests. But now we hold them in the courtroom, and we usually have at least half a room full (Caldwell, 11/10/2003).

Another respondent says she actively encourages her relatives and other Citizen Potawatomi Nation members to participate in the Business Committee meetings:

I've encouraged my relations to go to [the Business Committee meetings] and learn 'cause that's really where you learn what's going on with the tribe. And I've encouraged our people out in the community to come to those...How do you know what's going on if you don't come to Business Committee meetings? And so I say, "It's not just for a select few, it's your Business Committee meeting. It's our Business Committee meetings. Come and listen and give input and be a part of this great thing that's going on here" (Jones, 09/09/2005).

Above and beyond open, public meetings at the tribal headquarters, for the past 18 years, the Business Committee has traveled to each of the nine regions, where large concentrations of Citizen Potawatomi live, to hold meetings. The most recent development is they are working on amending their constitution so that a representative from each of the nine regions can be elected to the Business Committee and through technology, holding virtual meetings. Additionally, the Citizen Potawatomi have an absentee ballot, so that enrolled members who do not live in Oklahoma can more fully participate by voting in their elections.

Further directors' meetings are held regularly to keep employees informed and gain their input thus promoting a sense of ownership in decision-making. One director spoke of these meetings as a forum for "dreaming:"

We have directors' meetings. And we talk about new programs. We talk about what we'd like to see. We dream a lot. And that's really how the ideas get formulated is through dreams. "Here's what I'd like to see happen," you know, and go from there. And so many of them are acted upon. And the administration uses those ideas to further what we need to do (Jones, 09/09/2005).

Another talked about how the directors' meetings are the venue for the leadership to keeping everyone informed:

[The leaders] have meetings every so often with all the directors and they sit down and say "OK, just to let you know, this is where we're going. This is how we want to get there." You know it may not be spelled out in details but you have a general idea of where you're going. And they depend on the directors to help out in getting the tribe into that direction and that works out fairly well as long as everybody knows where you're going (Williams, 09/15/2005).

These findings are supportive of findings of various researchers. Among the twenty clues Luther and Wall (1987) found in thriving rural communities was a "participatory approach to community decision-making" (p. 9). The Centre for Community Enterprise (2000) identified similar characteristics of resilient communities including involvement of community members from all parts of the community in community decision making, wide spread knowledge of the vision and goals for the community among community members and consensus building efforts by leaders to promote community support.

Jackson et al. (2003) found membership involvement from all parts of the community in the social, economic and political activities of the community and a supportive and welcoming community environment as indicative of healthy community capacity. In a related vein, the Atlantic Health Promotion Research Center (1999) found that resilient communities offered opportunities for citizen participation in the community life and organizations.

LaFromboise and Medoff (2004) state that the involvement in traditional tribal community activities enhances community resilience because it emphasizes "not only the responsibility of the community to care for individuals, but the obligation of those individuals to be productive members of the community" (p. 47). Other literature on cultural resilience has identified specific traditional Native cultural practices and values that promote community support. Waller (2006) states that among First Nations Peoples there is great emphasis placed on generosity and mutual assistance. Bendtro et al. (1990) also state that the Native value of generosity or giving back to others and the community is emphasized in many Native cultures.

Sovereignty

Native nations in the United States are inherent sovereign nations. Inherent sovereignty is derived from the fact that Native Americans were not only prior occupants of this continent, but occupied the continent as sovereigns (Macklem, 1993).

As a result of this sovereignty, they have a direct government-to-government relationship with the United States government. Sovereignty gives nations the power to determine

citizenship or membership and to create and exercise governmental authority over their members who are living within their jurisdiction (Macklem, 1993).

The people of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation are quick to tell you that one of the reasons they are doing so well is because they exercise their sovereignty effectively. One interviewee summed it up this way:

And you know, if you're gonna be sovereign, you have to exercise it. You're only as sovereign as you exercise. So we've determined we're going to be. And we're not limited by the Bureau [of Indian Affairs], we're going to be a government (Brown, 09/08/2005).

Another respondent said, "You can say tribal sovereignty until you're blue in the face, but until you start behaving as a sovereign and take on responsibilities as a sovereign, you weren't a sovereign" (James, 10/21/2005).

Toward more fully exercising their sovereignty, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation has chosen to be is what is known as a Self-Governance tribe. Tribal Self-Governance was a tribally driven initiative based on the inherent rights of Native nations to govern themselves. In 1988 Congress mandated a Self-Governance Demonstration Project with 30 Native American tribes. Permanent Self-Governance legislation was passed in 1994 for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and in 2000 for the Indian Health Services (Simcosky, 2005). Self-Governance is designed to provide tribal governments with control and decision making power over federal funds with minimal federal involvement. Self-Governance serves to strengthen the government-to-government relations between the United States and Indian tribes; and recognizes tribes' right to determine their own

priorities and to assign funds and develop programs that are more suited to the unique needs of their communities (S. Rep. No. 106-221, 1999; Simcosky, 2005).

Several respondents discussed the benefits of being a self-governing tribe:

The biggest thing that we were awarded back in the late 90's, in 2000, was we became a self-government tribe. We were allowed to decide from within what programs we wanted to put money into as opposed to the government and the Bureau of Indian Affairs saying this is what you need to fund, these are the things that you need to focus on doing....it takes the Bureau involvement pretty much out of it. That's been a big blessing to the tribe. We have been able to better spend the federal government's money (Johnson, 09/15/2005).

Brown (09/08/2005) talked about the difference between federally controlled programs versus tribally controlled programs:

...you can let the IHS and BIA continue to [run your services]....And when the feds do it for you, the feds do it the fed's way. It's just bottom line, and by and large it's just to benefit the feds, not the Native Indian beneficiaries. Or you can be a compacting tribe, which means you get the federal dollars like a block grant. And they say ok ...here's all your money, here are the programs, you run them....When the tribe has it, you see, we can make those decisions.

That sovereignty promotes tribal resilience is very much supported in the literature. Begay et.al. (1997) in studying tribes that have been successful in economic development found that sovereignty was an essential element and that tribal economic development efforts are more successful when tribes control them than when they are controlled by outside entities. Similarly, Luther and Wall (1987) in their study of

thriving rural communities found that one clue to rural community survival is the "conviction that in the long run, you have to do it yourself" (p. 9). The Centre for Community Enterprise (2000) similarly found that resilient communities are self-reliant.

Building Self-Reliance

Not only does the Citizen Potawatomi Nation, as a governmental entity believe in exercising its sovereignty, but it also works to build self-reliance among its constituents. Even while discussing the quality of the services and benefits the Nation provides, respondents told me that, "we're not ones who just hand out, hand out, hand out. We're really trying to help people help themselves. So you'll find a real focus on that" (Brown, 09/08/2005). Speaking further about self-sufficiency of the Citizen Potawatomi Brown (09/08/2005) said:

The Citizen Potawatomi Nation, by and large, has taken care of themselves, through whatever the federal government has thrown at them. Because that's just the way... the elders were raised, that's the way the children were raised. You don't just sit there with a hand out and say help me. They were raised to take charge, to do what it takes to get what they need to take care of their families.

And they've built back several times over as a result of that....You're taught to do what you need to do. And be proud of your heritage....I sense that everyday here at the tribe. I'm not a tribal member. And I sense that everyday here at the tribe, you know, that we're gonna take care of ourselves, and that's the way it's always been.

Connors (pseudonym, 10/13/2003) said:

Well, our department helps people to become self-reliant...we offer several services, you know....But we don't just give them the money. Our goal is to get them to be self-reliant. For instance, if they come in here and they don't have their GED well, that's the first step. We will not help them until they do something to help themselves....they have to put in 20 hours of GED study, showing that they are trying to help themselves, and then, after they do that, we will help them with the bill or whatever.

A number of so-called gaming tribes offer per capita payments to their members from the profits off their gaming industries. The Citizen Potawatomi Nation does not.

Again several people spoke about why this is the case: Morgan (09/09/2005) said,

"[Paying per capitas] is eating the seed corn." Others felt similarly:

That doesn't build a community, that doesn't build a nation, the strength of a nation... It's a very short minded fix and it's not even a fix....You take \$14 million in profit and you divide it between 24,000 people and everybody gets a check for \$600. Enough to buy a set of tires. What has that done to help your position in the community (Johnson, 09/15/2005)?

And another respondent said:

...we don't offer a per cap right now, but sometimes I think a lot of the tribes would be better suited if they'd cut the per cap down a little bit and invest it into a fund like we did that would help grow the entire community and offer more opportunities for membership at large. I mean it's always nice to get a \$500 or \$2000 check in the mail once every 6 months or once every 3 months but you know, if you don't have a job in the mean time and there is no employment in the

area [or] maybe your housing is less that you'd like, it would be nice to have some other opportunities present themselves (Northrop, 09/08/2005).

Rather than per capita payments, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation uses the proceeds from their enterprises to further the Nation as a whole by expanding their land base in order that they may create more opportunities for tribal members, funding higher educational scholarships, and assisting tribal members with homeownership.

Political Associations

Resilient communities, while self-reliant, recognize the wisdom and necessity of collaboration among organizations within a community and even between communities (Centre for Community Enterprise, 2000; Wall, 1999). The Citizen Potawatomi Nation is no exception. While the Citizen Potawatomi Nation is a sovereign nation, it is not insular. They are a community within a community, and must deal with the community of Shawnee and other neighboring communities on a daily basis. The Citizen Potawatomi Nation strives to develop positive relations with the other Native American tribes and the non-Indians with whom they share a community.

Brown (09/08/2005), in discussing the Citizen Potawatomi Nation's relation to the surrounding communities said, "It's not like we're an isolated reservation. And that has a huge influence on the way we do business, and the way we behave....I look at us as the fabric of the community, part of it, in multiple ways." Because they are a part of the greater community of Shawnee, and due to tangible negative feelings among some of the Caucasian community members regarding Native people and sovereignty, the Potawatomi Nation strives to develop positive relations with the cities of Shawnee and

Tecumseh by actively participating in and contributing to these communities in a variety of ways. Multiple respondents, both Native and non-Native addressed this issue:

...a part of the community doesn't understand tribal sovereignty. They don't understand why there is another government out here that's not a part of Oklahoma....We can improve the quality of life in our community by offering them financial and everyday life alternatives, places to shop, places for entertainment, places to bank....These folks out there in this community are our customers. We can't view them as adversaries. They're also our kinfolks. Our non-Indian kinfolks are part of the rest of this community. So there has to be some marriage of it, but you can't get so far into it that you give up those things that are your innate strengths. There have to be times when you give up and you're generous and share and there are times when you have to stand your ground. Knowing when to do that is politics, I guess (James, 10/21/2005).

Another person spoke of the need to address negative perceptions:

We work with the communities and I will say it's much better than it used to be because there's certainly some negative perceptions in the community...Indians get everything...they don't pay anything. It's probably not quite as bad in our community as some others because they do see the tribe is self-sufficient....And the tribe gives back to the community in donations and participation....We pay payments in lieu of taxes trying to help support them (Brown, 09/08/2005).

A third person said:

... the tribe does a number of things with the local community. They don't take advantage, for example, of their tax status. They pay taxes or they make donations

in lieu of taxes. They have bent over backwards to let the people know that yes, we are a sovereign nation and yes, we don't have to pay state and local taxes but we are financially a part of this community and we do take responsibility...(Reed, 09/14/2005).

A fourth respondent spoke of investing in the community as a means of damage control:

We've always had to do a lot of damage control because there was always some entity that was throwing stones at our growth and it's no different than any other corporate enterprise that comes in to a community and people are afraid of change and they're afraid of their quality of life being eroded. And of course a city depends on an entity for its tax base....And that's what I think the tribe has always tried to do is be sensitive to the issues in our community. Which a lot of corporate enterprises aren't, it's just about their own bottom line...(Johnson, 09/15/2005).

A fifth respondent referred to the giving to the community as being a good corporate citizen:

The tribe, I think has been a good corporate citizen or municipal citizen...however you want to put it. They, first of all provide jobs and then secondly, they do a lot of giving back to the community in the form of a day care center and they make contributions to St. Gregory's, to the Chamber of Commerce. They just gave...the Chamber of Commerce \$25,000 to help do a study for Convention Visitor Bureau in order to get more people to come to Shawnee (Lyman, 12/16/2005).

Further evidence of active efforts to address misconceptions and promote positive relations in the community is found in the following statements taken from the 2004 Citizen Potawatomi Nation Statement of Economic Impact:

In addition to providing a better understanding of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation's economic contribution to local communities and the State of Oklahoma, this document emphasizes that mutual trade does coexist and that benefits are perpetuated to all community members as a result of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation (Citizen Potawatomi Nation, 2004b, p. 1).

The Citizen Potawatomi Nation also networks with other tribes in the area to broaden and expand what they can all offer to the community. Meeks (pseudonym, 09/09/2005) told me of two instances of collaboration between the Citizen Potawatomi Nation and other tribes in the area:

This summer we had a football camp and we came together with four programs here...plus another tribe and we sponsored this \$10,000 camp....We have in the past couple years sponsored a fall break speak out session, get together, whatever you want to call it. We get together with substance abuse counselors from Sac and Fox [and] what we have done is bring in speakers and kids are out for fall break and it gives them something to do.

Physical: Economics

Another vital part of a resilient community is a robust economy. The Citizen Potawatomi Nation's economy is growing rapidly. They state that they are the largest

employer in Pottawatomie County. It is clearly one of their strengths. One respondent said:

I think right now [the Citizen Potawatomi Nation] is the economic engine that drives Pottawatomie County. You dry up the Citizen Potawatomi Nation, and you will tremendously damage the economy in this area. That has put us in a position where we can afford to be generous and we have been. We have [a] scholarship program with St. Gregory University. Last year we made a \$200,000...donation to Shawnee's school system....[a] \$4000 donation to South Rock Creek four miles down the road from us so they could set up an archery program...(Morgan, 09/09/2005).

The state and local community impact of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation exceeded \$117.3 million dollars in fiscal year 2004 (Citizen Potawatomi Nation, 2004a). In discussing the Citizen Potawatomi Nation's financial viability, one person said, "The numbers don't lie and that's all I have to go on is the numbers....I can look at the numbers at the end of the day and say we're in good shape" (Johnson, 09/15/2005).

Several themes emerged in the area of economics. One was their ability to seek outside funds and the profitability of their enterprises as economic strengths of the tribe. Another, "We Do Our Own Thing" speaks more to the value of self-reliance that seems to pervade the Nation. The third, called "Seed Corn" describes the emphasis the Citizen Potawatomi Nation places on diversifying.

Grant Seeking And Profitability

Both the grant-seeking ability and the enterprises were frequently discussed as economic strengths of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. One respondent said, "Well our enterprises that we have formed are of great economic strength to us. Our grant writing is a strength" (Weston, 01/25/2006). Another exclaimed, "Oh gosh, economic development, one of their largest strengths.... knowing how to strategize, to get the grantsThat's a big strength" (Connors, 10/13/2003)! A third respondent also said their grant writing ability as well as their enterprises were strengths of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation:

We use the federal government for as much as we can use...here's the deal... we're gonna fish in the pond and get as much as we can out of them. And we'll do that. That's a strength to be able to go to the federal government....But the real economic strength is the enterprises and the tribes' own self-sufficiency, if you will. Because the tribe has diversified in banking, - not just casinos... (Brown, 09/08/2005).

Still another talked about the success of the enterprises:

I think their business enterprises. They've been very successful with their business enterprises with the golf course and the restaurant and the grocery store and the convenience store and the radio station and the gift shop and the bank.

The bank is probably their proudest possession (Lyman, 12/16/2005).

These findings resonate with the literature. Among the twenty clues outlined by Luther and Wall (1987), several were closely related to economic enterprise including a "realistic appraisal of future opportunities," an "active economic development program,"

and a "willingness to seek help from the outside" (p.9). The Centre for Community

Enterprise (2000) also identified several characteristics related to the economic resources
of a community as important to community resilience, including a diversified economy,
having an economic development plan, and looking outside to identify resources that will
address areas of need. Looking deeper into the financial strengths of the Citizen

Potawatomi Nation, several other themes emerged as integral to their resiliency.

Following is a discussion of these themes.

We Do Our Own Thing

The Citizen Potawatomi Nation owns and manages a myriad of businesses including a bank, grocery store, casino or entertainment center, a cement company, golf course, convenience stores, a gift shop, radio station, tobacco stores, a farm operation, a roads division, and many, many more all of which are reporting increases in revenues (Citizen Potawatomi Nation, 2004a). Further, unlike many tribes who have management policies (particularly for their casinos) the Citizen Potawatomi Nation manages things themselves. One respondent referred to it thus, "We run our own operation. We've never had anybody, except right in the very beginning, years ago, we've never had anyone operate our own casino. We don't have any type of management agreement. We do our own thing" (Caldwell, 11/10/2003).

Seed Corn

The Citizen Potawatomi Nation is moving to expand and diversify its economy.

It has it's own tax commission and uses the proceeds from it and their business

enterprises, particularly the casino and grocery store, to expand their land base, acquire more real estate, and diversify their economy (Citizen Potawatomi Nation, 2004b).

Several people referred to using the revenues toward further economic growth as seed corn or seed money: "Of course, our seed corn is the casino. And we'd better use it as seed corn, because you know, you never know how long we may have that" (Caldwell, 11/10/2003); "But the tribe has taken [the casino] money and used it as seed money...to build a grocery store and to do all sorts of different economic things" (Brown, 09/08/2005). Another respondent said:

...[the Nation's chairman is] a believer in not eating your seed corn. He believes in taking the money that you make and plowing it back into the tribe. And that's why we have fantastic medical services and dental services and mental health services. We have a unit like this [referring to the facility we were sitting in] and we have housing and things and the market. We have those things now because he's plowed the money back into the tribe (Sands, 10/21/2005).

Others spoke of diversifying in terms of investing, ...we know how to invest our money and how to make money....I mean this tribe has been able to take its money and make money, make good investments...(Drake, 09/16/2005).

Another respondent vividly emphasized the importance of diversifying and of not relying on the revenues from gaming:

Gaming is not all of it, you see, we're diversifying....Diversification, it's an imperative. When I suggest to people that one day gaming will be taken away from us, I am regularly assured by people that, "They can't do that." I would suggest that you study your American Indian history and see what they can and

cannot, and will and will not, and are willing and not willing to do. If they are willing to stand on a bluff, over our villages and refer to our children as nits, the eggs of lice, and that nits make lice, and to kill the children in arms, if they're willing to do that, you think they wouldn't take gaming away (Flood, 09/08/2005)?

Luther and Wall (1987) identified "careful use of fiscal resources" (p. 9) as one clue to rural community survival. Further they state that expenditures are investments towards a better future for the community. The Centre for Community Enterprise (2000) also stated that resilient communities invest with the future of the community in mind.

Intellectual: Planning For The Future

Resilient communities plan for and invest in the future. Furthermore, they actively promote the well-being of future generations (American Psychological Association, n.d.; Wall, 1999). Three themes were identified as important to the Citizen Potawatomi Nation in this area. The first theme is called "growing leaders" and discusses the leadership program for young adults at the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. The second theme, scholarship, elaborates on the scholarship program of the Nation. The third theme is optimism and discusses the feeling of optimism respondents have about the future opportunities of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation.

Growing Leaders

The Citizen Potawatomi Nation is about the business of growing their own leaders. When asked how new leaders emerge, most talked about the Potawatomi

Leadership Program. This is an annual summer program in which they select eight Citizen Potawatomi youth from across the country and provide them with internships at the Citizen Potawatomi Nation headquarters. Typically these are high school seniors or college freshmen that have a minimum grade point average of 3.00. They must go through an application process that includes writing an essay about the types of community activities they've had. Specifically they are looking to identify students who feel "an obligation to more than themselves" (Flood, 09/08/2005). Once selected, they are engaged in an accredited, paid, eight-week summer internship program with the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. They are housed at a local college and are rotated around to different departments within the Nation, finally spending a full week with the department of their choice. At the end of the eight weeks the students are graduated. They are given Indian names, an eagle feather to carry, and instructions on what their future obligations as a member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation are. And then, "we send them off [to college]. And we tell them what my grandmother told me: We don't know when, but one day your tribe will call you. And then you must step up. Then it's your time" (Flood, 09/08/2005). The Citizen Potawatomi Nation sees this as vital to their continued success because as Flood (09/08/2005) put it:

We can hire anyone we want, but we can only elect from the enrolled membership. And we must develop our talent pool. We must develop our leaders....We need leaders. If they are not out there running for...state representative, running for mayor, running for dogcatcher it is because we haven't put them in that position. We haven't raised our leaders and that is a danger!

That is the gate though which our ponies will run. We need to close that gate and make sure our ponies are healthy. We need to take care of ourselves.

Another person, after describing the Potawatomi Leadership Program said:

What better way to introduce your young people to the whole process? They came to every Business Committee meeting this summer. Of course they got to go to the general council. They got to see the day-to-day operations of the tribe (Caldwell, 11/10/2003).

Scholarship

In addition to the Leadership Program, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation has a robust scholarship program. Citizen Potawatomi Nation members who are college students are assisted with tuition, housing, and book expenses while in college. Many people spoke of the scholarship as an investment in the future:

I can't think of a better place to invest your money than in your youth, I mean why even bother giving out a per cap[ita payment] if you can't give out a scholarship to your youth? Best-case scenario would be if you could pay for all of your kids' school. If you could afford to do that, that would be awesome. But any amount that you can give toward scholarships for your kids is the right way to go. You're looking to the future and you're building for the future. (Northrop, 09/08/2005).

Another respondent said:

We need to hold everything in and invest it in our future. It's not about us. It's about the kids and their kids and maintaining a way of life for the tribe that has

been around since time. What's important, more than anything else, is keeping that alive and not being selfish with what you have, but paving the way for the people that are coming behind you (Johnson, 09/15/2005).

This active planning for future generations is similar to findings (clues) of Luther and Wall (1987) in thriving rural farm communities, which includes a "willingness to invest in the future," "a strong belief in and support for education," and a "deliberate transition of power to a younger generation of leaders" (p. 9). The Centre for Community Enterprise also found that resilient communities feel optimistic about the community's future, and strongly support education.

Optimism

The people of and working for the Citizen Potawatomi Nation are very optimistic about the future. When asked about what future opportunities they saw for the tribe, many felt they were unlimited. Some of the comments were, "I think they're endless" (Reed, 09/14/2005); "The sky's the limit" (Northrop, 09/08/2005); "They're endless, there's no telling, buy the moon or something I don't know. They amaze me all the time. Like I said, they're very smart business people and I think the opportunities are endless" (Cross, 10/20/2005); "Just continued growth" (Sutherland, 09/09/2005); and finally:

I think the future opportunities for the tribe are just boundless. Whatever they decide they want to do...and once they get the second casino opened, we'll have all the necessary income probably to do whatever it is we want to do. You just never know what they're going to come up with (Brandt, 09/16/2005).

Several respondents went on to discuss specific future opportunities that are on the horizon including a new super casino, a family fun center, more banks, expanded use of real-time technology, and perhaps even an emergency management department, but none so passionately as the following respondent:

The future opportunities are moving out to those [nine] regions. In Kansas they bought land...and they're going to put in there a regional office. I tell you what they've been contemplating; there's a room down there and we're going to have a real-time television connection [to the regions]....That's how far this tribe is going. That's the future. The modern Indian tribe, resiliency and coping with the new environment....they're going to meet in real-time....Rossville is going to be like the pilot thing. Get all the bugs worked out and then another satellite and another satellite, then they'll start to go over like dominoes. It's an unbelievable conceptualization. See, you hear me talk about it? You hear that thing in my voice? This is for me! I've worked 30 years...with tribal governments...devoted my whole life to this. This is going to be the reason I'm here, and going to spend more time...I'd never do this with any other tribe. I wouldn't trust any other tribe to give them this much of a piece of myself. This is going to be the crowning jewel of my service, and my career, this place. I'm energized and excited. I've worked all these years to get to this place (LeRoy, 12/16/2005).

Once again, this is similar to Luther and Wall's (1987) findings that the sophisticated use of information technology to stay knowledgeable about affairs beyond their community is a commonality among the leaders of the thriving the rural communities they investigated. The Citizen Potawatomi leadership has gone far beyond

using technology for informational purposes and are making plans to use it to be better connected with their regional sites and the tribal members living in them. Knowing what the future possibilities are, both technologically and in the business arena suggests the Citizen Potawatomi have a very "realistic appraisal of future opportunities" (Luther & Wall, 1987, p. 9) available to them.

What Could Be Better

When asked about areas that still needed improvement or what people would like to see better, three things emerged consistently: better access to services, more activities for adolescents, and per capita payments. Each of these areas are discussed in this section.

Access to Services

Because the services provided by the Citizen Potawatomi Nation are known to be of high quality, people are flocking to them, particularly the health clinic. Several respondents said the waiting list to get into the clinic is long:

...the biggest issue we have here is not the quality of care, people that are admitted to services, admitted to care here think it's the greatest thing going, but it is difficult to get in. We simply have an access issue because we have been successful. We have a good reputation. We are not able to meet all the needs of the people in the community (Reed, 09/14/2005).

Additionally, due to the fact that the clinic serves all Native American community members, there are Citizen Potawaomi Nation members who are not able to access the services. Morgan (09/09/2005) explained:

We are doing a darn good job with our clinic here. We are doing so well that members of other tribes, they're leaving their clinics elsewhere in this area,

Stroud, Wewoka and other places, McCloud, and coming to our clinic and making it more difficult for our tribal members to use our clinic.

Youth Activities

A second area that has been recognized as a need is more activities for adolescents and teens. Toward addressing this need, several respondents told me of a Family Fun Center that is part of the near-future planning of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. In discussing the level of activities provided for youth, Caldwell (11/10/2003) said:

We're getting a little bit better at it. We do have people who work with the youth. I know we just had a UNITY meeting here for the last two days, and I think that we are doing more, that there's more awareness that there's a need to work with the youth.

Another respondent said:

They're working on it. Let's say that. There is not a lot of anything to do for school kids in this town...It's go to the mall and that's about it....The tribe is going to have a FireLake Family Fun Center....But it's just waiting its turn to get built (Sutherland, 09/09/2005).

Per Capita Payments

Finally, several respondents said they knew there are people in the community that would like for the Citizen Potawatomi Nation to give per capita payments to individual Citizen Potawaomi Nation members. Brandt (09/16/2005) said:

I know there are people who, tribal members, who would like to see a per capita payment but with 26,000 or 24,000 members it's kind of hard to give anybody anything of any substance.

Morgan (09/09/2005) said:

I know we have a significant portion of, some people, who would like to see the tribe be able to help out more in economic matters. The magic phrase there is per cap[ita payments].

While per capita payments were discussed as something the respondents felt the community would like to see happen, all of the respondents went on to explain to me the reasoning and philosophy behind not giving out per capita payments:

... I am 100% diametrically opposed to per cap[ita payments]. It is destructive to Indian communities. It is a disincentive to finish high school. It is a disincentive to find meaningful work in your life and to have something and a sense of accomplishment, and I believe it diminishes people spiritually and otherwise. (LeRoy, 12/16/2005).

Summary

This study attempted to provide a deeper understanding of one resilient community. The findings are presented within a Holistic Community Model and the

major themes within the four broad areas of community are identified. Within the area of Spirituality: Quality of Life the major themes that emerged were community connectedness, spirituality, and social support. The community connectedness or sense of community stemmed mostly from the traditional kinship system or extended family, shared history, and community level traditions and activities that reinforced a common cultural identity. Respondents perceived community connectedness as a vital resiliency factor.

Spirituality was also an important factor in enhancing resiliency. Most respondents talked about the spirituality in terms of an amalgamation of the traditional with the mainstream. But what or how they practiced their spirituality wasn't as important as the perception that it was a foundation in spirituality that elevated the rest of the community life.

Social support addresses how the community as a whole provides support to its members and how community members support the community. This support was often manifested via the traditional value of giving back or reciprocity. Volunteerism and participation in cultural and other community activities provided opportunity for all community members to take part in and to support community life at the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. Respondents felt that programs and services provided by the Citizen Potawatomi Nation played an important supportive role in their community.

Within the Social: Leadership and Citizen Participation community component the beliefs, actions, and characteristics of the governing body emerged as key components of the resiliency of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. Some of the major characteristics of the leadership were that they were visionary, caring, inclusive, had long

term stability, and were business oriented in their approach to running the programs, services and enterprises of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. Effective exercise of sovereignty and self-governance were also found to be vital. Activities, programs and services were all aimed at increasing the capacity of both the community and its members to become more self-reliant and to move away from governmental support. Finally paying careful attention and actively working to improve relations with neighboring communities is important to creating a sense of good will and coping with diversity within the community. This took the form of financial support to various parts of the community. Some examples include direct payments to the educational system and in the hiring practices of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. It also meant volunteerism, serving on committees and boards, and collaborating on a variety of community projects and activities.

The third community component examined was the Physical: Economics component. A robust economy is critical to community resilience. Perhaps the single most important resiliency factor related to the economic resiliency of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation is the utilization of revenues from the casino, grocery store and other enterprises as "seed corn" to invest in further diversifying the economic base, increase land holdings, promote further economic opportunities for tribal members, and to educate the Citizen Potawatomi people in order to have members who are ready and able to participate in the quickly growing local economy.

Finally, the area of Intellectual: Planning for the Future was investigated.

Education at all levels was valued and supported by the Citizen Potawatmi Nation, from a two-star daycare program to a GED program, to educational programs for employees and

other adults. The highlight of the educational efforts with an eye toward the future was the Potawatomi Leadership Program, which provides a tribal governmental internship experience to young Citizen Potawatomi students. Further people are optimistic about the future of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. While there are still challenges, respondents believe that there is great potential for further growth and development in the future.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

In the first section of this chapter, a brief summary of the study is provided in relation to the research questions posed by the study. In the second section the findings are examined in relation to the theoretical framework and the Holistic Community Model. Conclusions drawn from the data analysis are presented in section three. The fourth section discusses implications of the study, and in the final section the limitations of the study are considered.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to describe the patterns of behaviors, attitudes, and characteristics of one rural Native American community that had been identified as a resilient community in order to examine evidence of community resiliency and the important lessons that can be adapted or adopted by other Native American communities. The questions this study addressed were: (1) How are some Native American communities coping, even thriving, despite historic patterns of oppression and marginalization? (2) How is resilience facilitated at the community level? (3) In what ways does cultural resilience contribute to the understanding of community resilience? (4) What characteristics mark resilient Native American communities?

Overall the findings of this study generally support others' findings related to resilient communities (Atlantic Health Promotion Research Centre, 1999; Buckle et al., 2001; Centre for Community Enterprise, 2000; Luther & Wall, 1991; Wall, 1999) and cultural resilience (HeavyRunner & Morris, 1997; LaFromboise & Medoff, 2004). Following is a discussion of each of the research questions in relation to the findings of this study.

Research Question One

How are some Native American communities coping, even thriving, despite historic patterns of oppression and marginalization?

Toward coping with historic oppression and the resulting fundamental community restructuring of forced dependency brought about by the reservation system, sovereignty was found to be a critical resiliency factor for the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. The leadership of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation has made a clear distinction between treaty rights and entitlements. Such a distinction creates a shift in thinking and action. Entitlement implies that someone owes me something and therefore I don't have to do for myself. Treaty rights are the inherent rights to sovereignty and self-determination that are viewed by the Citizen Potawatomi Nation as "fundamental cornerstones" of the government. Other treaty rights, such as the provision of certain resources and services to Native nations by the federal government, were negotiated in perpetuity as payment for millions of acres of land, relinquished by Native nations to the federal government. They were paid for in advance, they are not handouts. The literature supports the findings that sovereignty promotes resilience. Begay et al. (1997) and Cornell and Kalt (2003) in

studying tribes that have been successful in economic development found that sovereignty is requisite in overcoming the challenges facing Native communities today.

The findings of this study further indicate that it is the Native communities, and not the federal government who should govern the affairs of the community. Several respondents talked about the benefits of self-governance including better health care and the ability to appropriate funds to tribally determined priority areas. The literature reinforces this conclusion. Jorgensen and Taylor (2000) found that when tribal communities are governed from within by those who have a stake in the community and its members, they "consistently out-perform outside decision-makers" (p. 3). Further, tribal economic development strategies are more culturally appropriate and successful when tribes are self-governed than when they are implemented and governed from the outside (Jorgensen & Taylor, 2000). Similarly, Luther and Wall (1987) in their study of thriving rural communities found that one clue to rural community survival is the "conviction that in the long run, you have to do it yourself" (p. 9). The Centre for Community Enterprise (2000) similarly found that resilient communities are self-reliant.

Self-sufficiency is at the core of everything the Citizen Potawatomi Nation does, not only for the Nation as a whole, but also for each individual member. Social assistance programs, while important and still very much needed are not the emphasis of what the Citizen Potawatomi Nation is providing. The guiding philosophy appears to be one of "helping others to help themselves." Per capita payments from the profits off their enterprises are viewed as a "disincentive" to self-reliance. Therefore, rather than give every member a check from casino and other enterprise profits, funds are used for assisting members in getting a better education, thus being better equipped to find

meaningful and substantial employment. Self-sufficiency is why their enterprises and programs are not "employment programs" (created for the sole purpose of providing jobs, rather than making a profit) or "patronage jobs" (hiring of one's relatives, friends, fellow tribal members regardless of qualifications).

Some may see this as a break with tradition and as going against the grain of the Native tradition of generosity. But for the Citizen Potawatomi Nation, generosity does not mean handouts. Reciprocity and self-reliance are also traditional Native values. The Citizen Potawatomi Nation encourages and expects both. For example, scholarship recipients understand that part of receiving a scholarship includes some type of giving back to the Nation.

Toward attaining self-sufficiency, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation places education as one of its first and foremost priorities. Through their scholarship program and a variety of other programs, the leadership of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation is endeavoring to further the education of as many of its members and employees as they can. Another example of helping others to help themselves in seen in their homeownership assistance program, which is an important move away from dependency on Housing and Urban Development provided housing programs. Research has shown that homeownership is personally and socially empowering (Keyes, 2003) as well as stabilizing to communities (Rohe & Stewart, 1996).

Research Question Two

How is resilience facilitated at the community level?

In order to facilitate resiliency at the community level, leaders must embrace the concept of nation-building, and not simply economic development (Cornell & Kalt, 2003). Nation-building takes into account the spiritual, social, intellectual and economic state of the entire community. All aspects of the community and the people within it are attended to. Repeatedly respondents reported that whenever projects or ideas are presented to the leadership they ask how the project or idea will help the whole Nation.

To effectively build nations, tribes must exercise and protect their sovereignty. The last ten years have seen decisions made by the United States Supreme Court that have undermined tribal sovereignty (Cornell & Kalt, 2003). The Citizen Potawatomi view their right to self-governance as sacred. People took great pride being a part of something bigger than the sum of its parts. Many spoke of the need to continually keep an eye on the state and federal government and legislation that would try to weaken or interfere with tribal sovereignty.

Another aspect of facilitating resilience at the community level has to do with having a vision or mission and goals for the entire Citizen Potawatomi Nation and the communication of that vision. It's infused into the directors of the programs and consistently held out for the community to see. All programs and activities considered for implementation are measured against the vision to see if it fits. Theirs is a vision of becoming a self-sufficient nation, no longer dependent on the federal government or gaming for support. Toward reaching that goal, they are working to strengthen and expand their tribal government, build a strong, stable and diversified economy, increase the quality of life of its membership through health, education, employment and social

support opportunities, and to revitalize and preserve the history, culture, language and traditions of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation.

A third factor of resilience at the community level has to do with having a stable government that abides by and enforces the laws and policies by which the Nation is governed. Long-term stability of the leadership on the Citizen Potawatomi Business Committee was discussed over and again as an important resiliency factor. Additionally, people felt that the application of the policies and laws was fair and consistent. Cornell and Kalt (2003) also emphasize the importance of stability in the institutions and policies of tribal governments and fair and effective resolution of disputes as integral components of nation-building.

Research Ouestion Three

In what ways does cultural resilience contribute to the understanding of community resilience?

The interviews revealed the traditional Native value of kinship or family was vital to developing a sense of connectedness or community and reciprocity. Similarly, LaFromboise and Medoff (2004) identified the extended family system, found in traditional Native American communities, as a key cultural resiliency factor that enhances a sense of community and belonging. For the Citizen Potwatomi Nation, sense of family is the glue that holds them together.

Further, findings pointed to the importance of maintaining a sense of cultural identity, despite the fact that the Citizen Potawatomi Nation is integrated into the larger community of Shawnee (and finds this integration a necessary component of their well-

being). It also involves a refusal to allow the federal government to define who they are. They have discarded the notion of membership by blood quantum and membership is determined by proof of descent. Beyond that however, is identifying with heart and soul, having a "Potawatomi heart." The importance of the Family Heritage Festival as a topic of discussion, the numbers that attend the festival each year, some traveling from all over the United States and Canada, and the support through volunteerism and participation all point to the importance of maintaining cultural heritage to the Citizen Potawatomi Nation members. Again, the literature suggests that a connectedness with one's tribal traditions promotes resilience in individuals (LaFromboise & Medoff, 2004; Montgomery et al., 2000). It stands to reason that it would also promote resilient communities.

Closely tied to cultural traditions is history. I learned that the unique history of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation is an important resiliency factor. Many people began their interviews by telling me the history of the Citizen Potawatomi. Theirs is a history of entrepreneurship. For three successive generations, the Citizen Potawatomi were stripped of their wealth by the federal government, but each time they've recovered through their entrepreneurial spirit. The story of their ancestors overcoming hardship, regardless of what the federal government threw at them, is an inspiration and an incentive to current members to continue to overcome. For the Citizen Potawatomi, history teaches the stories of resilience. Often the history of Native people is told as one of defeat and despair. Justifiably, the Citizen Potawatomi could choose to focus on that part of their history, yet they do not. Instead, they retell the hardship in order to teach the resilience.

Maintaining tribal identity is important, however Native communities must also function effectively within the present day mainstream economic and social systems in order to progress from poverty to self-sufficiency. While they are sovereign nations, Native communities are not insular. This is particularly true of tribes in Oklahoma. Unlike reservations in northern states that are geographically isolated, tribes in Oklahoma are often communities within a community, in addition to being a nation within a nation.

For the Citizen Potawatomi Nation, findings indicate that it is a balance and sometimes a blending of traditional cultural ways and mainstream American ways, in many aspects of daily community life, that has helped lead to their resilience. It is the traditions that keep them connected, tied as a family. It is also the traditional perspective that gives the leaders the vision and wisdom with which they govern the Nation. It is their education, business management expertise and entrepreneurial spirit that have helped lead to successful enterprises and programs. This balancing is not seen so much as choosing between one culture or the other, but rather as a harmonizing of the two which appears to have allowed the Citizen Potawatomi to make the required changes to their way of life while maintaining their unique identity. It is argued that such adjustments, referred to as ethnic reorganization, have always played an important role in the cultural survival of Native people (Nagel & Snipp, 1993; Pebley, Goldman, & Robles, 2002). In fact no culture is static, and such evolution is generally considered a sign that a group is making healthy adaptations toward survival. Other have also identified cultural adaptation or the need to be bicultural as important cultural resiliency factors to ethnic minorities (American Psychological Association, n.d.) and Native Americans (LaFromboise & Medoff; 2004).

When discussing the leadership of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation, it was clear that they place a high value on the community, in this case the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. Much of the discussions focused on how their decisions and actions were continually weighed against the question, "How will this (whatever decision, project, or business or program was under consideration) affect the whole community?" That community care was not confined to Citizen Potawatomi Nation members, but encompassed other tribal people living in the area as well as the neighboring Anglo communities.

Research Question Four

What characteristics mark resilient Native American communities?

In addition to the cultural resiliency factors, many of other the resilience factors found at the Citizen Potawatomi Nation are similar to those found in other resilient communities as indicated in the literature. Similar to findings in other resilient communities (Atlantic Health Promotion Research Center, 1999; Centre for Community Enterprise, 2000; Kulig, 2000; Luther & Wall, 187; Tse & Liew, 2004; Waller, 2001), being connected as a community, a spirit of community support and involvement, and adequate community resources were all found to be important community characteristics at the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. Exhibiting optimism and hope is also shared between the Citizen Potawatomi Nation and other resilient communities (Centre for Community Enterprise, 2000; Kulig, 2000).

Discussion of Theoretical Framework and Holistic Community Model

Cultural resilience was used as a theoretical frame to identify cultural factors that promote resilience at the community level. These factors include spirituality, a strong sense of connection with others and supportive networks, identifying with the traditional culture and involvement in traditional cultural activities and ceremonies (American Psychological Association, n.d.; LaFromboise & Medoff, 2004; HeavyRunner & Marshall, 2003), a high value placed on the community, cultural adaptation or the need to be bicultural (American Psychological Association, n.d.; LaFromboise & Medoff, 2004), and generativity or the promotion of future generations' well-being (American Psychological Association, n.d.). This study was found to be generalizable to the theory of cultural resilience in that the themes that emerged from the data as resiliency factors for the Citizen Potawatomi Nation reflected those identified in the literature.

The Holistic Community Model proved a useful approach to examining cultural resiliency at the community level. It allowed for looking at the major subsystems of a community in relation to each other, rather than as isolated components. It directed attention to both the objective resiliency factors such as growing economic resources and the more subjective resiliency factors such as a sense of community and the salient cultural resiliency factors such as identifying with the traditional culture and involvement in traditional activities. Data collected confirmed the four community components of the Holistic Model were representative of a Native American community as the major themes that emerged from the interviews fit into and addressed each component.

Virtually all of the 20 clues (see Table 2) identified by Luther and Wall (1987) were found to exist at some level in the Citizen Potawatomi Nation community, though

culture often determined their specific form. Following is a brief synopsis of the clues and how they were manifested at the Citizen Potawatomi Nation.

Clues One, Two, and Sixteen

Evidence of Community Pride Emphasis on Quality in Business and Community Life Sound and Well-Maintained Infrastructure

Evidence of community pride, emphasis on quality in business and community life, and a sound and well maintained infrastructure were easily seen when visiting the Citizen Potawatomi Nation headquarters, clinic, bank, grocery store, wellness center, casino, tribal heritage center, and other tribally owned facilities. All were beautiful, structurally sound, and well maintained. Community pride was also tied to cultural heritage. Listening to respondents talk with pride about the family reunion and the many accomplishments of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation was further evidence of community pride. Quality in business was also emphasized through the prevailing culture of doing things well.

Clues Three and Ten

Willingness to Invest in the Future Deliberate Transition of Power to a Younger Generation of Leaders

Clue three, a willingness to invest in the future and ten, deliberate transition of power to a younger generation, were found in the leadership program. Luther and Wall (1987) state that it is typical of thriving communities to have established a means by which new leaders are either formally or informally recruited into public service. That is

exactly what the Citizen Potawatomi Nation Leadership Program does. Further it promotes the traditional Native value of reciprocity or giving back. Students are assisted with scholarships and the internship is paid, but they are told that the expectation is to someday, in some capacity, give back to the Nation. The idea of reinvesting the "seed corn" toward a future economy that is stronger and more diversified also exemplifies clue

Clues Four and Five

three.

Participatory Approach to Community Decision-Making Cooperative Community Spirit

Clues four and five were accomplished though open community meetings, absentee voting, regional meetings and director's meetings. These activities, plus the active volunteerism and the efforts the leadership put into working with the surrounding Indian and non-Indian communities and being a "good neighbor" are evidence of a participatory approach to community decision-making (clue 4) and a cooperative community spirit (clue 5).

Clues Six and Seventeen

Realistic Appraisal of Future Opportunities Careful Use of Fiscal Resources

A realistic appraisal of future opportunities and careful use of fiscal resources were clearly evident as a number of respondents shared their perception of gaming as a window of opportunity that could likely close, and that to rely heavily on gaming for

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revenues could threaten their continued resilience. To prepare for such a possible future event, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation is investing revenues to build capacity both as a Nation through expanding its land base and diversifying the economy and of its members through its educational programs and services.

Clues Seven, Eight, and Nine

Awareness of Competitive Positioning Knowledge of the Physical Environment Active Economic Development Program

While respondents did not specifically address these topics, I did learn over the course of interviews that the Citizen Potawatomi Nation has a strategic plan that's been in place since 1985. It was revisited and refined in the mid 1990's with the help of an outside consultant. Additionally they have a Community Development Corporation. In collaboration with the Gordon Cooper Technology Center and the First National Bank and Trust Company of Shawnee (owned by the Citizen Potawatomi Nation), financial management, business development and management and other technical consultation and training and financing assistance are offered to Citizen Potawatomi Nation and other Native American entrepreneurs and business owners. Challenges to business development and financing in Indian country are myriad (Hillabrant, Earp, & Rhoades, 2004), and the Citizen Potawatomi Nation has taken a problem-solving approach to address this issue as well.

Clue Eleven

Acceptance of Women in Leadership Positions

Even though only one respondent discussed diversity on the Business Committee as a strength, that there is an "acceptance of women in leadership positions" (Luther & Wall, 1987, p. 9) is shown in the fact that one of the long-term top officials of the Business Committee is a woman. Additionally, many of the employees in key positions with the Nation are women. A number of people spoke of the balance brought to the Business Committee by having a woman on the committee. It is she, they said, who emphasized the caring and "people-orientation" that balanced the business orientation with which the Citizen Potawatomi Nation is run. Additionally, the diversity includes an age diversity, both young leaders to bring new and fresh ideas to the table as well as the more seasoned and experienced elders who can offer a perspective over time, were seen as necessary to a healthy Business Committee and resilient community.

Clue Twelve

Strong Belief in and Support of Education

Education is a high priority for the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. This was exemplified through their scholarship program, educational opportunities for employees, the multitude of education and training programs offered by the Nation, and their continual financial and cooperative support of the public and higher educational systems in the community. The Citizen Potawatomi Nation is expanding their business enterprises rapidly and they need a trained and skilled workforce. Ideally that workforce would be comprised largely of Citizen Potawatomi Nation members. However, the concept of education isn't simply confined to high school or college education. Adult

education focused on job skills and job retention, classes for adults and families teaching the Potawatomi language and other aspects of the culture, as well as wellness and healthy lifestyles programs are all part of the educational services supported by the Citizen Potawatomi Nation.

Clue Thirteen

Problem-Solving Approach to Providing Health Care

The Citizen Potawatomi Nation took over the operation of their health care program (versus letting the Indian Health Service continue to run it) approximately four years ago. As a result, they have been able increase the quality of care provided and tailor the program to better meet the needs of the Citizen Potawatomi tribal members and other Native Americans who utilize their services.

Clue Fourteen

Strong Multi-Generational Family Orientation

The Family Reunion Festival and the Cultural Heritage Project both point to strong multi-generational family orientation. Children have always been a part of most Native communities' activities and celebrations. The Family Reunion is a venue for purposefully and intentionally passing the traditions of their elders to the younger generations. The Cultural Heritage Project will serve to capture and preserve the heritage and stories of the Citizen Potawatomi people for generations to come.

Clue Fifteen

Strong Presence of Traditional Institutions that are Integral to Community Life

The traditional institutions whose presence was integral to the community life of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation included traditional Native institutions such as the family reunion, naming ceremonies, and other traditional Native religious ceremonies as well as the churches and civic organizations found in the mainstream communities studied by Luther and Wall (1987). These institutions have a strong influence on the social life in the community and are active participants in transmitting the culture to the entire community, enhancing a sense of connectedness among community members, working to improve the quality of life in the community, and enhancing its resilience.

Clue Eighteen

Sophisticated Use of Informational Resources

The creative and sophisticated use of information resources by community leaders to stay knowledgeable about affairs beyond their community is one of the twenty clues found by Wall and Luther (1987) in their study of thriving rural communities. Beyond using technology for informational purposes, the Citizen Potawatomi leadership intends to use informational technology to hold real-time meetings with the regional sites. This outreach will allow fuller participation in tribal affairs by those Citizen Potawatomi Nation members living out in the regions and serve to broaden and diversify the pool from which leaders and decision-makers may be selected.

Clue Nineteen

Willingness to Seek Help from the Outside

The grant-seeking ability was frequently discussed as an economic strength of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. Even though the ultimate goal of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation is to become self-sufficient, they are not opposed to seeking outside resources to help them make that happen and take pride in their success in securing grants. More and more rural communities, including reservations and other Native communities, are recognizing the need and the benefits from collaboration with other entities and communities to reach common goals.

Clue Twenty

Conviction that, in the Long Run, You Have to do it Yourself

According to Luther and Wall (1987), seeking outside help does not mean relying on other to do things for you. The Citizen Potawatomi Nation would agree. The benefits to the Citizen Potawatomi Nation of self-governance or "doing it yourself" are multitudinous. Two examples that were often mentioned included better health care and the ability to appropriate funds to tribally determined priority areas. Closely monitoring legislation, lobbying, and fighting in the courtrooms if necessary, indicate the value the Citizen Potawatomi Nation places on its sovereignty and the keen understanding they have that the only way for Native nations to once again achieve self-sufficiency and become strong resilient nations is to protect and then effectively exercise their sovereignty.

Conclusions

It is essential to move beyond studying resilience among Native Americans at the individual and familial levels and to examine how Native American communities can work toward being more resilient. Communities are more than the sum of their parts, and studies that address the inter-related workings at the community level are needed in order to learn more about collective behaviors and characteristics that facilitate resilience. Sustainable resilience in Native American communities depends on identifying and building on the protective factors, assets, and resources of the community, its leadership, members, and institutions. It also involves identifying and strengthening the linkages and associations with other communities and entities.

This study provides evidence that Native communities are and can be resilient. Resilience is more than just coping with adversity, it is moving beyond the challenges and emerging stronger (Kulig, 2000). To do so, the community collective must be proactive and willing to consider new and innovative approaches that foster their own growth and development. This may require cultural adaptation, while retaining those spiritual and social values that solidify, strengthen and support the community. However, even though some adaptation is necessary, Native communities need to capitalize on the traditional cultural values such as the importance of family, extended family, and community in order to enhance resiliency factors such as community support, community connectedness, volunteerism and cooperative community spirit. This could include celebrations of the culture and other programs, events, and activities that build pride in the community. This could involve such actions as a work pride program at tribal headquarters or cultural pride programs in schools and encouraging all members to

consider themselves as "ambassadors" to the tribe. It may mean community beautification efforts and opportunities for community members to participate in community life in ways that are meaningful.

Building resilient communities involves developing long-range plans. It means increasing the capacity of members through educational efforts and raising consciousness by providing a vision for the future. It includes valuing and encouraging participation by all citizens and seeking community wide involvement in creating the vision and in decision-making. Further, it involves constantly communicating that vision, so that everyone knows it and embraces it. Connections have to be forged between Native communities as well as between Native and non-Native communities. Economic development efforts need to be tied to "Nation-building" and not just job creation (Cornell & Kalt, 2003).

Finally, all economic ventures must be measured against the cultural values and vision. The culture of the community should act as a guide and benchmark against which ventures are measured. To the extent possible, the vision and the culture should establish the rules by which the community operates, and all economic and social development should follow the culture, rather than erode it.

Implications

The information obtained in this study is significant for several reasons. It has added to the body of existing knowledge about community resilience. The information gained in this study provides a deeper understanding of what contributes to resilience in one Native community and brings a strength-based perspective of Native American

communities that is counter to the pervasive negative images held by the majority society. This study also has implications for future research as well as for program development.

Future Research

Currently, limited studies are available that address resilience at the community level in Native communities. More research in this area is needed. Future studies need to be ethnographic so that they are contextualized within the specific culture of the community. Future research could include the identification of additional Native communities both in and outside Oklahoma for study in order to discover patterns or themes common among resilient Native communities, thus strengthening the generalizability of the study. Research across several communities would also enable comparisons to Native communities who are not seen as resilient to learn how the attitudes, behaviors, and characteristics of leadership of resilient communities differ from those of non-resilient communities. A final implication for future studies of resiliency at the community level would be to conduct longitudinal studies, which includes the specific history of a given Native nation (community) in addition to investigating through time.

Program Development

This study provides practical insight and tools to other Native communities.

Examples of what worked for this community have the potential of being replicated or adapted in other communities. A deeper understanding of what contributes to community

resilience can assist other tribal communities and their leaders in proactive change rather than operating in a reactive mode. The findings can be utilized to develop community and leadership development curriculum targeting other Native American communities and leaders. A Native version of "Twenty Clues" is a distinct possibility.

Limitations

Following is a discussion of limitations that should be considered in interpreting the results of this study. First, since this study was conducted with only one community, it is difficult to know how generalizable the findings are to other Native communities. Secondly, most of the participants for the study were employees or officials of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. Therefore, the perspective of community members who may be struggling to make ends meet is missing. As a result, it is possible sampling bias exists. Further, though a purposeful sampling method was employed to identify respondents who would yield the richest information, interviewing more community members who are not necessarily employees or officials of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation and who perhaps have differing opinions or perspectives was not done for this study and might be useful.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

HEARTLAND PERMISSION

Subject: Re: Permission

Date: Wednesday, April 19, 2006 5:42 PM

From: mw4137@aol.com

To: <valerie.shangreaux@okstate.edu>

Conversation: Permission

Yes, you have permission.

----Original Message----

From: Shane <valerie.shangreaux@okstate.edu>
To: Milan Wall <mwall@heartlandcenter.info>

Sent: Wed, 19 Apr 2006 10:34:14 -0500

Subject: Permission

Milan,

I am reprinting the 20 Clues to Rural Community Survival from the book Clues to Rural Community Survival as a table in my dissertation. Since it is copyrighted, I need your permission to do so. Can you please respond to this message giving me your permission?

Thanks, Valerie Shangreaux

APPENDIX B

SAGE PERMISSION

Subject: RE: permission

Date: Wed, 13 Jul 2005 11:32:57 -0700

Thread-Topic: permission

Thread-Index: AcWCcbN1pcxey2YJT8ypzindHUT8zwAq0YnwAS8LE8A=

From: "permissions" <permissions@sagepub.com>
Sender: "Clifford, Anna" <Anna.Clifford@sagepub.com>

To: <shane@biochem.okstate.edu>

Dear Shane,

Please consider this written permission to use the material, detailed below, for your dissertation. I wish you the best of luck.

Sincerely,

Anna Clifford
Permissions & Translations Administrator
Sage Publications
2455 Teller Road
Thousand Oaks, CA 91320
805-410-7713
805-376-9562 fax
anna.clifford@sagepub.com

----Original Message----

From: Valerie Shangreaux [mailto:shane@biochem.okstate.edu]

Sent: Wednesday, July 06, 2005 2:28 PM

To: order@sagepub.com Subject: permission

I am a doctoral student at Oklahoma State University. My review of the literature includes a reference to Terry Cross' Relational World View Model found in the following citation:

Cross, T. (1998) Understanding family resiliency from a relational world view. In H. McCubbin, E. Thompson, A. Thompson, & J. Fromer (Eds.), Resiliency in Native American and immigrant families (pp. 143-157). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

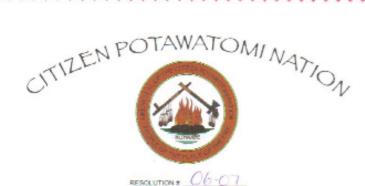
My advisor wants me to include the picture of the model in my review. How do I go about obtaining Sage's permission to do so?

--

Valerie Shangreaux, M.A.

APPENDIX C

CITIZEN POTAWATOMI NATION RESOLUTION



A RESOLUTION APPROVING THE REQUEST OF VALERIE SHANGREAUX FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A STUDY OF THE CITIZEN POTAWATOMI NATION.

- WHEREAS, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation is a federally recognized Tribe of American Indians with Constitutional authority under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of June 26, 1936, (49 Stat. 1967); and
- WHEREAS, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation has sovereign powers that are inherent in Tribal tradition, derived from a history of organized self-government since time immemorial, and recognized by treaties with the United States and in the Constitution of the United States; and
- WHEREAS, Article 7, Section 2 of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation Constitution provides for a separation of powers of the Tribal government by the reservation and delegation of specific powers to other entities of the Tribal government; and, except for these specific limitations, all other general powers of government are embodied in the Business Committee's authority "to enact legislation, transact business, and otherwise speak and act on behalf of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation in all matters on which the Nation is empowered to act now or in the future"; and
- WHEREAS, Valerie Shangreaux, a doctoral student at Oklahoma State University of Lakota descent, has requested permission to conduct research on the Citizen Potawatomi Nation in order to complete a dissertation project entitled "Resiliency in a Native American Community"; and
- WHEREAS, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation was chosen by Valerie Shangreaux based on census data, which shows the Nation to have higher educational attainment levels and lower unemployment and poverty rates than other tribal communities who were selected as comparison communities; and

CITIZEN POTAWATOMI NATION

WHEREAS, Valerie Shangreaux has requested permission to observe activities and have access to certain information at the Citizen Potawatomi Nation including: 1) to conduct interviews by videotape 2) to observe daily activities 3) to identify the Nation as an example of a resilient community 4) to use available documentary and other archival data to support the study.

WHEREAS, permission to have access to activities and information used in the study will be monitored by an official of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation; and

WHEREAS, Valerie Shangreaux will share a finished product with the Citizen Potawatomi Nation:

NOW, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED BY THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE OF THE CITIZEN POTAWATOMI NATION, that a resolution granting Valerie Shangreaux permission to conduct a study of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation IS HEREBY APPROVED.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that by act of this resolution and consistent with the separation of powers defined in the Constitution, the implementation, negotiation, operation, enforcement, procurement, settlement, and or completion of this contract, regulation or agreement by the Tribal Chairman or his designate IS HEREBY AUTHORIZED.

CERTIFICATION

We, the undersigned members of the Business Committee of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation do hereby certify that the above is a true and exact copy of Resolution POTT # 06-07, as approved on the 9th day of August, 2005 with 4 voting for, opposed absent or abstaining.

John A. Barrett,

Chairman

Vice Chairman

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Quality of Life in Community

- 1. What is it that's important to people about living here?
 - What's here for them?
 - What is the tribe doing for them?
- 2. How would you describe the quality of ____ in this community?
 - Education
 - Youth Activities
 - Cultural activities
 - Religious/Spiritual activities
 - Health care (physical/mental)
- 3. What do you see as the strengths of the tribal community? What would people like to be better?
- 4. What are some of the sources of pride for the people who live in this community?
- 5. How do people invest in the well-being of the tribal community?
 - How do people give back to this community?

Local Economy/Economic Transition

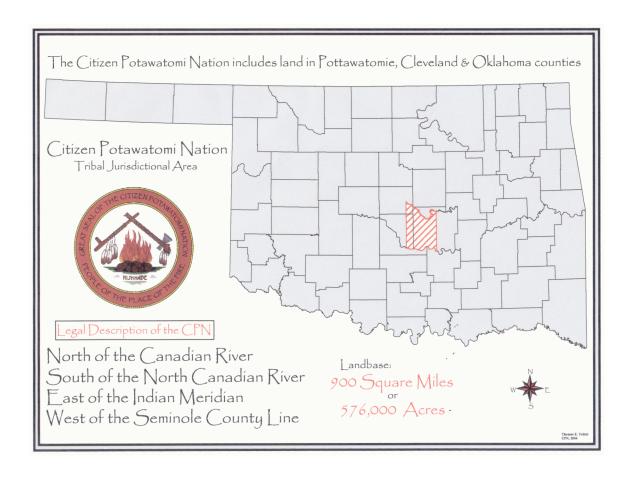
- 1. What are your tribe's economic strengths? What could be better?
- 2. What economic development activities is the tribe carrying out?
- 3. What new businesses do you know about?
- 4. What future opportunities do you see for the tribe?
- 5. What kinds of changes have you seen in the tribe's economy in the past 5 years?

Leadership and Citizen Participation

- 1. How would you describe the leadership of this tribe?
 - Hierarchical
 - Diversified/Representative
- 2. How would you describe the role the tribal leaders have played in your community's resilience?
- 3. How would you describe tribal decision-making process
 - How do leaders get people involved in tribal decision-making?
 - Where do ideas for new community projects come from?
- 4. In what ways does your tribe work with other communities in the area?
- 5. How do new leaders emerge? Get leadership skills?
 - What skills are important for future leaders?
 - What characteristics should they posses?
 - What values are important for them to hold?
- 6. If you wanted to get something done in this town, who would you need behind you?
- 7. Is there anything that I haven't asked that I should be asking about in relation to tribal community well-being?

APPENDIX E

CITIZEN POTAWATOMI NATION JURISDICTIONAL AREA



APPENDIX F

CONSENT FORM TO USE ARCHIVAL DATA

CONSENT FORM TO USE ARCHIVAL DATA

Project Title: Resiliency in a Native American Community

Investigators: Valerie Shangreaux

Last year I interviewed you for a class project. The interview included discussion of your experiences and knowledge about the economic planning, quality of life, and leadership practices in your community. Interview was <u>audio recorded</u>. I would like to include that interview as part of my data for my dissertation. I need your consent to do so.

Purpose: The purpose of this study is to describe the attitudes, behaviors, and characteristics of one resilient Native American community. Further, this study will result in the completion of Valerie Shangreaux's doctoral studies, and may also result in published articles and presentations at professional conferences. You were selected as a possible participant because of your knowledge about the tribal community and its activities.

Risks: There are no known risks associated with this project which are greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life.

Benefits: The information gain during this study may benefit other Native American communities as it will be used to develop educational training and activities aimed at current and future tribal leaders and community members.

Confidentiality: Every effort will be made to protect your identity. Your name will not be used in any reporting to Oklahoma State University or any other public reports. Results will be given in an aggregated form in order to protect individuals. The documents from this research will be held in a locked file in the locked office of Valerie Shangreaux. Valerie Shangreaux and/or a designated transcriptionist will be responsible for transcribing all recordings. Only Valerie Shangreaux will know the names and identifying information of the participants in this study. All audiotapes and transcripts will be destroyed after 5 years.

Compensation: No compensation is offered for participation.

Contacts: For any questions regarding your rights and treatment in this research contact:

Institutional Review Board Dr. Sue Jacobs 415 Whitehurst Hall

405-744-1676

For questions regarding the research contact me or my advisor:

Valerie Shangreaux 246 Noble Research Center

405-744-6710

Diane Montgomery, Ph.D.

424 Willard Hall 405-744-9441



Participant Rights: All participation is voluntary. Refusal to participate or withdrawal from the study at anytime will NOT involve any penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled.

I have read and fully understand the consent form. I sign it freely and voluntarily. A copy of this form has been given to me.

Signature of Participant

Date

I certify that I have personally explained this document before requesting that the participant sign it.

Signature of Researcher

Date

Institutional Review Board
Approved \$119/05
Expires \$1/8/04
Initials \$95
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APPENDIX G

CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM

Project Title: Resiliency in a Native American Community

Investigators: Valerie Shangreaux



Purpose: The purpose of this study is to describe the attitudes, behaviors, and characteristics of one resilient Native American community. Further, this study will result in the completion of Valerie Shangreaux's doctoral studies, and may also result in published articles and presentations at professional conferences. You were selected as a possible participant because of your knowledge about the tribal community and its activities.

Procedures: Participants will participate in one to two interviews of 1-2 hours in length. These interviews will include discussions of your experience and knowledge about the economic planning, quality of life, and leadership practices in your community. Interviews will be <u>audio</u> recorded.

Risks: There are no known risks associated with this project which are greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life.

Benefits: The information gain during this study may benefit other Native American communities as it will be used to develop educational training and activities aimed at current and future tribal leaders and community members.

Confidentiality: Every effort will be made to protect your identity. Your name will not be used in any reporting to Oklahoma State University or any other public reports. Results will be given in an aggregated form in order to protect individuals. The documents from this research will be held in a locked file in the locked office of Valerie Shangreaux. Valerie Shangreaux and/or a designated transcriptionist will be responsible for transcribing all recordings. Only Valerie Shangreaux will know the names and identifying information of the participants in this study. All audiotapes and transcripts will be destroyed after 5 years.

Compensation: No compensation is offered for participation.

Contacts: For any questions regarding your rights and treatment in this research contact:

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Dr. Sue Jacobs 415 Whitehurst Hall 405-744-1676

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Participant Rights: All participation is voluntary. Refusal to participate or withdrawal from the study at anytime will NOT involve any penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled.

I have read and fully understand the consent form. I sign it freely and voluntarily. A copy of this form has been given to me.	
Signature of Participant	Date
I certify that I have personally explained this do it.	ocument before requesting that the participant sign
Simpature of Researcher	Date



VITA

Valerie D. Shangreaux

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: RESILIENCY IN A NATIVE AMERICAN COMMUNITY

Major Field: Educational Psychology

Biographical: 2404 W. 9th Ave. Tribe: Oglala Sioux

Stillwater, OK 74074 Birth Date: 02-07-55 405-372-7830 (home) Health: Excellent

twosuns2@provalue.net

Education: Master of Arts: Educational Psychology

Major: Counseling Psychology

University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska

1989

Bachelor of Science: Home Economics Major: Human Development and the Family University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska

1982

Experience:

January 1995 – Present Campus Coordinator, Oklahoma Louis Stokes Alliance for Minority Participation in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (OK-LSAMP), Biochemistry and Molecular Biology Department, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, OK. Responsibilities: Assist Project Manager in identification, recruitment and selection of OK-LSAMP scholars, establish an early warning system to monitor academic progress of scholars, establish academic support systems for scholars, monitor the progress of OK-LSAMP students on a weekly basis, establish advisory committee, conduct committee meetings, supervise graduate student staff.

Professional Memberships:

2005-Present Member, Board of Directors, Heartland Center for Leadership

Development, Lincoln, NE

Name: Valerie D. Shangreaux Date of Degree: May, 2006

Institution: Oklahoma State University Location: Stillwater, Oklahoma

Title of Study: RESILIENCY IN A NATIVE AMERICAN COMMUNITY

Pages in Study: 154 Candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Major Field: Educational Psychology

Scope and Method of Study: The purpose of this study was to describe the patterns of behaviors, attitudes, and characteristics of one rural Native American community that has been identified as a resilient community. A descriptive case study was developed in order to capture evidence of community resiliency and the lessons that can be adapted or adopted by other Native American communities. A purposeful sampling strategy was employed, and a total of 22 individual interviews were conducted. Open-ended questions were asked to elicit people's knowledge, experiences, and perceptions of their community's resilience in the four broad areas of community: 1) Spiritual - Quality of Life; 2) Physical - Local Economy; 3) Social - Leadership and Citizen Participation; and 4) Intellectual - Planning for the Future

Findings and Conclusions: Broad themes were analyzed from the interview data to determine resiliency factors at the community level then compared to current literature on community and cultural resilience. The findings highlight the importance of community connectedness, the effective exercise of sovereignty and maintaining local control over community services, programs and economic development strategies. Additionally, this study supports the findings of previous researchers that the attitudes and behaviors of the leadership is a vital factor in the resilience of the community. Future research of additional Native communities in order to discover patterns or themes common among resilient Native communities, is needed for further generalizability.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL:
