

Biennial Report on the State of Cherokee Language





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February 10, 2025

Mike Shambaugh, Speaker
Council of the Cherokee Nation
Tahlequah, Oklahoma

Mr. Speaker:

Pursuant to the Durbin Feeling Cherokee Language Preservation Act, as amended, I am providing for your review the first biennial report as required by the Act, which includes the review of Language Immersion required by the Act.

The report details the success of, and challenges confronted by, our Language Department, along with strategies for further success. The report also, against the back drop of last year's report on language self-governance, will in my view compel action on our part to put our amazing and growing Language Immersion program on a footing independent of the State of Oklahoma. Overall, the report makes me proud and optimistic that we are on a path to Cherokee language revitalization.

The leadership and staff who contributed to this report have created a document of enduring significance. Once released publicly by my office in the coming weeks, it can serve as resource for Cherokee citizens and leaders to better understand the objectives and strategies of our Language program and may inspire more of us to contribute to the existential and important mission of language revitalization.

Chuck Hoskin, Jr.
Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation

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Background of Cherokee Language Revitalization

schools, boarding schools and child welfare systems ravished our traditional communities putting tremendous fears and traumas within our families. This caused our families' language preservation efforts to drastically decrease.

The Nation started its own organized Cherokee language preservation efforts in the 1970's through concerted documentation efforts, linguistically studying our language, and using community and public-school enrichment classes to teach Cherokee. As reported by Language Warriors at that time, including Durbin Feeling, communities and families remained in denial that the language was even close to being threatened. However, by the early 2000's it had become undeniable that parents of a childbearing age were no longer speaking the Cherokee language in the home or at least transmitting the language to their children. At the time, we assessed the language using the following rubric, and it scored a (7) meaning that the Cherokee language was "Definitely Endangered."

The **Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS)**, developed by Lewis and Simons (2010), measures a language's status in terms of endangerment or development. The table below shows the various levels on the scale:

LEVEL	LABEL	DESCRIPTION	<u>UNESCO</u>
0	International	"The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions."	Safe
1	National	"The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level."	Safe
2	Regional	"The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services."	Safe
3	Trade	"The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders."	Safe
4	Educational	"Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education."	Safe
5	Written	"The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community."	Safe
6a	Vigorous	"The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language."	Safe
6b	Threatened	"The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generations are transmitting it to their children."	Vulnerable
7	Shifting	"The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves, but none are transmitting it to their children."	Definitely Endangered

8a	Moribund	"The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation."	Severely Endangered
8b	Nearly Extinct	"The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language."	Critically Endangered
9	Dormant	"The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency."	Extinct
10	Extinct	"No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes."	Extinct

The Cherokee Nation (CN) started Cherokee language classes over a century ago. Chief, William Potter Ross made some of our co-ed, compulsory education schools bilingual in 1873 (Alexander, 2000, p. 31). At the core of this decision was the simple fact that the majority of Cherokee children were not learning or served by the English-only schools in operation at this time (McLoughlin, 1990, P. 436). The noted missionary (and adopted Cherokee) John B. Jones, who served as Indian Agent from 1871 to 1874, stated in 1872 that those monolingual Cherokee speaking children needed “a system of education which shall take their own language [i.e. Cherokee] and also make it a medium of conveying to them the rudiments of a common education” (p. 436). To this end, Jones, who had proposed to have textbooks in arithmetic, geography, and history published in Cherokee as early as 1866 with funds provided by the Cherokee National Council (p. 435), saw that “the Cherokee language, Instead of being a hindrance . . . could be made the means and medium of more extensive and accurate knowledge of the sciences of both languages [Cherokee and English] and of more varied culture of the intellect” (p. 437).

Unfortunately, this era of Cherokee education was not to last, as allotment and Oklahoma Statehood ended the original Cherokee bilingual school system. However, our language survived in our communities and with our elders until recently. In 1965 the Cherokee Bilingual Education Project started by Florence McCormick with the help of Winnie Mae Vann and Lizzie Duval in Greasy at Old Kentucky School. The program lasted until 1968 and was reintroduced at Greasy School by Neil Morton with Agnes Cowen as the coordinator which had bilingual classrooms and employed Winnie Mae Vann, Oleta Pritchett, Clara Kimble, Joanne Wofford and Ollie Ross.

In 1971 it was moved to Northeastern State University as a program to help Cherokee speakers in their English proficiency, but over time it evolved to help speakers read and write in Cherokee. In 1976, ᎠᎩᏍᏉᎦᎵᎠᎵ Durbin Feeling ᎠᎩᏍᏉᎦᎵᎠᎵ began teaching Cherokee Literacy to our First Language Speakers as an outreach of the Cherokee Bilingual Program. In time, second language learners began attempting to learn to speak and understand Cherokee along side the fluent Cherokee elders learning to read and write Cherokee. Durbin saw the writing on the wall, the young people that attended class with their older relatives were a part of what some now call the “Middle” or “Missing” generation, (Wilson et al, 2022, .p.358), “adults who have limited or no proficiency in their Indigenous language”. Only a few were successful in creating a space to build their own proficiency well enough to push for adult language classes.

From the 1970's until the early 2000's, there was no significant movement in terms of language revitalization efforts until the inception of the Immersion School.

Cherokee Nation started the Cherokee Language Immersion School in 2001, as a 'Language Nest' in Lost City, just west of Tahlequah. Due to popular support in 2003, it began to develop into a full school the following year, and it is now the flagship of CN's language revitalization efforts. This Immersion School or *CWY ᎠᎾᎿᎿᎿᎿᎿᎿ* tsalagi tsunadehlogwasdi "The Place Where They Are to Learn the Cherokee Language" (Peter, 2003, p. 8) was chartered under the state in 2011. It has had its ups and downs in regards to consistency, quality and efficacy but it was originally focused on Cherokee language immersion, and the Cherokee language was the medium of discourse (Peter, 2008, p. 167).

However, parents very quickly became concerned that their children were falling behind in academically, specifically in their English language proficiency. They wanted more English, as they believed that this would allow the learners to master the academic content better than they could in Cherokee. CN was still fighting against a major philosophy that had long been indoctrinated into its citizens and non-citizens that were living within its Reservation boundaries. It is still believed that teaching a child anything other than English is harmful to the child's education, and potentially his or her intellectual development. This would undoubtedly lead the child to an unprosperous future at best. Although CN, its federal partners, and linguists, with their combined academic studies have done much to erode this philosophy, it is still virulently infecting our communities. When English was greatly increased in its instructional usage, the academic content became duplicated in both languages, Cherokee was not learned, and the learners fell further behind academically. English became pervasive in the school, and Cherokee was not being acquired or spoken.

A study was conducted by CN for an Administration for Native Americans (ANA) grant in 2002 found that an exact number of Cherokee speakers could not be ascertained at that time, but through this research, they learned a great deal of information about the health of the Cherokee language in our communities. This report left many researchers in CN concerned that the number of Cherokee speakers was much lower than was being reported. Popular estimates of Cherokee speakers were reaching as high as ten to twenty thousand in the early 2000's. The result of these inflated numbers allowed the Cherokee speaking community to maintain a false confidence that the language in more secluded areas of the Reservation was still being spoken throughout all ages, from children to young adults. Many believed the Cherokee language was being reproduced naturally and was still healthy. Meanwhile, the Cherokee Immersion School was struggling with creating curriculum with teaching methodologies strong enough to be successful in a Cherokee language medium classroom. Likewise, since it was not being maintained into the homes and families of Cherokee communities, Cherokee children were struggling with getting the Cherokee language outside of the classroom.

Observations have been made by immersion and language program staff over the developing Immersion School students' language progress, and some valuable factors were observed. Some of the Immersion School children were able to maintain their language from their families at some level, whereas other young Cherokee language speakers were stripped of their language progress by public schools. However, the Immersion School children who were getting some

language from their parents or grandparents faced a new challenge being from different community backgrounds. They were often from different dialect or accents because they were brought from across the Cherokee Reservation to Tahlequah, a central location. Each community dialect had specific ways to speak Cherokee that were different from the first language speaking Cherokee Immersion teachers and other students' families, creating conflict. In the Immersion School, it was also found that many Cherokee speaking elders had not heard children speak Cherokee since they were children themselves and did not have much patience with the tonal, grammatical, and lexical deficiencies in second language Cherokee learners' proficiency.

Due to these factors, amongst others, most of the students from the school remained quiet while interacting in the older Cherokee-speaking community. This led to doubt in the speaker population if the language could successfully be taught. CN collaborated with NSU and started the Cherokee Language Teacher Education Program. This program taught Cherokee but did not have enough continual language immersion hours to be successful. It worked with the teachers for second language acquisition, and teaching methodologies but many of the first language speakers rejected the program. However, the program did gather valuable language documents and recordings that are still useful today. They studied the language, which was unofficially rated as a level four language according to the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages' (ACTFL) criteria. This helped in the planning and building of language programs in the future that had more success. NSU is the only university to offer the two Cherokee degrees, teacher certification and Cherokee cultural studies. Several Cherokee Immersion teachers have received their Cherokee teacher's certification through this program at NSU. CN had and still has a Translation Department and Language Technology program, which started translating and producing the language in various technological fields and continues to feed into all efforts in language documentation and revitalization. In an unofficial language field study conducted in June and July of 2013, there was a counted loss of 67 first-language Cherokee speakers. At the time, CN was losing an estimated 15 to 35 speakers a month which concerned many language advocates.

In 2017, CN was awarded a five-year Collaborative ANA grant that was extended to six years. This grant's goal was to put the language programs all under one unified curriculum. The grant also allowed CN to develop a Community Readiness assessment that CN rated after conducting interviews three different times, in the beginning, middle and near the end of the grant. In the beginning of the grant, CN's Community Readiness was rated at a 4.6; in the middle it rated at a 4.2; and at the end it rated a 3.81. CN added an extra fifty thousand dollars to conduct focus groups on 13 different demographics of Cherokee communities (See Appendix 1). While all these different demographic groups had varying responses in their surveys, they all responded highly to the two language factors, that the language was dying, and the language was sacred. As a result of this grant, in 2021, CN established a strategic planning process the ᏍᏉᎦᏰᏱᏚᏳᏅᏓ ᏧᏂᏈᏃᏁᏐᏩᏛᏔᏅᏗ igiwonihisdi dideyohvsdodi our Unified Language Strategy and integrated the best strategic work from the past twenty (20) years with our most recent research and experiences (refer to section 6.A.1). This has helped lead us in our decision making and planning processes to ensure that our revitalization initiatives are strategic, research driven, and success based.



In 2020, CN Administration under Principal Chief, Chuck Hoskin Jr. and Deputy Chief, Bryan Warner, created the Language Department as a distinct consolidated department within Cherokee Nation. When speaking on the inception of the Language Department, Principal Chief, Chuck Hoskin Jr. said, “In order to save and perpetuate our Cherokee language, it is essential for our Cherokee language programs to be

together in one department and in one location. These programs will soon all be housed in the new Durbin Feeling Language Center.” The Durbin Feeling Language Center was opened during the fall of 2022.

Current State of the Cherokee Language

Since the passage of the Durbin Feeling Language Act 2019, Cherokee language transmission has again become the central focus of the Immersion School. The department has also learned the Cherokee Cultural values, behaviors, and beliefs must be the foundation of learning the language, rather than English Oklahoma Pass Standards translated into Cherokee. We are not just creating a new generation of Cherokee speakers, but also building a new generation of Cherokee people.

In early 2014, CWY ᏍᏈᏲᏉᏍᏔᏅ ᏈᏍᏈᏲᏉᏍᏔᏅ tsalagi gawonihisdi tsundanilvge’i the Cherokee Language Master Apprentice Program (CLMAP) for adult Cherokee language learners began. CN started working on developing an adult language medium program, to teach people that wanted to pass Cherokee on to others. The following year, January of 2015 CN started the first four apprentices in CLMAP. It is a two-year program with forty hours a week of instruction, with the goal of building their Cherokee proficiency while instilling the skills to pass the language forward. Each program participant receives an hourly stipend or educational gift to cover living expenses while they are in the program. Learners that want to be Cherokee language medium teachers are the target of the program. During their first year, the participants acquire as much Cherokee as possible, then in the second year they shift their focus to learning how to teach in the language. This program still has some struggles but has been successful in producing Intermediate level Cherokee speakers and a few Advanced level speakers in the first few years. The program has steadily maintained a greater percentage of higher proficiency second language learners every year. The CLMAP endeavors to create teachers for Cherokee Nation’s CWY ᏈᏍᏈᏲᏉᏍᏔᏅ tsalagi tsundelogwasdi Charter Language Immersion School, for curriculum development, and to feed teachers back into CLMAP. Initially the goal was to graduate four CLMAP participants per year, but following the Durbin Feeling Language Act in 2019, administration quadrupled the number of participants.



Until most recently, the curriculum and instructional methods of Cherokee language initiatives have focused on translating English academic content and using Oklahoma standards translated into Cherokee as the model for all instruction. Cultural content had been relegated to enrichment and was only spoken about at the most surface levels. From direct experience, we have learned that teaching culture out of context and overemphasizing often essentialized material culture led to what we sometimes refer to as “fast-food” culture classes, where everyone gets a bite that’s over processed, and less than robust (McCarty et al, 2021, p. 346). In addition, such piecemeal approaches contribute to the Anglicization of Cherokee words and phrases and other forms of language transference (p. 346).

Our older generation of Immersion School teachers are First Language Cherokee Speakers from staunch cultural backgrounds. Even those from the Cherokee Baptist convention families were steeped in deep traditional cultural spirituality. Until more recently, as the language of our churches has drifted to English, the Cherokee Christian traditions were syncritized with traditional practices and beliefs. Even our elder church leaders grew up steeped in a rich tapestry of Cherokee spirituality and tradition. Those same elders are often suspicious of the old Cherokee cultural practices and have not passed them down to their children and grandchildren. Likewise, the lack of transmission was mirrored in language preservation. It is a new thing for our youth to engage in some cultural activities, outside of the few families that have maintained the traditions within the Cherokee Nation Reservation.

Between the concerns of the influential religious population, and the conservative ceremonial traditions, historically the language programming at CN has kept deep culture out of the curriculum. Public schools, boarding schools, and various other educational institutions were considered the primary means to a resolution or solution to the Indian problem as it was posed by the US government (Kulago & Herne, 2022, p. 189). The aim of these policies and processes was to “assimilate, civilize, Christianize, Americanize, detribalize, and deculturize Indigenous

Peoples with the intentions to disconnect us from our lands. The attacks on the tribal ways of life which were considered “socialistic and contrary to the values of ‘civilization’” were identified as insufficient and failed in the attempts to civilize Indigenous Peoples” (p. 189). Our language wasn’t spoken to children nor intentionally used with them for over forty years. Even our most traditional Cherokee ceremonial grounds were not supportive of integrating Cherokee cultural practices into the school, feeling that only those that grew up in ceremony should have exposure to those sacred teachings.

When the Immersion School began, both conservative factions, the Baptist and Ceremonial, were against integrating Cherokee values, traditions, and lifeways into the school. Certainly, the public schools did not push Cherokee content and there were few families providing Cherokee cultural traditions or language to their children. The Immersion School initiated the first effort to create a serious Cherokee language learning environment with instruction and academic content provided in the Cherokee language medium, however, initially great efforts were made to keep Cherokee cultural systems out of the school. When the Language Department inherited the Immersion School, the outside pressure had subsided where the Language Department successfully began implementing culture within the school. Many Immersion School language advocates really wanted to push a cultural approach, understanding that integrating communities, schools, and families, while fostering intergenerational transmission of Indigenous knowledge by weaving culture, philosophy, and lifeways into the curriculum is the most effective way to engage in Indigenous language revitalization (McCarty et al, 2021, p. 349).

Over the last year and a half, graduates of CLMAP have begun to enter the school as instructors and teacher's assistants. Some have been selected to help infuse our curriculum, in every Cherokee language educational program, with the deep culture of our spiritual practices from our Cherokee churches to the ceremonial grounds. This new initiative integrates academic standards and material into the learning sessions through the context of cultural activities, through the lens of traditional values, stories, and cultural protocols. These young people have teamed up with First Language Cherokee Speakers that are veteran Immersion School teachers, to create a curriculum team. They are the new ᏍᎦᏅᏔ ᏌᏁᏳ ᏚᏗᏈᏲᏓ didehyododi duyugtv iyadvhndi "We Use This to Teach Them the Right Way". This is a cultural curriculum program that provides through the lens of the Cherokee ethnosphere that surpasses the state and federal standards, providing relief to the first language speaking Cherokee elders who have been teaching at the school for two decades, and professionally, in the public school system, for over forty years.

This team has engaged with the young people in the Immersion School who have expressed their desires as Cherokee language learners. We began to overtly incorporate ceremonial activities and culturally grounded teachings about traditional practices and lifeways into the instruction and curriculum as has been suggested by many Indigenous educators (McCarty et al, 2021, p. 346). Those elders who once discouraged overt cultural practices in the school have become accepting of the new initiatives.

As Brayboy et al, 2012, pointed out in Postsecondary education for American Indian and Alaska Natives: Higher education for nation-building and self-determination, nation building is an outgrowth of self-determination and as a result of more forward-thinking governing policies, business practices, and in our case remaking school curriculum (p. 14). Now we have Cherokee

cultural initiatives that focus on curriculum and teaching strategies that are imbedding the culture into the Cherokee language by using traditional stories, community values, cultural protocol, and historical subsistence practices to integrate academic content into all Cherokee language lessons targeted for proficiency and grade level. The students are learning traditional songs and dances related to our old ceremonial festivals, calendar, and ballgames. We could not successfully continue to build our Nation approaching decolonization and self-actualizing sovereignty without restoring our traditional lifeways, language, and Indigenous knowledge (p. 14), we cannot simply speak English with Cherokee words anymore.

The student's interests in traditional Cherokee dances and songs work against the detribalization often associated with Cherokee people, and further reaches to correct the narrative of one-sided, mono-directional assimilation. In Kulago and Herne (2022) section three of *Indigenizing education: Transformative research, theories, and praxis*, the authors argue that engaging the youth in caring relationships with the land, social justice, and engagement with older Cherokees that span across generations via spirituality and ceremonialism our people can start to heal and reverse the processes of colonial damage and trauma (p. 191). Further, the authors point out something it took our school a decade to implement but we are seeing positive results for infusing and flooding our school with authentic Cherokee culture “Indigenous epistemologies are purposefully infused in the daily structure of the learning environment...drawing on Indigenous knowledge systems to create an environment where young people begin to privilege, promote, revitalize and center their Indigenous ways of thinking and being (p. 191).”

The Language Department believes that through deeper engagement with our traditional and historical cultural identity, we could strengthen our young people's Cherokee wellbeing through self respect, a commitment to language, and through community involvement. We have learned that language and cultural revitalization would inspire a sense of responsibility and provide a vehicle for young people to be warriors in a safe and contained environment, with clear goals and objectives meant to strengthen themselves, their families, and communities. By inculcating Cherokee cultural activities into our curriculum, it will be evident that our language programs are a space where our people can engage in the sustaining, perpetuating, and generating of a resurgence of Indigenous ways of knowing and being (Kulago & Herne, 2022, p. 193). Culture and ceremony provide support for Cherokee youth that want to engage with practices like stickball that require a level of commitment and intentionality to participate, like fasting and following ceremonial restrictions (Kulago & Herne, 2022, p. 186).

It must always be remembered “we are not in the confines of Western curriculum; that is the key difference to what makes us unique and what makes us work” (p. 186). Our language is not Indigenous language without Indigenous culture, which often appears to be the common theme. Programs that work with native youth provide them with the Indigenous knowledge that can only be gained through cultural engagement in our language. The Language Department has learned that language revitalization work is a decolonial and restorative practice that checks the institutions of hegemony and assimilation that continue to facilitate disruption for the livelihood of the Cherokee people. This work is a call to Cherokee children, ceremonial leaders, families, communities, educators, and the greater Cherokee Nation to engage in healing and renewal as members of a language community centered at the school (McCarty et al, 2021, p. 350). It is under this cultural revitalization backdrop that young people from the Immersion School were introduced to traditional Cherokee cultural practices over the last few years, and they initiated

certain cultural practices including songs and dances in Cherokee institutional spaces for the first time in over a century.

When the Cherokee Nation's new administration declared a State of Emergency for the Cherokee language, it subsequently engaged in several language revitalization initiatives. This is the greatest, most ambitious Cherokee language revitalization effort in modern history. It has set off a chain of events that has opened the way to a hopeful future for the Cherokee language for the first time in decades. This administration has taken on the role of Cherokee language advocates. As a part of this movement, valuable language revitalization programs and projects were initiated by our leaders who wrote and passed the Durbin Feeling Language Act in 2019 and its permanent reauthorization in 2024.

CN started keeping track of how many Cherokee speakers passed each month and started sending monthly announcements to the public, via social media, mourning the loss of our Cherokee speakers. The Cherokee First Language Speaker Roll was conducted in 2019 as a way of identifying and documenting all living Cherokee speakers. For the first time, consensus developed among the Cherokee population that our language was at a very high risk of being lost. Since that time, CN has spent more than 150 million dollars in language efforts, including new language programs and initiatives as well as capital projects such as the Durbin Feeling Language Center (named after the beloved Language Warrior Durbin Feeling).

CN purchased a second site for an Immersion School in Greasy, Oklahoma. The Baby Immersion Program for infants as young as six weeks and their parents was started in the fall of 2023. The Bonnie Pigeon-Kirk Language Village was built in Tahlequah in 2019. The village places Cherokee Speakers alongside language learning families who are raising their babies in our language. At this site, First Language Speakers will be created in a fully immersive environment (school, work, home, and community) for the first time since Oklahoma statehood.



CN built an Emergency Speaker Homeless Village in Kenwood, and a Transitional Language Village in Belfonte to ensure that the most vulnerable Cherokee speakers had shelter and safety. More than 34 million dollars has been spent on speakers' homes to help secure one of the most precious populations. More than 900 Cherokee Speakers have been recorded thus far, and more than 15,000 Cherokee Language documents and photos have been digitized to feed into a

language corpus that will help document the lexicon, syntax, and discursive features of our language. More than 75,000 people have been taught in online classes, with 6,000 more taught in community language classes.

The ‘At Large Cherokee Language Course’ teaches Cherokees in person across the United States in the 25 at-large Cherokee communities. More than 200,000 new Cherokee words have been created, most of which were neologisms for educational purposes. The Language Department has drafted cartoons, dubbed TV series, and coded language apps. More than 1,400 acres of land has been secured, to be used for a Language and Cultural Reserve in Kenwood, Oklahoma. The Language Department is in the process of creating a 50-year plan for that property that will one day result in a massive language and culture campus. This will surpass anything ever built in the modern era for Cherokee language and culture. The Bonnie Pigeon-Kirk Language Village has been extended with seven additional homes, with an additional four homes under construction. Also being built, is a community building, dubbing studio, greenhouse, wild turkey house, smoke house, blacksmith stations, a USb dagsi (box turtle) reserve, traditional medicine habitat, and Cherokee heirloom seed gardens, where a variety of plants will be scattered across our language campuses.

Finally, Cherokee Nation is introducing ᏍᎩᎠᏰᏱᏉ Ꮜᐅᐅᑦ Ꮑᐅᐅᑦ dinadehyohvsgi widatsetlv'i udotlsvv'i the Teacher Institute of Excellence, a new professional teacher training program for CLMAP graduates. They will master professional teaching skills in the Cherokee language medium while gaining hands-on teaching experience and building their language proficiency levels to the highest developed in any Cherokee language program.



There are several CLMAP graduates who are beginning to speak Cherokee at native Cherokee speaker proficiency. Some of the learners are part of a new phenomenon of multi-generational immersion families. Seven families have two or more generations directly engaged in Cherokee Nation Language Programming. These families are all part of DFLC, having children in the Immersion School or Baby Immersion program, parents in CLMAP or teaching, and

grandparents or great grandparents who are First Language Cherokee Speakers employed by the Language Department at DFLC. Some live in the Speaker Village next to DFLC. This is one of at least five locations where housing will be provided to First Language Cherokee Speakers living next to second language Cherokee language learning families, centralized around language community centers. However, currently only one Speaker Village is fully completed for occupancy. These networks of speakers and learners engaged at multiple hubs of intersecting Cherokee services, programs, and language environments that support and build language learning and acquisition opportunities on a daily basis. This is our best strategic initiative, and we have many Nations and Indigenous Speakers across the US and New Zealand to thank for it.

Some of the adult Cherokee language learners working in language revitalization have networked with Nations that have been the most successful at creating second language Native language speakers, like the Hawaiians, Yuchi, Sac, Chickasaw, Lakota, Blackfeet, Jemez Pueblo, and Ojibwe. These Cherokee language learners have begun to push for more Cherokee language immersion for all ages. Global Indigenous language movements have usually learned at the feet of the Māori people. They have had some of the most successful initiatives and have been working for quite some time to establish their language as a foundation among not only the Māori people but in the whole of New Zealand as well. In 2014 a delegation of Māori came to meet with the Oklahoma based tribes who were the most serious about language revitalization, hosted by the Sac and Fox program lead by Jacob Manatowa-Bailey.

The burgeoning CLMAP Adult Immersion program met with Sir Dr. Timoti Keratu, a Māori Language leader and grandfather to the language revitalization movement. Sir Keratu stated that the Cherokees be ready, because he was coming for a week-long visit the following year to learn about the Cherokee language revitalization efforts. In the Spring of 2015, Sir Keratu and his delegation of nine second language te roa Māori speakers arrived. The Māori delegation challenged the program about the weaknesses of the language programming over the course of their visit. Sir Keratu asked if Cherokees had anything beyond Hymns and Ceremonial songs in Cherokee, regrettably, there were not any. Sir Keratu responded, “then your language will die, and you will fail.” Sir Keratu’s warning was taken to heart.

Special mention should be made of the contributions and assistance given to Cherokee Language revitalization efforts by Aha Punana Leo and the Ka Haka ‘Ula O Ke’elikolani (Hawaiian Language College, University of Hawaii at Hilo). They provided direct guidance in the development of the Cherokee Immersion School and the Cherokee program at NSU.

In the fall, of 2021, the Language Department collaborated on a Cherokee language compilation album that would translate local Cherokee artist’s original songs into the Cherokee language. Some of the most popular genres in music today were captured on the album. The Language Department had become stable, and programs were multiplying as more funds became available from COVID-19 related funding, helping our tribe financially after the worst of the pandemic. Many young people in our allied Indigenous Nations have grown into adulthood and taken leadership responsibilities in their language movements. This affirms the continuance of Cherokee ancestral systems of development and renown and feeds the tasks needed to achieve the successes necessary to secure our Indigenous languages.

The enemy isn't English, or the American educational system, or even the Oklahoma State Department of Education. Cherokee Nation cannot afford enemies or opponents but must build bridges. It is vital to build curriculum, lesson plans, pedagogies, methodologies, media, literature, ceremonies, traditions, and people. The goal sets the limits and creates boundaries, but it should always build and grow those who love it and seek to support it and smile at every passerby as it takes back its rightful place on the tongues, ears, mouths, minds, and hearts of the Cherokee people and our friends and families.

However, since 2019 the Nation has lost more than 800 First Language Speakers reducing our speaking population currently around 1,500 Speakers, making our speaker population summing less than one third of 1% of CN's population. Our CN leaders do understand the cost of losing our language and value it so much that they are willing to invest in successful language programs and projects to ensure our success. In the face of an aging Cherokee speaker population, and despite the worrisome statistics, hope is garnered that with diligence to being responsible for, developing, and stabilizing language revitalization initiatives our Cherokee language will rise again.

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III. Progress Towards Language Revitalization, Including Basic Statistics Relating to Language Revitalization

Second Language Speaker Proficiency

In evaluating concepts such as “fluency” and “proficiency” in Cherokee, a brief description of these ideas should be covered so that readers of this report understand what these terms mean as they are utilized by the Language Department. “Fluency” is a general term that simply means how well a person can converse in the Cherokee language. This concept relates to the *fluidity* with which one can use the language. “Proficiency” refers to a more precise determination of a person’s ability in the language (what a person can ‘do’ in the language), and there will be different levels assigned to this term. Referencing Figure 1 on page 27, the Language Department uses a proficiency rubric designed in consultation with the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL). ACTFL is the recognized body for evaluating and determining proficiency levels across many languages in the world.



To understand these levels, and the work necessary to achieve each level, is a critical part of the Language Department's process in building speakers. There are three applicable levels for evaluating the progress of creating a second language speaker. These are: Advanced, Intermediate, and Novice. Each of these levels has three sublevels, high, mid, and low; thus, a person can be rated at Novice low, Novice mid, Novice high, Intermediate low, Intermediate mid, Intermediate high, Advanced low, Advanced mid, and Advanced high.

To categorize the general proficiency levels, they will be addressed with Novice first. Novice level speakers know a lot of memorized words and simple conversational forms but have trouble holding conversations and they also will have difficulty comprehending the language (both spoken and written), they cannot 'create' in the language but rather 'parrot' what they have heard. Intermediate speakers can hold conversations and express themselves well (though often not in the way Advanced or first language speakers can), they have very good comprehension, but they have limited vocabulary and struggle with grammatical command, as well as in producing narratives (things like telling stories in the language). Advanced speakers can produce narratives (tell stories), have grammatical command of the language, possess a generally wide breadth of lexicon (vocabulary), and can discuss a wide range of topics fully in the language, including being able to verbally navigate a socially challenging situation comprehensibly.

For creating Cherokee speakers, the primary factor in this process is "contact hours" engaged in the language, which is the amount of time needed to produce a speaker at these various levels. An Intermediate mid speaker takes roughly 3,500 hours to make, but note that it is not simply enough to have a learner exposed to 3,500 hours of Cherokee for them reach this level; it also requires a focused degree of language that builds the learner up over these hours with language they can mostly understand, an idea known as "comprehensible input." In other words, a learner at Novice high will not progress if the only language she/he hears is at Advanced mid or above since they will not be able to process the language at that level. The effective contact hours are also based upon continuous and uninterrupted time for this acquisition to occur. Learners who have extended breaks, such as for Christmas/winter and summer break, will regress in their language level to the point that additional hours are required to advance their language level and skill to overcome regression.

All of this information is provided as a way to better understand the descriptions and tables given in the following section as they relate to the results in producing speakers in both the CLMAP and Cherokee Immersion School. There are two additional levels, Superior and Distinguished, but to reach these levels requires additional language acquisition beyond the current CLMAP and Immersion School systems. These higher proficiency levels are typically First Language Speakers who are the most proficient speakers of the language. It is also worth mentioning, that socioculturally the term Speaker is loaded, and most Cherokee Speakers believe this label should only be applied to First Language Cherokee Speakers and as such second language Cherokee speakers are often referred to as learners, or second language learners.

The table below shows the number of CLMAP participants, graduates, and graduate proficiency levels. In 2021, the CLMAP program received two ANA grants representing two special projects, the Institute of Excellence and Teacher Bridge. Over the course of two years, these two programs took Advanced level Second language Speakers and First Language Speakers that were

not fully developed in their language and increased their language proficiency to higher levels. The learners were chosen from CLMAP graduates and community members. Of the five (5) Advanced low proficiency level speakers (ACTFL scale) in the combined programs, three (3) raised their Cherokee Language proficiency to Advanced mid (one level) and two (2) raised their proficiency to Advanced high (two levels) by the end of the grant projects.

Other CLMAP graduates have taken jobs within the Cherokee Language Department, and many have continued to grow their language proficiency. In the future, we have plans to periodically reassess Cherokee learners' language proficiencies as they work in the language but have not implemented that strategic objective. However, CLMAP graduates that have been hired as employees into the CLMAP program have been assessed.

Total CLMAP Participants	77
Total CLMAP Graduates	58
CLMAP Graduation Percentage	75%
CLMAP Final Graduation Proficiencies	58 total
Advanced high	0
Advanced mid	1
Advanced low	21
Intermediate high	24
Intermediate mid	11
Intermediate low	1



The tables below show the Immersion School graduate proficiency levels from 2012-2022, Immersion School graduate proficiency levels from 2023-2024. The section of the table, Immersion School Graduate Proficiencies 2012-2022, is based upon self-reported levels of proficiency by these graduates. In contrast, the data listed under 3rd-6th 2023 Language Assessment and 3rd-8th 2024 Assessment, came from trained evaluators. For this reason, there may be a sublevel or more

difference between the self-reported proficiency results of graduates and their actual proficiency levels (in other words, it is very likely that the self-reported levels were higher than their actual proficiency).

Total Immersion School Language Graduates 2012-2022	56
Total Surveys Received	44
Percentage of Survey Response	78.5%
Immersion School Graduate Proficiencies 2012-2022	44 total
Advanced	0
Intermediate high	3
Intermediate mid	30
Intermediate low	9
Novice high	2



3rd- 6th 2023 Language Assessment	34 total
Advanced low	0
Intermediate high	0
Intermediate mid	5
Intermediate low	18
Novice high	11

3rd- 8th 2024 Language Assessment	53 total
Advanced low	0
Intermediate high	0
Intermediate mid	8
Intermediate low	33
Novice high	12

Community Readiness for Community Change-Survey Report

□ in response to the Native Language Community Coordination demonstration project, the Cherokee Nation Language Master Apprenticeship Program conducted a three-party community readiness survey, beginning in 2017 and finalizing the assessment in the Spring of 2022. At that time the staff conducted ten interviews and had a total of five staff members that transcribed those interviews for scoring purposes. This process was repeated in 2019 and 2022. In each iteration of the process, two program staff members scored the interviews and came to a consensus about each interview's score. The staff members chose ten interviewees that would represent the width and breadth of the Cherokee Nation (CN) population, in all but two cases they used the same interviewees in all the Community readiness assessments. In those cases, they chose a new person from the same professions. The interviewees included: a Tribal Counselor, a local nurse at an Indian Health Service clinic, a local teacher at the BIE school, Sequoyah, an at-large Cherokee citizen from San Francisco that works for a Fortune 500 company, a Cherokee citizen that does cultural outreach for a local nonprofit, a CN employee that works in Career Services, an Indian Child Welfare case worker, an Assistant Attorney General in the CN tribal

government, a Marshall in the tribal police force, and a fluent Cherokee speaker from a local community.

Cherokee Nation's 2017 Community Readiness Assessment Interview Breakdown:

<i>Interview #</i>	<i>#1</i>	<i>#2</i>	<i>#3</i>	<i>#4</i>	<i>#5</i>	<i>#6</i>	<i>#7</i>	<i>#8</i>	<i>#9</i>	<i>#10</i>	<i>Average</i>
<i>Knowledge of Efforts</i>	4	3	9	5	8	4	3	3	6	7	5.2
<i>Leadership</i>	4	5	6	4.5	6	4	4	4	5.5	5	4.8
<i>Community Climate</i>	4	7	3.5	3.5	5	4.5	3.5	3.5	5	4.5	4.4
<i>Knowledge of Issue</i>	5	3	5	6.5	6	5	5	4.5	6	4.5	5
<i>Resources</i>	2.5	3	3	4	4	4.5	2.5	4	3.5	4	3.5
Overall Community Readiness Score											4.6

The survey focuses on the five different dimensions of *Community Readiness: Knowledge of Efforts, Leadership, Community Climate, Knowledge of Issue, and Resources*. The averages of the surveys were scored in the five areas from a scale of one to nine, expanding from *No Awareness* to a *High Level of Community Ownership*. The survey from 2017 showed generally higher scores. In 2017, the averages of the ten surveys were also tallied in the same five areas from one to ten and that score was a 4.6. In 2017, the area of Knowledge of Efforts the score was 5.2, in 2017, the area of Leadership the score was 4.8, in 2017, the area of Community Climate the score was 4.4, in 2017, the area of Knowledge of the Issue the score was 5, and in 2017, area of Resources the score was 3.5. In 2019, the averages of the ten surveys were tallied in the five areas from one to ten. In the area of *Knowledge of Efforts*, the score was 4.9, in *Leadership* the score was 4.05, in *Community Climate* the score was 4.25, in *Knowledge of the Issue* the score was 4.5, and in area of *Resources* the score was 3.9. Aside from the previous score in resources, the scores had gone down in comparison to the survey from 2017. **In the 2019 survey the Average of all areas was 4.2 which is at the lower end of Stage 4, Preplanning.**

Cherokee Nation's 2019 Community Readiness Assessment Interview Breakdown:

<i>Interview #</i>	<i>#1</i>	<i>#2</i>	<i>#3</i>	<i>#4</i>	<i>#5</i>	<i>#6</i>	<i>#7</i>	<i>#8</i>	<i>#9</i>	<i>#10</i>	<i>Average</i>
<i>Knowledge of Efforts</i>	4.5	5	4.5	4	3.5	6.5	2	5.5	2.5	5	4.3
<i>Leadership</i>	5	4.5	3.5	5.5	5	4	1.5	4	3	4.5	4.05

<i>Community Climate</i>	4	4.5	3	6	5	4	3	4.5	3.5	5	4.25
<i>Knowledge of Issue</i>	5.5	4	4.5	4.5	5	3.5	3	6	3	6	4.5
<i>Resources</i>	4	4	3.5	4.5	5	3	2.5	4	3	5.5	3.9
Overall Community Readiness Score											4.2

Reflecting on the initial survey in 2017 and the mid project assessment in 2019, the consensus of the community scores reflects a notable decline with each assessment. Beginning with the initial survey, the responses from 2017 produces overall higher scores. In 2017, the averages of the surveys focused on the same five areas from one to nine and that score was a 4.6. In 2017, the area of *Knowledge of Efforts* the score was 5.2, in 2017, the area of *Leadership* the score was 4.8, the area of *Community Climate* the score was 4.4, the area of *Knowledge of the Issue* the score was 5.0, and in 2017, area of *Resources* the score was 3.5, averaging 4.6. **Two years later, at mid project, consensus scores fell from 4.6 to 4.2.** In 2019, those respondents reported community awareness in the five areas at 4.9 in *Knowledge of Efforts*, 4.05 in *Leadership*, 4.25 in *Community Climate*, 4.5 in *Knowledge of the Issue*, and 3.9 in area of *Resources*.

Cherokee Nation 2022 Community Readiness for Community Change Score:

<i>Interview #</i>	<i>#1</i>	<i>#2</i>	<i>#3</i>	<i>#4</i>	<i>#5</i>	<i>#6</i>	<i>#7</i>	<i>#8</i>	<i>Average</i>
<i>Knowledge of Efforts</i>	4.5	2.75	2.13	2.65	1.0	4.88	3.65	1.0	2.82
<i>Leadership</i>	4.0	3.75	4.38	5.0	3.13	7.13	4.0	3.63	4.38
<i>Community Climate</i>	3.68	2.63	3.68	5.65	3.0	4.0	5.0	3.75	3.92
<i>Knowledge of Issue</i>	4.88	3.38	4.0	3.15	3.38	4.25	3.0	2.8	3.61
<i>Resources</i>	3.0	3.7	3.0	4.75	2.5	6.0	4.0	3.55	3.81
<i>Average CR Score</i>									3.71

For the final survey in 2022, in *Knowledge of Efforts*, the consensus score averaged to 2.82, in *Leadership*, the score was 4.38, in *Community Climate* the score was 3.92, in *Knowledge of the Issue* the score was 3.61, and in area of *Resources* the score was 3.81. In comparison to the previous surveys, the consensus scores have decreased since the 2019 survey. **Totaling the average of all areas came to 3.81 for the 2022 survey, a considerable drop from a 4.2 reported in 2019.** The survey from 2019 showed generally higher scores. In 2019, the averages of the respondents were also scored in the same five areas from one to nine and that score was a 4.2, and in 2017, 4.6. The survey questions were amended to reflect the language of the local community in 2017, and this same questionnaire was used in 2019. The content of the original survey was preserved with the edits for clarity. The findings from this survey show many of the interviewees are aware of language loss throughout Cherokee communities.

The third survey also shows evidence of some community awareness of tribal efforts to strengthen the language are ongoing, but the communities felt there was also lack of financial investment in language revitalization efforts, locally, with most communities being solely reliant on the tribal government to support language. It was clear there was hope for the language, but not much evidence of individual responsibility. This was all in alignment with our 2019 survey. However, in the 2019 survey, it was clear that the communities of the Cherokee Nation, both geographical communities and communities of interest were not all homogenous about their perspectives about language revitalization. There was a greater diversity in respondents' opinions than recorded in the previous survey. The interviewees were primarily the same people they interviewed in the first survey, and they seemed to have had a personal increase in awareness that affected how they saw their communities. They were often more critical of both community members and their leaders in this survey.

Despite that, the communities that were more geographically centered around the political capital and sociocultural heart of the CN were generally in a better place when it came to community readiness perspectives. The corpus of the Cherokee language efforts has taken place within a centralized area but those places farther from the capital and socio-cultural centers of the CN, seemed more frustrated about the 2022 language revitalization climate than they did in 2019. Of particular interest was that the new language initiatives within the tribe were often mentioned in a positive light. In a few instances, language leaders were cited by name and in general there was a strong desire for more language programs in the balance of the Cherokee population.

Additionally, this survey process confirmed Cherokee language communities, both geographical and communities of interest were not homogenous in their perspectives about language efforts. The interviewees throughout this six-year process were similar in demographic and community involvement and with each survey, the respondents seemed to have a personal increase in awareness of the situation, which seems to affect how they see their community's response to the loss of language. This increased individual awareness could have explained the increased level of criticism of the general community and community leadership when it came to addressing the issue of locality. The findings from the surveys showed that many of the interviewees were aware of language revitalization problems and language loss throughout Cherokee communities. They were also aware that the efforts to strengthen the language were ongoing and popular, but most had a sense that the programs were not doing an adequate job of replacing Cherokee first language fluent speakers that were being lost at a great frequency. It was clear that there was hope for the language but not much evidence of success at from the perspective of those surveyed. There was a perception of a clear lack of financial investment in Cherokee language revitalization programs.

Comparison of Cherokee Nation Community Readiness for Community Change Scores:

<i>2017</i>	<i>2019</i>	<i>2022</i>
4.6	4.2	3.81

There was, however, a common tone throughout all respondents, which is a lack of individual investment. Like the first and second surveys, interviewees expressed a greater confidence in the overall leadership in CN when it came to language programs, but those statements were offset by

a lack of confidence in some of the communities' local leadership. In the 2017 and 2019 surveys, there was also a greater awareness of many aspects related to community readiness by the interviewees, but this was not the findings in the final survey. This perception of decreased awareness can be explained by the respondents' growing understanding of the severity of the situation and the need for an emergent response at all levels- tribal, community, and individual. Since the second survey, external events that have intensified the tribal efforts. In March 2020, the Covid-19 pandemic reached the CN Reservation.

During the pandemic, Cherokee communities were severely affected, but through a new tribal program, Cherokee Speaker Services, the CN prioritized the health, safety, and vaccination status of First Language Cherokee Speakers. As the world isolated and social media became the only safe means of interaction, these efforts were heavily visible through informational campaigns. As the tribe tracked the growing number of first language speakers taken by Covid-19, tribal citizens and community members began to see firsthand how dire the situation has become and how ineffective marginal programming are in the effort to fully restore the vitality of the Cherokee language. With the loss of more than 135 First Language Cherokee Speakers in 2021, respondents began to feel the urgency to increase efforts on all levels. As reflected in the 2022 survey, respondents are no longer accepting of only enrichment language efforts at the community level. This leads us to hypothesize there is an increasing awareness but that has been accompanied by an increase in discontent with the access to local language initiatives.

In the 2022 survey, one respondent's quote in the *Knowledge of Efforts* section of the survey summarizes a shift in the attitude to tribal efforts. One interviewee described tribal efforts, "The main thing now is that they seem to be organized. Everyone seems to be moving in the same direction. Everyone who is working on them seem to have the same goals and what they're doing." The positive impacts of Cherokee Language Master Apprentice Program graduates and the Cherokee Speaker Roll Book project were listed by name throughout the surveys demonstrating the community's appreciation for leading language efforts. As reflected in this three-part community readiness assessment, as Cherokee communities move through the phases of awareness and ownership, the expectations for local efforts grow and the demand for language access increases. In response to this community assessment, the Cherokee Nation will continue to work closely with local and at-large communities and foster strong partnerships to expand Cherokee language efforts.

IV. Observations and Data as to the Efficacy of Various Language Department Programs and Identifying Opportunities and Obstacles Towards Further Revitalization

Cherokee Nation's Language Department is engaged in Cherokee language revitalization on many fronts and has programs available for all ages from babies to the elderly. Programs cover the entire fourteen county Reservation of Cherokee Nation and at-large communities as well. It operates cultural, educational, social, medical, vocational, and housing programming specifically for First Language Cherokee Speakers, and it also provides educational, cultural, and service opportunities for second language learners of Cherokee language. The department has partnerships with various community organizations, schools, universities, museums, and corporations to ensure all aspects of our language communities

can be properly served. The primary goals of the department are to create new Cherokee speakers, provide services to First Language Cherokee Speakers, and foster environments of Cherokee language usage anywhere a Cherokee person can be.



Immersion Schools - The CWY ᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆ *tsalagi tsunadelogwasdi* or Cherokee Immersion School (CIS) operates a 3-year-old program to 8th grade system with sites currently operational at the Durbin Feeling Language Campus in Tahlequah and at the Greasy Immersion School campus in Greasy. At the DFLC in Tahlequah, the Cherokee Immersion School employs 37 people which includes 10 certified teachers. At Greasy, there are 10 people employed with 1 certified teacher.

The CIS is a full Immersion system dedicated to teaching and providing Cherokee language and culture to enrolled students. Providing data from School Year (SY) 2023 to 2024, there were 124 students from Pre-K to 8th grade at the DFLC site in Tahlequah and 8 students in the Pre-K classes at Greasy.

*Refer to Sections VIII to X for detailed information on the CWY ᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆ or Cherokee Immersion School.

*Refer to Section VIII for detailed information on the efficacy of the CWY ᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆ or Cherokee Immersion School.



Baby Immersion - The Baby Immersion Program is a Cherokee language-based childcare center which was founded by the Cherokee Nation Language Department with the intentions of returning the Cherokee language to Cherokee homes. We recognize this as our responsibility and are committed to revitalizing and maintaining our culture through language. We do this with the intention of creating communities that are living, speaking, and thinking in Cherokee. Our goal is to have Cherokee be the children's primary language at school, home, and everyday life. Families are vetted, interviewed, and then selected for admission. Once selected, families sign a contract stating they will attend weekly language classes. Classes are offered three nights a week with the option of attending one or all classes as their schedule allows. Families are urged to use what they are learning at drop-off and end of day pick-up.

There are currently two sites, one in Tahlequah – Durbin Feeling Child Development Center and the other in Greasy – Greasy Child Development Center. The first classroom at Durbin opened on August 14, 2023, as a 2-star facility with 5 participants among 4 families. Participants are eligible to start at 6 weeks old and up to 3 years old. Three have graduated from the program into the 3-year-old Immersion classroom. There are currently 7 enrolled. Durbin's staff currently consists of two full-time and one part-time fluent Cherokee speakers, and 3 second language learners. Greasy Child Development Center opened September 12, 2024, 1-star rating. Participants are eligible to enroll at 6 weeks and up to 3 years old. There are currently 5 enrolled. Greasy has two second language learner teachers.



Babies going to water every morning.

From the minute the babies enter the classroom, until they leave for the day, they only hear Cherokee being spoken. They begin every morning by greeting their classmates and teachers, learning to shake hands. They then face East and wash their faces to start the day. They are taught simple life skills such as brushing their teeth, picking up and putting away toys, cleaning up after they eat, putting away dirty plates and utensils, washing hands, and putting away blankets after naptime. They learn their colors, shapes, and body parts during circle time. The Cultural instructors work with the babies on our social dances/songs and art once a week. The children are becoming familiar with the Bear dance, Beaver dance, Horse dance, Quail dance, and other ceremonial songs. The children have had the opportunity to make clay pots and handle reed for weaving. Every Monday morning the Cultural instructors lead the school in the Friendship dance which the babies participate in as well.

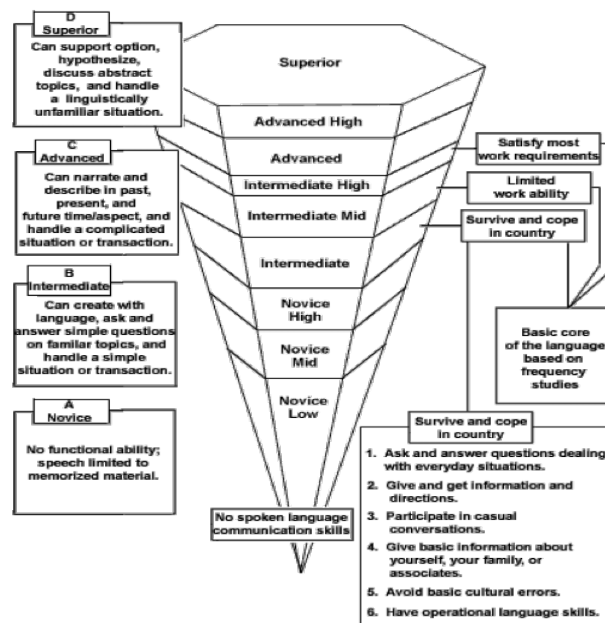
It has been difficult to find teachers fluent enough to teach in the classroom. To assist in finding teachers, prospective applicants will be trained. A group of adults have been interviewed and selected to begin the new Master Apprentice Program which will focus on preparing them to become teachers in our future classrooms. Participants will spend an hour observing the teachers in the classroom to become familiar with routines and language used with the babies. They will then spend the rest of their day in language classes which will be taught by fluent, first language speakers. After spending two years in the program, they will be placed in classrooms. They will also take mandatory trainings which are required by DHS.

CLMAP and Teacher Bridge - ᑕᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ *tsalagi gawonihisdi tsundaniylve'i* the Cherokee Language Master Apprentice Program (CLMAP), is dedicated to creating new Cherokee language teachers through methodologies designed to honor and perpetuate the Cherokee culture and language, to develop intergeneration language growth. CLMAP is an adult Cherokee language medium (Immersion) program, that is Cherokee language learner driven but Cherokee speaker lead, for Novice level Cherokee language learners that want to teach Cherokee using the Cherokee language. These learners are paired with Advanced to Superior proficiency, master-level, Cherokee speakers in a safe Cherokee language learning environment. CLMAP engages learners to consistently speak Cherokee, and graduate the program as conversationally proficient, literate, and culturally competent Intermediate to Advanced level Cherokee speakers.



In 2014, the Cherokee Nation (CN) developed CLMAP as a pilot program to initiate training for the staff of an adult language medium program to teach people that wanted to pass Cherokee on to others the language and methodologies needed to be successful in an immersion environment. The following year the inaugural cohort of four (4) apprentices were engaged in the program. CLMAP is a full time, two-year program, consisting of forty (40) hours a week, fifty-two (52) weeks a year. The primary goal of program is to build Cherokee language learners' language proficiency while giving them the skills to teach Cherokee. Each program participant receives an hourly educational benefit while they are in CLMAP. Cherokee language learners participate in a Cherokee language immersion environment Monday-Friday, 8:00am - 5:00pm. There are four semesters that each cohort will progress through, each lasting six (6) months. The second-year participants in the 3rd and 4th semesters will spend part of each day teaching the first-year participants. This allows for context embedded, conversational second language acquisition strategies in conjunction with the hands-on application of Indigenous language teaching methodologies. Upon completion, participants are expected to be, at minimum, conversational in Cherokee in the Intermediate high proficiency ACTFL level.

To measure the progress of program participants' language proficiency development, CLMAP has adopted the American Council on Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) proficiency guidelines (Fig.1). These guidelines present the levels of proficiency as ranges. They illustrate what a person can and cannot do with language at each level, in terms of speaking, reading, writing, and listening in real-world situations. Using these ACTFL levels, a goal of CLMAP is to move a new Cherokee speaker to the Intermediate high to Advanced low within 2 years. Although the ACTFL levels can be applied to many forms of communication, the focus of CLMAP is on conversational usage of the language. In the first year, the participants learn or acquire a large amount of Cherokee language, usually enough to reach Intermediate mid on the ACTFL scale. In the second year, the learners' goal is shifted to increase their language proficiency to Advance levels but also to gain competency in Cherokee language medium teaching methods using the Cherokee language.



Another goal of CLMAP is to help create teachers for CN's *CWY ᎠᎾᎿᎠᎿᎠᎿ tsalagi tsundelogwasdi* Cherokee Language Immersion School. It also hopes to create highly skilled professionals for curriculum development, translation, and media specialists. Another CLMAP goal is to train adult teachers to return to the CLMAP program and help teach new program participants while they increase their language proficiency. CLMAP initially graduated only four (4) participants a year, but following the Durbin Feeling Language Act in 2019, administration quadrupled the program to graduate a total of sixteen (16) program participants a year.

Over the course of the last year, the previous CLMAP supervisor transferred to a new position in Administration. In the fall, two (2) first language speaking CLMAP instructors left the program, one retired and the other took a job at Dahlongah Public Schools as a Cherokee language teacher. So far, CLMAP has graduated a total of fifty-six (56) participants over the course of the last decade. In March 2024, CLMAP graduated a special cohort of five (5) State Certified teachers who were immediately placed in the Immersion School teaching full time. In August, CLMAP hosted the first in-house Graduation Ceremony at the Durbin Feeling Language Center. Seven (7) program participants graduated. These graduates were immediately engaged as CLMAP Instructors or as new staff members for pilot language revitalization programs to expand the reach of the Cherokee language into new domains.

There was a need to determine the current number of Cherokees that speak at the Advanced level or above. Over a decade ago, Cherokee Nation mailed 80,000 surveys to enrolled citizens asking about their language skills. Due to issues with address verification, the actual number of Cherokee Speakers could not be determined. The 2010 U.S. Census Bureau (USCB) reported the number of Cherokee speakers as 10,000. However, of those who self-identified as speaking our language, the USCB reported 2,000 as citizens of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (EBCI). The USCB number comes into question because the EBCI maintains a list of fluent speakers of approximately less than 200 people. To develop a base line number of speakers from which to build, the CLMAP staff conducted community meetings to take a roll of Cherokee speakers in each community. At the end of the speaker roll process, less than 2,000 First Language Cherokee Speakers had been identified as fitting the ACTFL guidelines for Advanced or higher levels of proficiency in our language.

CLMAP added a provisional extra year in 2019 for CLMAP graduates to return the following semester as interns to assist instructors in classroom management, attendance tracking, and for tutoring program participants. These interns are recycled through CLMAP until their proficiency and teaching skill level has advanced well enough to hire them as full-time Cherokee language teachers. Within the next five years, the Tahlequah based CLMAP will have helped to mold and create at least one hundred (100) new second language Cherokee speakers at a conversationally competent proficiency level. However, in the last ten (10) years, since the inception of CLMAP, CN has lost nearly 500 of those documented 2,000 First Language Cherokee Speakers.

With a fraction of 1% of our CN citizens speaking Cherokee, the need for a program that creates speakers with exponential growth was greatly needed. CLMAP has not fully achieved that goal, but with strategic expansions planned in Kenwood, Greasy, and eventually Marble City, CLMAP should be able to quadruple our graduation rate once again. Once the expansions are completed, the combined programs will be able to graduate approximately sixty-four (64) second language Cherokee speakers a year. Interested individuals must meet the following criteria: 18 years or

older, possess a strong desire to aid in the perpetuation of the Cherokee language and culture, through teaching, available Monday - Friday, 8:00am - 5:00pm, and pass a youth sensitive background check.

In the Spring of 2021, we began our JESG&OY DRPT dindehyohvsgi asvltv'i Teacher Bridge Program (TBP) with two (2) new Program Participants. The TBP was an extension of CLMAP and initially seen as an optional 3rd and 4th year of CLMAP. There was a competitive application process to select the most qualified participants. As part of an Administration for Native Americans (ANA) grant, the program was tasked with using graduate level academic articles focused on second language acquisition, Indigenous language revitalization programs, Cherokee language linguistics, and Cherokee ethnography. These articles were translated into Cherokee and discussed in Cherokee, via group discussion, between the program participants and teaching staff. Then the learners would discuss the same articles in English and participate in student teaching exercises in CLMAP, at the Immersion School, and in local area Public Schools, as a part of their project-based lessons and assessment processes to evaluate their improvements in language proficiency and professional teaching skills. Both TBP participants graduated in 2023. One graduate was hired as an instructor in CLMAP, and the other as a Physical Education teacher in the Immersion School. This program is currently being revised to integrate two new grants for Immersion teacher training into the TBP model and expand it to be maximally impactful for all Immersion School Cherokee language teachers.

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ᏍᏏᏉᏏᏉᏏᏉᏏᏉ ᏌᏍᏏᏉᏏᏉᏏᏉ *hadanvtesgesdi tsalagiha*: Think Cherokee: The *Think Cherokee* project is designed to enhance the quality of Cherokee language education at the Cherokee Immersion School, which serves Pre-K through 8th-grade students. The project aims to improve teacher proficiency in the Cherokee language and teaching methodologies while fostering a sustainable model for individual, intensive professional development. By leveraging assessments and input from First Language Cherokee Speakers, the project will develop individualized training plans for educators to address specific learning gaps and enhance instructional techniques. In addition, the initiative seeks to create a culturally immersive learning environment that aligns with the broader goal of revitalizing the Cherokee Language.

Key activities include evaluating teacher and student proficiency, conducting professional development workshops, and integrating culturally responsive teaching methodologies, informed by community and parental input. The project also emphasizes the importance of engaging parents in language learning efforts through events and resources to support language use at home. Expected outcomes of this project include improved teacher language proficiency, enhanced student acquisition of the Cherokee language, and strengthened cultural awareness. Furthermore, the project will establish a replicable model for language preservation programs while supporting sustained professional growth for educators. Over the course of three years, the initiative aims to achieve measurable progress in language proficiency among teachers and students, increased academic performance, and active community engagement, contributing to the preservation and revitalization of the Cherokee language.

The Cherokee Immersion Teacher Institute (CITI) is an initiative designed to address critical gaps in Cherokee language preservation by enhancing the training and development of Cherokee language teachers. Funded by the Living Languages Grant Program, this project aims to provide intensive professional development opportunities for educators associated with Cherokee language programs, including those in the 14-county Reservation and surrounding areas. CITI focuses on equipping teachers with advanced pedagogical techniques and a deeper understanding of language acquisition and teaching strategies. By targeting both Native speakers and second-language learners among the teaching workforce, CITI seeks to elevate academic and cultural proficiency in Cherokee. Through structured workshops, summer intensives, and year-round support, the program aspires to create a skilled and empowered group of educators capable of fostering a sustainable environment for language revitalization.

The CITI program also addresses the challenges posed by the limited availability of certified Cherokee language teachers and the declining number of fluent Cherokee Speakers. With fewer than 1,500 active speakers, many of whom are of the grandparent generation, the language faces an urgent need for revitalization. By providing teachers with tools to integrate cultural heritage into their instruction and enhancing their proficiency in academic Cherokee. The program also ensures a robust foundation for intergenerational language transmission. Additionally, the initiative supports collaboration among educators, leveraging resources from existing language programs like the Cherokee Language Master Apprentice Program to create a comprehensive support system. Through these efforts, the CITI program will strengthen the teaching workforce but also safeguard the Cherokee language for future generations, aligning with the Cherokee Nation's mission to preserve and promote its cultural identity and values.

Translation Services - The Cherokee Translators (Translation) program provides translation services for the Tribe, educational institutions, and tribal citizens. The program consists of five full-time First Language speaking staff members. Translation creates and reviews all publicly released materials that incorporate Cherokee translations for Cherokee Nation and its related entities including, but not limited to, the Cherokee Phoenix, Cherokee Nation Entertainment, Cherokee Nation Businesses, and programming for Osiyo TV.

The program translates materials for all programs housed in the Cherokee Language Department and mentors many second language learners. The Cherokee translators have a far-reaching impact and foster relationships with other tribes, universities, schools, museums, corporations

and entities. Translations work reaches Cherokee Nation citizens who see and use the syllabary as well as non-citizens who engage in Cherokee Language learning and usage. The Cherokee Translators work closely with Apple, Google, and Microsoft to ensure Cherokee Language is available in various software used by millions of people across the globe. Translation staff members are recognized as Cherokee cultural and linguistic experts and act as expert advisors on projects that require intricate, specialized knowledge of Cherokee language and culture.

Cherokee Nation is the only tribal government represented in the American Translators Association, the oldest professional translation organization in the United States, and the Unicode Consortium, the international standards body that governs use of languages in the technology industry. The Cherokee Translators also serve in officer positions on the Cherokee Language Consortium, an intertribal organization composed of fluent Cherokee speakers.

Curriculum Project – Cherokee Nation’s Language Department Curriculum Project is being developed based on the historical Cherokee solar/lunar/celestial calendar and tied to our historical Cherokee festivals and holidays. It is punctuated with the appropriate times to plant, harvest, hunt, fish, and gather medicines and foods. The framework of the curriculum will be woven between the functions of the major festivals situated by the calendar and important subsistence cycles. There will be traditional stories and cultural activities tied to the changes of the year. The traditional stories set the standards, criteria, goals, and objectives that will be the theoretical foundation of our curriculum’s educational content. The cultural activities will provide the context and processes for the delivery of academic content via project-based learning methodologies. The Cherokee language will be the medium or vehicle for the verbal transfer of all curricular knowledge.

The Cherokee Language Curriculum Team began their project by selecting 136 Cherokee stories to serve as the foundation for a culturally experiential curriculum. Following this, the team developed a two-year timeline for the Curriculum Project and authored the Curriculum Project Narrative. They reviewed Cherokee Curriculum notes from the July 2021 educator’s forum and organized the selected stories by source, characters, seasonal relevance, suitable grade levels, cultural activities, and rotation schedules. Additionally, they established a two-year Cherokee Historical Calendar, integrating Cherokee lunar dates, moon phases, Gregorian calendar months, seasons, themes, plants, phenomena, hunting/fishing cycles, animals, culture/ceremonies, and educational standards. Community values were translated and organized by cultural directional influence, and a curriculum visual training tool, including a wolf and flow chart, was created.

The team began compiling an extensive list of Cherokee cultural behaviors and developed a Cherokee cultural seasonal activity list, along with resource and support materials. The 136 stories were translated into Cherokee, cataloged by tier, indexed in shared files, and assigned to staff for recording and translation. These stories were reviewed a second time, line by line, to include phonetics for animation script development. Fifteen animation scripts were written using a specialized script application format, and a visual cultural file of Cherokee objects was created for the animation team. Guides for planning lessons were written for each story, incorporating Cherokee values, protocols, multi-disciplinary academic applications, and resources.

The team attended Immersion School training in Siloam Springs in June 2024, where team members presented the cultural curriculum concept, and staff collaborated in small groups to apply the new curriculum structure to lesson planning. Three monthly themed curriculum packets were compiled, including information, Cherokee vocabulary, verb conjugations, classroom activities, and other relevant materials. The team also conducted two professional development trainings for Immersion School teachers focused on weaving and storytelling on September 27 and November 22.

In their support role, the team performed translations and assisted with classroom activities as needed. They have helped with cultural classes, including dances, dyes, and pottery; assisted a student in creating an award-winning pottery effigy bowl (JOM Art Show, Best of Show) and supported basketry classes; and worked on Cherokee clothing preparation for the 8th-grade ceremony and Language Fair. Team members participated in Microsoft Excel and Glowforge training in July 2024 and received cultural training in two-needle applique beadwork, twining, pucker-toe moccasin making, and basketry.

Team members attended Apple training for virtual and augmented reality applications on September 16-18 and participated in the Cherokee Nation Technology Summit on October 9, conducted Cherokee language classes for the curriculum team, and began compiling a traditional plant library. The team supported Kenwood teachers with learning Cherokee Nation email systems, benefits, and other employee resources.

Additionally, the team hosted three visiting groups—Ojibwe, Lakota, and Eastern Band Cherokee. The Los Angeles United American Indian Involvement staff also visited to learn about incorporating culture and language into childcare programs. The team has continued to support the faculty at Greasy School.

Amazon Dubbing Project/Partnership with Cherokee Film – The Language Department partnered with Cherokee Films to conduct voice acting workshops designed for Cherokee language Speakers and Second Language Learners. These workshops introduced participants to the basics of voice dubbing and acting exercises, helping to build confidence. The two-weekend sessions concluded with auditions, effectively doubling our casting database for Cherokee voice acting talent, with approximately 40 attendees. We also established a fully functional recording space within the Durbin Feeling Language Center (DFLC) that met the professional standards of Deluxe Media and Amazon. This allowed our actors, all DFLC staff or contract workers—comprising both Speakers and Second Language Learners—to seamlessly integrate recording sessions into their workday. Due to the project's confidentiality, we relied on this local talent, who were highly praised by industry professionals and casting directors.

Collaborating with Deluxe Media and Amazon, we developed an efficient system for script translation, quality control, and adaptation. This system, rooted in the Cherokee perspective, preserved the language while accommodating the technical requirements of dubbing, such as aligning translations with actors' mouth movements. All script variations and changes were meticulously documented in a comprehensive spreadsheet, which now serves as a valuable learning tool for future language learners. We also established a cohesive team to create the best possible episodes, incorporating lessons learned to refine the editing and mixing process.

By the end of this phase, we had completed the first of eight episodes while developing and implementing best practices to streamline the process further. Additionally, we wrote four of the twelve language lesson episodes for Season 10 of Cherokee Films, translating and directing motion capture actors for all twelve episodes. The project's success highlighted the strength of partnerships with Deluxe Media and Amazon, as well as the dedication of the DFLC team, showcasing a promising path for future project.



Operational Improvement: Having a dedicated team to work solely on these types of projects would help efficiency; however, finding the right type of detailed oriented staff who knows enough of the language and is comfortable with the dubbing software program could be challenging. In the meantime, we can and have made it work. We also plan on finding additional Directors with the right type of personality to be a director that will make the actors feel comfortable. Having someone who knows when to push and how to bring out their characters will also help. Creating sound engineers who understand the language will also be key to helping us speed up the process so we can schedule and use our studio efficiently too.

The entire dubbing project has been a learning experience, every step of the way: learning all it takes to dub and establishing our practices, navigating partnership with Cherokee Films, and figuring out the financial aspects of the project.

Community & Online Courses – The Cherokee language continues to trend upwards among at-large citizens who seek not only to develop a sense of belonging to their tribe, but to also help perpetuate and preserve our sacred language, through hybrid courses, synchronous and asynchronous, and to connect with one another, all centered around the language. Satellite communities across the Reservation and throughout the United States are seeking out opportunities to learn share and work together in shoring up and enhancing their language skills.

Despite the significant impact of COVID-19 on community-based courses, the program has demonstrated remarkable success. In the past, on average, there were 10 classes in the spring and

10 classes in the fall. Notably, shortly after the pandemic when classes resumed, some of the classes experienced a surge in enrollment with attendance reaching up to 70-80 participants.

Last year, the initial year for at-large language classes, nearly 500 learners took the course across 16 locations, and many gave great feedback regarding the level and rigor of instruction. The online courses, seating nearly 4,500 learners, continue to succeed, and have become so popular that a Cherokee 4 course has been added for the Spring of 2025.

14th GEN - The 14th Generation Academy is an initiative aimed at addressing the unique needs of students at different stages of language acquisition. The program serves two distinct purposes:

1. Provide an afterschool program for seventh and eighth grade Immersion students and Immersion graduates attending Sequoyah High School.
2. Host a summer language intensive program lasting 8 weeks that serves these same students. In the after-school program, the students receive 180 hours annually of immersive language instruction, bridging the gap between the Immersion School and Sequoyah High School. During the summer language intensive, students will receive 400 language medium contact hours each summer until they graduate from high school. Immersion students attending Sequoyah High School are also integrated into the program, further expanding its reach and impact. To complete the summer intensive, students who have met participation requirements, are rewarded with a language trip.



This program, which began planning in Spring 2017, emerged from a community-driven demand to combat language decay among Immersion School graduates. By fostering connections with these graduates and their families, the initiative strengthens its foundation and ensures community involvement in language revitalization efforts. The program's cumulative total of 4,520 possible contact hours surpasses the required hours for achieving Intermediate-Mid proficiency, with historical data demonstrating the program's ability to produce Advanced Low proficiency in many participants. Through rigorous and innovative methodologies, the 14th Generation Program not only safeguards the Cherokee language but also creates a sustainable pathway for future generations to carry forward this critical aspect of Cherokee heritage.

As reported by Immersion School graduates who have participated in the 14th Gen program, at worst, students maintained their language ability they achieved at the Immersion School, and at best, they improved a level or two in Cherokee language proficiency. This program provides a cultural connection for the students that they had not heretofore experienced in their Cherokee education. It is vital that the students continue to be engaged and connected to the language community once they graduate the Immersion School so that language fossilization and decay can be prevented. The 14th Gen Program has proven to be an effective method of reaching these objectives. Student surveys support this conclusion.

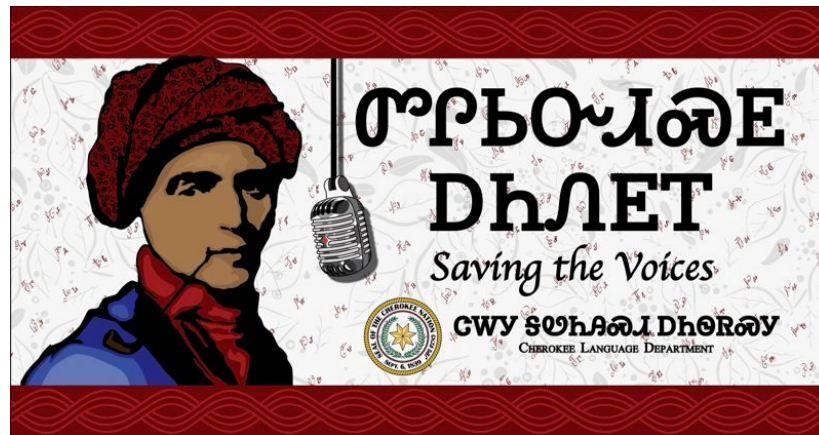


The program has three full-time employees who work in it with all three based in the Durbin Feeling Language Center. 14th Gen employees are at the Advanced-Low level of proficiency. All three are responsible for teaching and developing the curriculum for the program in all of its functions, for 7th and 8th grades at the Cherokee Immersion School, for the after-school program, and for the summer language intensive.

NALI – Immersion Enhancement SHS Immersion Track – Cherokee Nation’s existing language revitalization programs, including the Cherokee Nation (CN) Language Department and CN Immersion Charter School are collaborating with Sequoyah High School (SHS) to incorporate language immersion programming in the SHS curriculum. Together, this collaboration will implement an Immersion Track scheduling option and language learning cohort for Immersion Charter School graduates and other SHS freshmen who wish to be on an immersion-based track. The program will also provide additional language resources for students and develop high school-level, Language Arts curriculum to be taught in an immersion setting and incorporated into the immersion-based schedule track.

Cherokee Language Teacher Training Scholarship - The Cherokee Language Teacher Training Program is designed to create certified Cherokee language teachers. Applicants must be attending Northeastern State University in Tahlequah, OK, pursuing a bachelor’s degree in education and an Oklahoma state teaching certification in elementary education, early childhood education or Cherokee language. After completing the first academic year of the program, students will sign a contract committing their services after graduation to the Cherokee Immersion School or at one of the Cherokee Nation’s cooperative satellite programs in public schools in the 14-county area.

A selection committee consisting of Cherokee Language Program & Cherokee Immersion School staff will choose scholarship recipients. The awardees must demonstrate some knowledge of the Cherokee language upon application. In addition to attending their classes at Northeastern State University, the students will spend a total of 15 hours per week in the program. This includes scheduled time in classrooms with teachers and students at the Cherokee Immersion School, formal instructional time with Cherokee Language Program staff at Cherokee Nation, and other Cherokee Nation language-related events.



Saving Cherokee Voices, Cherokee Archive & Dictionary Program - The Cherokee Dictionary Program integrates various resources (Saving the Voices, the Cherokee Language Digital Archive Project, Cherokee voices in Cherokee sounds radio interviews, Durbin Feeling Cherokee dictionary, Cherokee Word list, etc.) into a single, user-friendly dictionary. The program aims to document the Cherokee language's phonology, morphology, lexicon, syntax, and discourse. The ultimate goal is to develop an online dictionary and dictionary applications that allow users to search for Cherokee words and translations, identify individual morphemes, to find the different conjugations on verbs (Aspect stems: present, incomplete/imperfective, completive/perfective, immediate, and infinitive), to see and hear sample syntaxes/sentences and sample discourse (used in discussions) all with a few touches on a digital device. In the future, it will include communal differences outlining the linguistic footprint. This enables users to access and interact with individual Cherokee words and their various conjugations used in everyday conversations.

The project will utilize individual interviews conducted as part of the Saving the Voices program and other audio to transcribe them into Cherokee using literal translations. Translated Cherokee texts will then be converted into modern English. Furthermore, the project will transcribe all digital archives into Cherokee and English, following the same process as applied to the audio archives. The software being utilized for this transcription process is ELAN.

The collected linguistic corpus is expected to contain over 1 million words and phrases, providing a valuable resource for future linguistic studies. This project will serve as a crucial tool in preserving the Cherokee language by documenting it through audio recordings of first-language speakers preventing language decay for future generations.

To date, the project has amassed over 15,000 documents, including images, and recorded more than 900 speakers while also collaborating with Kiwa Digital (contractor for the dictionary app)

to develop the dictionary application. Teams of First Language and Second Language Speakers have been contracted to transcribe and translate the audio recordings. All archival materials, including historic documents, will be held in the Cherokee language database. For more details regarding the digital preservation plan (See Appendix 2).

Language Technology – The Cherokee Language Technology Program works directly with Translation Services, and both are responsible for the localization of various software and devices. They work directly with Microsoft, Google, Apple, and Facebook to get Cherokee support on their devices and software. Language Technology also provides support and help to the community by assisting with devices and software supporting the Cherokee language by installing Cherokee fonts and keyboards and providing instruction of how they work. Language Technology is also responsible for creating various Cherokee language posters and books, used in the community Cherokee classes, Cherokee Immersion Schools, and public schools within Cherokee Nation jurisdiction, as well as providing for Cherokee activity/coloring books.



Cherokee Language Villages – The Bonnie Pigeon-Kirk Language Village was built in Tahlequah in 2019. The village places Cherokee Speakers alongside language learning families who are raising their children in our language. At this site the goal is to create First Language Speakers in a fully immersive environment (school, work, home, and community) for the first time since Oklahoma statehood. For a better understanding of the rationale for and an outline of the role Cherokee Speaker Villages play in Language Revitalization (See Appendix 3).

Speaker Services – Speaker Services is addressed further in the report in Section VI.

Obstacles towards Further Language Revitalization:

Globalization has decreased human social diversity. Through hegemony, colonization, and competitive economic interests, one global economy has emerged and as a result, Indigenous societies have been absorbed by global powers and Indigenous languages have gone extinct. As languages are lost, world views have narrowed to a few dominant realities. English has emerged as the language of commerce. Countries, like the United States, have benefited by the result of English domination. Through colonization, racism has allowed western European populations to dominate through ethnocide. The concept of mainstream society was solidified and has spread

globally to differentiate those in power from those that have been colonized. English has more recently been conflated with philosophical outlook, religion, and socioeconomic status.

Nationally, the United States as an English-speaking country, has selected the dominant aspects of society to represent itself as a global leader. Through these sociocultural markers, like English, religion, race, and western European mores, the dominant class of the U.S. has sought to further eliminate diversity among its own minority populations. Indigenous people in the U.S. have been deceived, corralled, removed from their original territories, and isolated from their neighbors, to force assimilation. East of the Mississippi, few Indigenous communities have remained intact.

In the southeastern United States specifically, the five most prominent tribes are primary examples of forced removal, language oppression, and cultural genocide. After relocation, the governments of these Nations were dismantled through legislation and systematic federal policies. At the time of Oklahoma statehood, boarding schools and draconian state laws were enforced regarding citizenship, the right to vote, and cultural practices further dehumanizing Indigenous individuals. The communities within the historic Cherokee Nation after removal have maintained their unique cultural identity and language, and until these last few generations, the natural transmission of Cherokee culture persisted.

Recognizing all these obstacles is essential to determining our future success in preserving our sovereignty and cultural identity. Cherokee Nation has the moral obligation to revitalize our culture and language to existing and future generations and take on the responsibility to return the perpetuation of these to our Cherokee communities. CN has inherited a level of colonization that is only rivaled by the injustice it has suffered and that is woven into the very fabric of our existence. This negative influence within the Cherokee population will ultimately lead to the demise of the Anigiduwagi as a distinct people.

Differences within and between communities are magnified and exacerbated by the historical and social challenges that the Cherokee people have struggled with, such as racism, colorism, blood quantum, poverty, and cultural in-fighting. Competing religious beliefs and values are detrimental to a cohesive Cherokee cultural identity. This cultural identity is imperative to the revitalization of the Cherokee language and the original designed purpose for Cherokee people.

In the words of Redbird Smith, "I have always believed that the Great Creator had a great design for my people, the Cherokees. I have been taught that from my childhood up and now in my mature manhood I recognize it as a great truth. Our forces have been dissipated by the external forces, perhaps it has been just a training, but we must now get together as a race and render our contribution to mankind. We are endowed with intelligence, we are industrious, we are loyal, and we are spiritual, but we are overlooking the Cherokee mission on earth, for no man nor race is endowed with these qualifications without a designed purpose....our mixed-bloods should not be overlooked in this program of a racial awakening. Our pride in our ancestral heritage is our great incentive for handing something worthwhile to our posterity. It is this pride in ancestry that makes men

strong and loyal for their principal in life. It is this same pride that makes men give up their all for their government.” (Starr, 1922. pg. 481-482)

This issue has only been compounded since the time of Redbird Smith and must be dealt with swiftly and with a precise but firm hand if we have any significant expectation for success, because we have but a remnant of what once was during his time. There should always be diversity, and it should always be embraced. However, this difference in community has become toxic to the genetic makeup of Cherokees as a whole, the identity of our core philosophies, and the education of their value.

The Language Department is caught between two competing value systems. One value system is represented by dominant culture and has infiltrated every corner of our society. The other, being the remainder of our cultural community. Within the cultural community, this is further divided between evangelical and traditional perspectives and is topped off with four centuries of historical trauma. Further differences within each of these communities facilitate gatekeeping and social posturing for power and exclusivity which further divide our dwindling Cherokee language communities. It is common during the workday for members of the Language Department to deal with different world views. It is understood that contemporary Cherokees have changed from those before European contact, many Cherokees still believe in the metaphorical truths that traditional Cherokee stories convey. One example of that is the idea that each generation of Cherokees must reinvent themselves using the foundation of Cherokee cultural identity and the designed path that provides the direction that has guided Cherokees for as long as they have been a people.

Internally, within Cherokee Nation, the Language Department faces a generationally inherited perspective that values English and western systems over native Cherokee philosophical foundations. These external influences are deeply imbedded and manifest subconsciously through many aspects of the decision-making process in Cherokee Nation. For a number of Cherokees, the Cherokee language, culture, and values are important but not essential and are overshadowed by the colonial influence to put English and western European conceptual systems first. This has been reflected in statements such as, *“we are doing the learners a disservice, because at the end of the day they have to survive in a white world,”* and *“for Cherokees to be successful, they must know English.”* This was and never has been an either/or situation. Thus far, all Immersion School students have maintained their fluency in English. Cherokees have been under an English and western based social system since statehood and the situation for Cherokee people has not improved, only under the efforts of traditional communities such as churches and ceremonial grounds, as well as the Cherokee Nation since the 1970’s has life for Cherokee people improved (See Appendix 9). (Wahrhaftig, 1978, pg. 410)

Through reports and census data, it can be shown that Cherokees have struggled since statehood and history has proven that the ability to succeed and thrive is directly embedded within Cherokee lifeways, which includes the use of Cherokee language and cultural practices on a daily basis. Cherokees can fully identify as *Dh̃ss̃g̃ỹ anigaduwagi* through the language, culture, and values and still excel and participate in western society (including high proficiency in the English language).

For some Cherokees, the standard of success has undergone a significant transformation as a result of colonization. The traditional Cherokee standard of success, when demonstrated by the Cherokee language, has been predominantly exemplified with the emphasis on verbs, expresses concepts such as love, compassion, assistance, and mutual support. In contrast, western society prioritizes more static and propositional concepts in their languages predominantly using nouns, such as residences, automobiles, academic achievements, and professional occupations. Mainstream standards, particularly those of the U.S., while among the most affluent in the world, these riches do not translate into a healthy lifestyle by any measurement. The U.S. has the highest rates of depression, suicide, incarcerated people, physical health issues, and other mental health issues. Consequently, attempting to compete with this value system is nonsensical by Cherokee standards. Regrettably, this prevalent philosophy persists significantly within the Cherokee Nation, making it challenging to overcome.

As soon as a new employee is integrated into the Language Department as an ally, simultaneously multiple potential opponents emerge from other areas of CN with western values who further hinder progress. The few individuals who have come forward to assist language and culture revitalization are insufficient to ensure a substantial difference is maintained. This situation can only be rectified through a strategic Cherokee Nationwide cultural competency initiative to educate our citizens and non-citizens. As it stands, the remnants of our cultural heritage are merely a single seed in a vast field of weeds.

Although education can be a very good thing for the Cherokee people, if we educate all the people in a Western European thought process, and we were able to represent ourselves in the very best as possible in this mainstream world yet we don't represent our self as Cherokee then we have only contributed to the problem and may be able to successfully argue, and maintain certain sovereignty, yet them sovereignties would not be a real reality because we would merely be an extension of a larger concept of philosophy that is already been perpetuated throughout the world hence being irrelevant because of the lack of uniqueness.

What we must do is build Cherokees who have the full understanding of who we are yet a percentage of them garner what is considered success in the educational world yet has the assess of peacefulness and tranquility to be able to demonstrate to the outside world and to argue our pathway is relevant. Numerous instances exist where a society has imparted false information or harmful concepts through its educational system to its populace. It is undeniable that the past has evolved, and it is futile to attempt to return to those times or for Cherokees to do so. However, fully embracing the prevailing societal norms would be a profound self-denial and a grave disservice to their invaluable contributions to the world. They must assimilate the positive aspects of the broader society while preserving their Cherokee identity, values, and essence.

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V. Basic Strategic Plan for Cherokee Language Revitalization

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NLCC Cherokee Language 20-year Strategic Plan was developed from 2016-2019 and approved in 2019. In 2021 it was updated in committee over a six-month period of review and then updated one last time in 2024.

Our Unified Language Curriculum will develop and establish

A coordinated, standardized Cherokee language curriculum will be available for each level of educational language learning (early childhood, elementary, high school, and college).

A Cherokee Language Board established to oversee the collaborative effort of the Cherokee Nation's language programs resulting in a united vision, implementation, and mission of all.

A Cherokee Nation Cherokee Language school accreditation and certification will be implemented to solidify the standards of Cherokee language proficiency and academic criteria for teaching Cherokee. This generates a more thorough maintenance of language learning and better develop educational criteria and the skills of teachers and students alike, thus, providing a stronger foundation for language revitalization.

Securing Cherokee speakers' legacy and wellbeing requires cultivation of programmatic and strategic means to increase the capacity of the speaker population to maintain social integration for intergenerational language transference. Language initiatives do focus on securing the retention and preservation of the Cherokee language and culture from our elders and support Cherokee language speakers' backgrounds and upbringing.

Revitalizing our language engages the cultivation and growth our language and culture through strengthening language proficiency and cultural literacy among language learners. This engages Cherokee language learners and speakers with rigorous content through the Cherokee language medium to ensure the continued development and expansion of our Indigenous Cherokee knowledge and understanding of our cultural identity in context with our values, behaviors, and beliefs.

Cherokee Language efforts have always worked to preserve the Cherokee language through documentation and recording Cherokee language phonemes, morphemes, lexicon, syntax, and discourse. Working directly with Cherokee speakers, language researchers, and using the most effective research-based methods and technology the Cherokee Nation will work to collect, maintain and analyze Cherokee language for the purpose of revitalization in all forms, audio, print, and video.

Accessing our birthright as Cherokee people means realizing the basic human right to speak our Indigenous language, and to do that we have worked to ensure every Cherokee has access to that opportunity. We continue our efforts to provide outreach through a wide range of programming, events, activities, and special projects that develop relationships between Cherokee entities, departments, programs, communities and citizens of all ages, including Cherokees living at large.

Mission Statement: Cherokee Nation recognizes the responsibility of our birthright and is committed to preserving, revitalizing, and perpetuating the culture through our language for all generations.

The **Vision** of the Cherokee Language Program Committee is that in 20 years Cherokee communities are living, speaking, and thinking in Cherokee and that the Cherokee language is the first language of the Cherokee Nation: *Cherokee will be the language of politics, business, and leadership. Its use will be tied to employee incentives and tribal services. The Cherokee language will be as well studied and understood as any other modern language. The sphere of language will expand through all language domains and media forms, and we will reach out and support any other native language groups. Children will be raised in Cherokee, and language services will be targeted for all ages, proficiencies, and skill levels. All Cherokee Nation districts will have areas set aside for Cherokee language habitat readily available to support language growth inside the Cherokee Nation Reservation, as well as within the greater Cherokee community outside of the Cherokee Reservation, with the aim of building intentional language communities.*

The **Scope** of Cherokee Nation's language initiatives and programs are to develop and foster a vibrant Cherokee language community system, a system that expands, supports, strengthens, and protects the transformation of present and future Cherokee language communities within Cherokee Nation, to return the Cherokee language to the home, communities and organizational structure of the Cherokee Nation, and to maximize the effectiveness of the Cherokee language growth and sustainability in the Cherokee Nation through the implementation and execution of educational curriculum, strategic planning, and programmatic policies and procedures. The ultimate goal of intentional language programming is a natural organic effect wherein language and cultural maintenance is a habitual and automatic result of daily Cherokee life.

We will work to have:

- Trust of Cherokee communities & Cherokee speakers.
- Strengthened tribal government with a foundation of cultural identity through the concurrent practice of language and life ways.
- Tribal self-sufficiency and mutually beneficial cooperative relationships with federal government, state governments, other tribal governments, and educational institutions, including Higher Educational institutions and Public-School systems within and around the Cherokee Reservation.
- Active, concurrent, and dynamic outreach programs to the greater Cherokee community outside of the Cherokee Reservation that are grounded in Cherokee values, language, and culture.

The Cherokee Nation will cultivate:

- Programming shifts from language enrichment and partial immersion to total immersion, with a focus on conversational proficiency.
- Increased focus from overt language teaching to inherent language acquisition.
- Cherokee becomes the first language of the home, and in our families.
- Cherokee becomes the language of business, in and throughout the Cherokee Nation.

The Cherokee Nation's language vitality will be...

Esteemed

Goal 1: High regard and respect will be provided for the Cherokee Language.

Objective 1A: Cherokee communities will be engaged with a concentrated focus on two vital Cherokee populations: social and material support for women, with a focus on elder Cherokee speakers, and emerging youth, in leadership positions.

***Outcome 1:** Each community will be identified, solicited, and engaged to provide elder women and young community leaders, respectively, for local and centralized leadership meetings on a quarterly basis. These leadership activities will be provided with adequate resources to insure support of the events.*

Objective 1B: Cherokee Nation and its entities will demonstrate, the values, priorities, and strong will to ensure that the needed activities are carried out to secure the decisive actions that are necessary to secure our birthrights and human rights to learn and speak the Cherokee language and live our culture daily; and to maintain them as a foundational value in all endeavors.

***Outcome 1:** Promote and publicize Cherokee speakers and highly proficient Cherokee language learners at work, in media, and at employee appreciation events.*

***Outcome 2:** Create, sustain, and expand media platforms to engage in Cherokee language programming on all viable media.*

***Outcome 3:** Ensure every employee has the opportunity and incentive to speak, learn, and use Cherokee at work, through enforcement of CN policy and procedure.*

Objective 1C: Cherokee Nation and its entities will increase availability, accessibility and exposure to the Cherokee Language for all who seek it.

***Outcome 1:** Free Language Classes for all Cherokee citizens, in all age groups, targeting all proficiency levels, with cumulative language skill levels, provided in person and provided online.*

Responsible

Goal 2: Create a clear and concrete connection between Language Programming, and Community through incentives and social services.

Objective 2A: Increase tribal funding initiatives to include opportunities for language and culture regeneration investments.

Outcome 1: Increase percentage of Motor Vehicle Tax money earmarked for language and culture.

Outcome 2: Increase language and culture required activities for public school recipients of MVT money.

Objective 2B: Link supplemental services to language development and usage for accountability and incentivization.

Outcome 1: Provide language accountability/incentivization processes and resources for education and housing related services for applicants and recipients, to ensure participation and/or accommodation for language projects and programs.

Objective 2C: Develop, implement, and cultivate initiatives to foster self-sustainability in Cherokee geographical communities using Cherokee language and cultural revitalization programming as a mechanism to support community engagement.

Outcome 1: Provide initiatives that support universal and unlimited language use among all community members, Cherokee and non-Cherokee, alike that have chosen to contribute to those efforts.

Outcome 2: Supplement all tribal services for elderly Cherokee speakers, including housing and healthcare, to ensure that Cherokee speaker status is recognized and supported as a protected status, for the integrity of our shared Cherokee cultural identity, as a resource necessary for social and cultural resilience and sustainability.

Concrete

Goal 3: Cherokee Nation and its entities will prioritize the Cherokee language as primary through engaging in all forms of communication to increase Cherokee language proficiency, visibility, and competency among employees and leadership.

Objective 3A: Cherokee Nation and its entities will expand translation services to provide resource support and create Cherokee language medium forms for all documents and publicized materials in every department.

Outcome 1: Each program will have access to translation staff and intellectual resources with the expertise and training to provide Cherokee language versions of all Cherokee Nation Documents.

Outcome 2: Useful Cherokee language literacy materials will be available for preservation and educational materials, e.g., pamphlets, handouts, and fliers for departments, programs, and events.

Objective 3B: Cherokee Nation and its entities will substantially increase the creation of Cherokee Language media, literature, and materials, digital and written, for all relevant content related to art forms, literacy platforms, promotional purposes, educational materials, and communications.

Outcome 1: Cherokee Nation and its entities will provide a platform for the publication of original materials and translations of literature into the Cherokee language.

Outcome 2: Cherokee Language will be supported in all digital and electronic platforms and provided within the organization for all CN employees.

Outcome 3: Cherokee language will be the primary, or first language represented in size, space, or order, outside of emergency level as necessity. Syllabary should be the preferred orthography of the Cherokee language in written communications and formatting.

Objective 3C: Cherokee Nation and its entities will utilize traditional Cherokee environmental priorities and values with all grounds work, planning, and facilities' functions.

Outcome 1: Each program will use Indigenous plants when decorating (Vegetation Management Practices) their grounds and facilities.

Outcome 2: Cultural protocol will be followed in regulating, implementing, refurbishing, and restoring civil resource, capital projects, and breaking new ground for construction.

Outcome 3: Facilities of Cherokee Nation and its resources will be managed with respect for spiritual practices of Cherokee elders and in memory of those that may have human burial remains near our facilities and properties.

Outcome 4: Environmental, natural, and cultural leadership initiatives will be embedded with traditional Cherokee values and cultural protocols in resource management practices.

Familial

Goal 4: Cherokee Nation and its entities will openly support the cultivation of new Cherokee language initiatives by being inclusive of family and community partnerships and their direct involvement in CN governance and leadership.

Objective 4A: Cherokee Nation will create offices, programs, and employee positions for language cultivation and incentivization to allow for Cherokee families to engage with language programming to ensure that the Cherokee language is used to strengthen extended families and communities through Cherokee language revitalization and cultural identity.

Outcome 1: Each district will have an office location with language programs and other services targeted to meet community needs.

Objective 4B: Cherokee Nation and its entities will reflect the social and cultural needs of Cherokee communities to strengthen family and community identity.

Outcome 1: Cherokee Head Starts will be using Cherokee in every center.

Outcome 2: Cherokee language medium schools will be initiated in each district and later extended to local communities.

Outcome 3: Cherokee Nation policies and procedures will reflect the kinship system of traditional Cherokee communities and their spiritual systems.

Preserved

Goal 5: Cherokee Nation and its entities will actively carry out the responsibility to protect Cherokee identity from exploitation, dissolution, and defamation and will work to undo colonial impacts and negative socio-cultural responses to colonial pressure in families, communities, and in the infrastructure of the Cherokee Nation.

Objective 5A: Cherokee Nation will create laws and legislation to protect and promote Cherokee language and culture.

***Outcome 1:** Cherokee Nation will ensure the intellectual and academic vitality of our language by encouraging all Cherokee Nation employees to become literate in the Cherokee Orthography (Syllabary).*

***Outcome 2:** Cherokee Nation and its entities will zone areas and/or times to encourage Cherokee language use and protect the habitat of the endangered Cherokee language.*

Objective 5B: Research about Cherokee sociological aspects and unique cultural identity attributes will be used to identify critical success factors, challenges, and barriers to be documented and addressed to ensure Cherokee cultural identity is respected, supported, and maintained by Cherokee Nation.

***Outcome 1:** Cherokee Nation will identify and list those aspects of Cherokee identity that make us unique, and these aspects will be integrated into all strategic initiatives.*

***Outcome 2:** Culturally competent mental health counselors and support groups will be sustained by Cherokee Nation and its entities to provide a safe place to meet the emotional support and healing needs of all Cherokee Employees and citizens.*

***Outcome 3:** Cherokee Nation will implement Alcohol and Drug Rehabilitation Centers built on a Cherokee cultural foundation, to maintain Cherokee language, culture, protocols, and values in each CN district.*

***Outcome 4:** Deference to cultural identity attributes and protocols will be integrated into all Cherokee Nation policies and procedures.*

Programmatic

Goal 6: All employees within the Cherokee Nation and its entities will be engaged in Cherokee language speaking or learning as a part of professional practice.

Objective 6A: We will instate the cumulative employee Cherokee Language Immersion class and History classes and make them readily available to all employees and leaders of Cherokee Nation and its entities.

***Outcome 1:** Each quarter cumulative and regular language classes, focused on targeted proficiency levels, will be offered to all CN employees and its leadership.*

***Outcome 2:** Each quarter Cherokee employees and leaders will be offered subject specific history classes.*

Objective 6B: Clear incentives will be put into place for employees and leaders who attend and graduate these classes.

Outcome 1: All New Hires, Employees, and leaders who participate will have financial incentives or comparative incentives tied to their increase in oral language proficiency levels or literacy proficiency levels using the Cherokee language.

Outcome 2: Financial Incentives or Administrative leave rewards will be given to graduates of Language and History courses.

Outcome 3: All enrolled employees and leaders will receive full pay while attending these classes.

Outcome 4: Every Department will be allocated special funding through a specific AU to set aside or reallocated for Language incentive processes.

Objective 6C: An annually increasing percentage of Cherokee speakers will be hired or trained through Cherokee language classes within each department of the Cherokee Nation and its entities.

Outcome 1: All employees and leaders who engage in Cherokee Employee language classes will receive language proficiency assessments.

Outcome 2: All Cherokee Nation Departments will have a minimum required percent of Cherokee Speakers Employed.

Outcome 3: Every Cherokee Department will facilitate language study work groups and intentional language job shadowing for employees and leaders.

Educational

Goal 7: Cherokee Nation will control our own educational process for the benefit of the Cherokee people to ensure we maintain Indigenous ways of knowing and Indigenous knowledge.

Objective 7A: Cherokee Nation and its entities will incorporate respected elders, valued leaders, and cultural content experts to support Cherokee cultural values and attributes in the direction, instruction, and practice of Cherokee values, protocols, and language usage for educational opportunities, employee development, and programmatic services.

Outcome 1: Annually review rigorous and comprehensive teacher criteria that meet our own tribally specific needs for accreditation, assessment, and certification purposes.

Outcome 2: Create and expand honored, valued, and respected employee placements and positions for Cherokee speaking elders, content experts, and community leaders to participate as instructors and mentors, initially in our language and cultural programs, and by extension in all Cherokee Nation departments.

Outcome 3: Maintain and expand a Cherokee language medium tract (immersion), from prenatal, through adulthood, targeted for increasing levels of language proficiency.

Outcome 4: Plan, establish, and support our own Cherokee Nation Tribal University with preference for Cherokee language medium classes.

Objective 7B: Cherokee Nation will maintain and support multiple Cherokee language campuses to maintain centralized language cultivation facilities that provide language medium environments, cultural resources, and language instruction to Cherokee citizens.

***Outcome 1:** Comprehensive language education will provide that trainings will be held daily, and on evenings and weekends for personal and professional development for all citizens; employees and leaders will have access for potential incentives/rewards for employee language merit programs.*

***Outcome 2:** Language learning will be successive, incremental, proficiency based, focused on language acquisition, measurable and in the medium of the Cherokee language.*

VI. Progress on Various Capital Improvements Authorized by this Act, Including but not Limited to Development of the Cherokee Nation Language Department Kenwood Campus

Cherokee Nation's establishment and growth of the Language Department reflects an unwavering commitment to preserving Cherokee language and culture. As the various programs have been and are being built, the team, including personnel, participants, and language warriors are diligently working to perpetuate the Cherokee language. This growth has allowed for improvements, expansions, and additions of new buildings. Below is an update on progress to the development of capital improvements authorized by the Durbin Feeling Language Act.

1. Language Immersion Middle School

- The architectural blueprints were created.
- Land was secured.
- We broke ground in Fall of 2024.
- A contractor has been selected.
- Demolition and land work has begun on the site.
- Opening of Immersion Middle School is projected for late Summer 2026.

2. Kenwood Language and Culture Reserve

- Land for the culture reserve was designated.
- Architect has been selected for the master plan.
- The department has had meetings with other tribes on cultural land utilization strategies including subsistence practices.
- A strategic plan is being developed for a cultural plant survey and to have soil samples tested.

3. Kenwood Language Office

- Remodeling of the previous HeadStart and Community buildings has begun to create the Kenwood CLMAP classrooms and offices.
- Groundwork and partial demolition for language offices has begun.

4. Greasy Immersion Campus Improvements

- An architect has been selected.
- A General Manager for the project has been selected and they are selecting sub-contractors.
- The scope of the project has been completed.

- An Architectural Engineer has been selected.

VII. Statistics as to Services Provided by the Speaker Services Program

The mission of Speaker Services is to help all fluent Cherokee speakers with any needed essentials to enhance their quality of life. Speaker Services includes, but is not limited to, services such as emergency housing needs, home rehab/replacement, utility assistance, assistance with medical referrals, and transportation for appointments such as doctor visits and substance abuse treatments.



In addition to providing for and helping the Cherokee speaking communities, Speaker Services also hosts the Cherokee Language Summer Corps, a program that takes children from Cherokee speaking homes and teaches them in a Cherokee language summer camp. Speaker Services also hosts an annual Speaker celebration where all First Language Speakers are invited for fellowship, food, and prizes, including chances to win an annual trip to Cherokee, North Carolina.

Since its inception, the Speaker Services program has successfully completed over 1,700 projects with a cumulative investment exceeding thirty-four million dollars. This includes the replacement of over fifty homes, establishment of four villages comprising twenty-seven homes, and extensive rehabilitation projects enhancing accessibility and quality of life for over seven hundred households. Additionally, our comprehensive support extends to medical equipment provision, legal aid, addiction recovery services, and more, embodying our commitment to the holistic welfare of the Cherokee speakers.

Beyond addressing physical infrastructure, our investments have supported behavioral health, addiction recovery, and socioeconomic stability—demonstrating that Speaker Services is more than a housing program; it is a comprehensive support system for our speakers' well-being.

The Speaker population under the age of 65 faces housing insecurity, but it has also been established that there is a high percentage of this micro-population suffering from substance abuse. To address this, Speaker Services is implementing a Peer-Recovery program specifically tailored to this population.



Our elder Speakers over the age of 65 are increasingly at risk of elder abuse (both mental and physical) and socioeconomic hardships, including housing insecurity. As we address these housing challenges, our focus will progressively shift towards enhancing socioeconomic and behavioral health support to adapt to the changing needs of our speaker population. As housing insecurity issues are resolved, the needs of this demographic will continue to shift. Speakers Services staff will assess and provide services as they evolve to more socioeconomic and behavioral health related needs.

VIII. Funding Strategy

Current Federal Funding Sources

1. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) – Living Languages Grant Program:

- **Program Purpose:** Funds provided through the LLGP enable federally recognized American Indian and Alaska Native Tribal entities as listed in 86 FR 7554 to support Tribal programs that document Native languages or build Tribal capacity to create or expand language preservation programs.
- **Potential Use:** Fund Cherokee language initiatives that will build capacity to create or expand language preservation programs.
- **Current Program:** The purpose of this program is to implement the Cherokee Immersion Teacher Institute (CITI) program which will provide professional development and extended training for current Cherokee language teachers associated with Cherokee language programs that are responsible for education

while maintaining quality progress in language proficiency, though it will also meet the needs of Cherokee language teachers throughout the 14-county Reservation and beyond.

2. Bureau of Indian Education (BIE) – Native American Language Initiative:

- **Program Purpose:** Promotes the revitalization of Native languages through immersive education programs.
- **Potential Use:** Fund existing Cherokee language Immersion Schools or start new immersion programs in community settings.
- **Current Program:** The purpose of this program is to implement an Immersion Track scheduling option and language learning cohort for Immersion Charter School graduates and other SHS freshmen who wish to be on an Immersion-based track; develop a virtual classroom platform that will facilitate Cherokee language learning and interaction between both teachers and students; and develop high school-level, Language Arts curriculum to be taught in an immersion setting.

3. Department of Commerce – National Telecommunications Information Administration – Tribal Broadband Connectivity Program:

- **Program Purpose:** Provides funding for initiatives that create opportunities for remote employment, online entrepreneurship, remote learning, and telehealth by expanding broadband access and by providing digital training and inclusion programs to Native American communities.
- **Potential Use:** Project that address the digital divide on Tribal Lands, including broadband and digital inclusion efforts, training staff and Tribal community members, and providing technical support and capacity building for Tribal institutions.
- **Current Program:** This project is to address digital inclusion efforts through on-the-job training for staff and participants through a dual apprenticeship model which will provide technology and media sector workforce development for Cherokee Nation. In partnership with CN Film and Amazon, this project will provide skills development for our dubbing and other media projects.

4. Department of Education – Office of English Language Acquisition – Native American and Alaska Native Children in School (NAM) Program:

- **Program Purpose:** The goal of this program is to support the teaching, learning, and studying of Native American languages while also increasing the English language proficiency and academic achievement of students served.
- **Potential Use:** Develop and enhance capacity to provide effective instruction and support to Cherokee Immersion students.
- **Current Program:** The purpose of this program is to develop and then establish a Teacher Helper program to support academic achievement and Cherokee language retention at the Cherokee Immersion School.

5. Department of Education – Office of Indian Education – Native American Language Grants:

- **Program Purpose:** Provides funding for Native language instruction and immersion programs through Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA).
- **Potential Use:** Expand Cherokee Immersion Schools, develop curriculum for K-12, and train language teachers.
- **Current Program:** This program has just been awarded. The intent of this program is to enhance the quality and effectiveness of Cherokee language education by improving teacher language proficiency and teaching methodologies, ensuring an immersive and culturally rich learning environment for students, and fostering a sustainable model of continuous professional growth among educators at the Cherokee Immersion Schools.

6. Department of Health and Human Services – PL 102-477 – Tribal Child Care Development Fund:

- **Program Purpose:** Provides funding to federally recognized tribes, tribal consortia, and tribal lead agencies administering child care and development fund programs.
- **Potential Use:** Child care program in the Baby Immersion classrooms. It can also be used to fund our before and after school programs for students up to 12 years old.
- **Current Program:** The Baby Immersion program is funded by CCDF.

7. USDA Rural Development – Distance Learning and Telemedicine (DLT) Grants:

- **Program Purpose:** Provides grants for telemedicine and distance learning opportunities in rural areas.
 - **Potential Use:** Expand virtual Cherokee language classes and distance learning opportunities, especially for rural and remote learners.
 - **Current Program:** This program is developing Language partnerships with schools within the Reservation, including our Head Start classes and community organizations to provide Distance Learning Technology and Language resources through a newly developing CN RISE network.
- Status Update:** Two grants awarded and ongoing.

Potential Future Federal Funding Sources

1. Department of Commerce – National Telecommunications Information Administration – Digital Equity Grants:

- **Program Purpose:** Provides funding for initiatives that ensure communities have the access and skills to fully participate in the digital world, regardless of their background or circumstances.
- **Potential Use:** Workforce development for the digital and media projects for the Language Department.

2. **Department of Commerce – National Telecommunications Information Administration – State Digital Equity Capacity Grant Program (Tribal Set-Aside Funding):**
 - **Program Purpose:** Provides funding to conduct digital equity planning and carry out digital equity and inclusion activities consistent with the Digital Equity Act.
 - **Potential Use:** Engage young people within the Covered Populations in digital economic activities that involve digital skills development that will lead to a constructive path to financial independence, a sense of purpose, and shared responsibility to positively contribute to their communities.
 - **Upcoming Application Cycle:** The Language Department will apply to build digital equity capacity at the Immersion Middle School by requesting equipment for our competitive electronic sports program and training for staff to teach our Middle School students with digital skills that can be used throughout their K-12 school career and provide a career path for them to pursue in college and then return to the Immersion School and provide personnel for Language initiatives that are consistently understaffed.
3. **Department of Health & Human Services – Administration for Native Americans (ANA) – Language Preservation and Maintenance Grants:**
 - **Program Purpose:** Supports projects that promote the survival and continuing vitality of Native American languages.
 - **Potential Use:** Fund language documentation, language immersion programs, and the development of new teaching materials.
 - **Upcoming Application Cycle:** The upcoming application, if awarded, will allow the Language Department to develop and establish Parent Education and Engagement Programs for the Cherokee Immersion Schools.
4. **Department of Health & Human Services – Administration for Native Americans (ANA) – Social and Economic Development Strategies Grants:**
 - **Program Purpose:** Supports efforts to improve social, cultural, and economic well-being.
 - **Potential Use:** Develop projects that promote sustainable community-based solutions through capacity-building, infrastructure development, and economic empowerment, such as community-based language centers or resource hubs, expand apprenticeship programs, promote cultural and language education, or production of culturally relevant language learning materials or media content.
 - **Upcoming Application Cycle:** The upcoming application, if awarded, will create Cherokee Language Master Apprentice Program for Translators.
5. **Department of Health & Human Services – Office of Early Childhood Development – Tribal, Maternal, Infant, and Early Childhood Home Visiting (TMIECHV) Programs:**
 - **Program Purpose:** Develop, implement, sustain, or expand evidence-based home visiting programs for expectant families and families with young children from birth to kindergarten entry.

- **Potential Use:** Develop projects to provide a home visiting program for parental support for our Immersion families.
- **Upcoming Application Cycle:** Develop a project to provide a home visiting program for parental support for our current or potential Baby Immersion and Immersion School Pre-K and Kindergarten families.

6. Department of Housing and Urban Development – Indian Housing Block Grant (IHBG) Competitive Grant Program:

- **Program Purpose:** Grant funds may be used to develop, maintain, and operate affordable housing in safe and healthy environments on Indian reservations and in other Indian areas and carry out other affordable housing activities.
- **Potential Use:** Provide housing rehab and other affordable housing services to our speaker population.

7. Department of Housing and Urban Development – Choice Neighborhoods Planning (CNP) Grant Program:

- **Program Purpose:** Grant program focuses on the redevelopment of severely distressed public housing and/or HUD-assisted housing through a comprehensive approach to neighborhood transformation. Choice Neighborhoods funds are used to leverage significant public and private dollars to support locally driven strategies that address struggling neighborhoods.
- **Potential Use:** Speaker Services will pursue potential funding to provide redevelopment of Cherokee Nation housing to our speaker population in locations such as Cherry Tree.

8. Department of Housing and Urban Development – Indian Community Development Block Grant Program (ICDBG) Grant Program:

- **Program Purpose:** Grant funds may be used for the development of viable Indian communities, including the creation of decent housing, suitable living environments, and economic opportunities primarily for persons of low and moderate income.
- **Potential Use:** Provide housing rehab and other affordable housing services to our speaker population.

9. Department of Housing and Urban Development – Older Adults Home Modification Program (OAHMP) Grant:

- **Program Purpose:** Grant funds assist experienced nonprofit organizations, state and local governments, and public housing authorities in undertaking comprehensive programs that make safety and functional home modifications, repairs, and renovations to meet the needs of low-income seniors.
- **Potential Use:** Provide housing modifications, repairs, and renovations to meet the needs of our elderly Speaker population.

10. Department of Justice COPS – School Violence Prevention Program (SVPP):

- **Program Purpose:** Program designed to provide funding to improve security at schools and on school grounds in the grantees' jurisdictions through evidence-based school safety programs.
- **Potential Use:** Coordination with Marshal Services staff, training for Marshals to prevent school violence against others and self, and purchase of locks, lighting, and other deterrent measures for safety at the Immersion or Middle School.
- **Upcoming Application Cycle:** The Immersion School will apply for additional security measures to be implemented at the Language Center, as well as training for any officers that may be assigned to patrol the school grounds during events.

11. Department of Labor – PL 102-477 – Tribal Workforce Training:

- **Program Purpose:** Provides funding to federally recognized tribes, tribal consortia, and tribal lead agencies administering workforce development and on-the-job training programs.
- **Potential Use:** Fund workforce development programs for training our childcare staff.

12. Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS) – Native American/Native Hawaiian Museum Services Grants:

- **Program Purpose:** Supports the revitalization of Native languages through museum-based and cultural programs.
- **Potential Use:** Fund community-based Cherokee language programs and outreach initiatives.

13. National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) – Documenting Endangered Languages (DEL) Grants:

- **Program Purpose:** Supports projects that document and preserve endangered languages through fieldwork, digital archiving, and the creation of learning resources.
- **Potential Use:** Develop and fund additional language documentation initiatives.

14. National Science Foundation (NSF) – Linguistics Program Grants:

- **Program Purpose:** Funds research and documentation of languages, particularly endangered ones.
- **Potential Use:** Support research into Cherokee language structure and grammar, as well as innovative teaching methodologies.

15. Tribal Education Departments National Assembly (TEDNA) – Sovereignty in Education (SIE) Grants:

- **Program Purpose:** Provides technical assistance and funding for language preservation in Tribal education departments.
- **Potential Use:** Fund infrastructure development for language programs, such as teacher training and educational technology.

16. Federal Communications Commission – USAC E-Rate Programs:

- **Program Purpose:** Provides school and libraries with assistance for monthly charges, special construction, installation and activation charges, software, modulating electronics and other equipment necessary to make a Category One wired or wireless broadband service functional (“Network Equipment”), and maintenance and operation charges, including costs for software needed for the operation of or maintenance of Network Equipment. Network Equipment and maintenance and operation costs for existing networks are eligible. All equipment and services, including maintenance and operation, must be competitively bid.
- **Potential Use:** Reduction in fees for internet connectivity for both school connectivity and student connectivity devices for virtual classes.
- **Upcoming Application Cycle:** The Immersion School will apply for a reduction for our school internet fees, as well as a reduction in the cost of Wi-Fi/MiFi devices that the kids use for virtual school days.

17. USDA Rural Development – Distance Learning and Telemedicine (DLT) Grants:

- **Program Purpose:** Provides grants for telemedicine and distance learning opportunities in rural areas.
- **Potential Use:** Expand virtual Cherokee language classes and distance learning opportunities, especially for rural and remote learners.
- **Upcoming Application Cycle:** We will seek additional funding for Language partnerships with schools, colleges, and community organizations throughout the Reservation to provide Distance Learning Technology and Language resources through a newly developing CN RISE network. We will also request Distance Learning and conference room equipment for the new Head Start buildings at Tahlequah, Prior, Nowata, Stilwell, and Jay, as well as the new Immersion Middle School.

18. USDA Rural Development – Farm to School Grants:

- **Program Purpose:** Provides grants to help child nutrition program operators incorporate local foods in the National School Lunch Program, the Summer Food Service Program the Child and Adult Care Food Program and all associated programs. In addition, USDA staff work with tribal communities by promoting food sovereignty and the integration of traditional food ways into tribal meal programs.
- **Potential Use:** Establish access to local foods in eligible CNP sites through comprehensive farm to school programming that includes both local sourcing and agricultural education efforts.
- **Upcoming Application Cycle:** Establish a farm to school program at the Immersion School that includes a school garden where students will participate in planting traditional foods such as beans, pumpkins, corn, and squash. The garden will also include bees for honey, miniature cows for milk, quail for meat, chickens for eggs that can be incorporated into the school menu.

Recommendations as to operation and capital budget adjustments

After the close of the most recent fiscal year, it has been determined that the budgets for the Immersion Middle School, Greasy Immersion School, Kenwood Master Apprentice Program, and proposed Kenwood Immersion School will need to be adjusted for additional operational dollars due to increase in operational costs consistent with economic impacts of the inflation.

The Greasy budget will need adjusted annually for additional students and additional classrooms as they are added, and as bus routes are added, additional bus driver positions with maintenance roles will be added.

Addendum to First Biennial Report

Report of the Effectiveness of Cherokee Language Immersion Education: 2011 to 2023



IX. Effectiveness of Cherokee Nation Immersion in Cherokee Language Learning

The Immersion School officially became ᏍᏏᏉᏯ ᏚᏳᏓᏴᏫᏯ ᏚᏳᏓᏴᏫᏯ Cherokee Immersion in 2003, with 3-year-old students. As the students progressed, grades were added. The first class of students graduated from 6th grade in Spring of 2012. From 2003 until 2011, the Immersion School was entirely focused and built around the students' acquisition of the Cherokee language.

This was reflected in the assessments developed and administered starting with the school's inception and carried on until the spring of 2012. These assessments documented the ongoing development of the students' language in the strictly Cherokee environment. English was not spoken to the students at the school; parents would interact with the teachers in the hallway to protect the students from hearing English while the students were trained to protect the integrity of the Cherokee environment when at school (See Appendix 4).

In June of 2011, the school became the Cherokee Immersion Charter School under the State of Oklahoma with Cherokee Nation as its sponsor. The elements of this report cover the operation of the school under the charter. The charter brought in some positive elements to operating the school, a few negative elements as well. A structured curriculum and set standards for all grades were two positive aspects of having the charter. However, the charter forced the inclusion of English as a subject area and as a language of communication into the school. This caused a gradual deterioration of Cherokee in both academic learning and conversational competency.



Because of the charter, the students were also required to take the standardized test in English, although this was not their language of instruction. As a result, the teachers began to teach to the

standardized tests, which were all in English. During that time, these negative factors were the primary reasons for stunting the growth of the immersion students' language development. Simultaneously, the decision to drop language assessments in Cherokee, shifted the focus of the school to metrics solely built around the English language.

In 2011 and 2012, graduate students from University of Kansas (KU), under the direct supervision of Dr. Akira Yamamoto, conducted professional development immersion methodologies, practices, and curriculum development. In addition, they designed and did language assessments on 3-year-olds to 6th grade. The language assessments demonstrated that the immersion students were improving year to year. Initially the Immersion School assessments were focused on academic content and grammatical accuracy, however the last three (3) years of evaluation, proficiency assessments were added for the upper levels of elementary. Academic assessment was also carried out in each individual classroom by grade level. The Immersion School students were rating at Intermediate mid proficiency level for the most part as they completed their term at the immersions school, a few of them did reach Intermediate high on the ACTFL proficiency scale. The one critique that could be made of the Immersion School at this earliest stage, is that the culture was conspicuously absent in curriculum and instruction for the students.

In the fall of 2020, the Language Department was created, and the Immersion School was placed under their supervision. At the start of the pandemic, the Immersion School was still under Education Services. At the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, the school had to navigate the implementation of virtual instruction. As the Immersion School transitioned from the pandemic, semi-annual language proficiency assessments were implemented. Since 2022, the Immersion School students have been assessed four times. The assessments have shown improvement from year to year and grade to grade.



Support for Full Language Immersion at the School:

Dual Immersion programs, or two-way immersion, use two languages as the educational language medium for instruction. Usually, dual immersion programs utilize world languages for their instruction, but it is common for a school to use one of the common heritage languages frequently used by the school's student population. In either case there is a primary language or target language and a secondary language, and both work to deliver academic content to the learners. When done right, the result is a high level of proficiency in the primary language and a conversational level of proficiency in the other but good overarching academic competency.

The Immersion School, however, is targeted to be a total Immersion School, meaning 90% or of its instruction is in the target language, and for the Immersion School, that is the Cherokee language. The challenge with supporting a partial immersion or dual immersion program for the school is that if English is one of the other languages, the dominant social usage of English ensures that it will become the de-facto target language, and that English will flood the school. All Immersion School students are commutatively competent in conversational English without any overt educational effort on the school's part. This is due to English reinforcement from their social environment and home language. For Indigenous languages like Cherokee, there is no other natural setting for the language still extant among our communities and institutions outside of the CN language programming. For world languages, like French, Mandarin, and Spanish there are large populations of speakers in their home geographies, with state level governments and social frameworks that allow for total immersion environments and ensure a native speaking populations are maintained. Cherokee does not have these language habitats nor safeguards.

**Support for Language Immersion for future improvements:**

Revitalization is an important word. It is not just about preservation and recovery, but it is also about reaching out to take the steps to reinvigorate our living language with vitality. It needs clear reasons to thrive in the future as well to make it happen. The reasons are communicated with enrichment classes that give learners a taste of Cherokee. They educate about the general nature of the language, how to read and write it, its endangered status, its importance and value,

and these enrichment classes can help us select serious language learners that can be used in immersion settings to really teach the language.

Total Immersion methodologies are the only research-based approaches that have had any success in real language revitalization. There are three types of language learning settings that have been successful and all of them use language immersion. Language nests, language Immersion Schools and immersion master apprentice programs. There are quite a few different ways to execute these three types of initiatives, and that diversity provides that we need to develop and maintain our own systems to determine what is most effective in our communities, classrooms and other learning environments for Cherokee language acquisition.

This strategic approach has evaluated all the potential variables and challenges to language acquisition and postulate best practices to be implemented in Cherokee language learning initiatives. Departmental staff continuously make suggestions and help develop curricula, and teaching methods to test with our language learners. Programs must evaluate these methods and curricula to refine language learning practices to ensure that they are reaching maximum efficacy. Though it is not optimal to be married to any one process, it is important to maintain one focus, an outcome-based philosophy. Successful language acquisition is the benchmark to meet the goals of creating speakers, teachers, and leaders for Cherokee language revitalization efforts. In the past, even those programs that have historically used immersion techniques and openly state that the goal is fluency, are only able to give a head nod to language proficiency and fluency, while they really sought to pursue academic excellence. Academics are a needed focus, and even though academic excellence may be a priority, if you don't have proficiency in the language of instruction then academic content cannot be easily passed on to learners.

Traditional Cherokee speakers are process oriented thinkers and are slow to reply to direct inquiries. Cherokee cultural ethic provides that direct confrontation is not acceptable to correct peers and superiors. This lengthy process allows for the language stake holders to matriculate their feedback through the social channels and networks involved in the Cherokee language community. It enables the team developing the process to allow for comprehensive feedback and create a more successful product. CN language programming must carry out the maintenance of and oversee future Cherokee Language revitalization initiatives and make suggestions when it comes to Cherokee Nation's language policies. As a part of the goal to remain vital and in alignment with the most contemporary and effective practices, language initiatives must maintain contact with various language experts and advocates to be more able to provide objective guidance and critical examination of Language initiatives and processes. Particular attention must be paid to retired Cherokee language leaders and even people of language expertise from other tribes and organizations.

In planning for the future, there are things to keep in mind as language programs develop to prepare Cherokee language learners, teachers, and leaders. To initiate a much wider screen of CN employee language proficiency the department should start with language proficiency evaluations for second language speakers, and learners currently engaged in language learning programs and to be effective they must show at least an Intermediate high speaking proficiency level. Additionally, developing and implementing a Cherokee language literacy proficiency evaluation for second language speakers is a valuable step, and further, they must show an

equally rigorous (Intermediate high) writing proficiency level. Eventually the Department of Cherokee Language will address the lesser concern for an oral proficiency evaluation for native first language speakers, to be considered a full Cherokee speaker it is suggested that they must show at least advanced high speaking proficiency level. Further, oral Interviews will be needed to discuss teaching methodology, language experience, and language acquisition with veteran language teachers and experts that have been lifelong contributors to Cherokee language efforts.



Their knowledge will ground and set the standards for future employee goals and initiatives. It is invaluable that strategic decisions are made for employee selection, especially for language teaches or instructors. When selecting language program teachers, aside from the necessary level of language proficiency, it's imperative that they have immersion experience, and understand the value of language revitalization, and language immersion practices in a way that they can communicate both support for it and some of the challenges associated with it. They also need to explain the value of cultural identity and explain its importance, giving no less than four concrete examples of Cherokee cultural identity and its expression. When the potential teacher is a second language speaker, they do need one year of teaching experience in a language immersion environment if possible. However, native first language speakers, would need six months of teaching experience in a language immersion environment.

Until most recently, the curriculum and instructional methods of Cherokee language initiatives have focused on translating English academic content and using Oklahoma standards translated

into Cherokee as the model for all instruction. Cultural content had been relegated to enrichment and was only spoken about at the most surface levels. From direct experience, we have learned that teaching culture out of context and overemphasizing often essentialized material culture led to what we sometimes refer to as “fast-food” culture classes, where everyone gets a bite that’s over processed, and less than robust (McCarty et al, 2021, p. 346).

Furthermore, such piecemeal approaches contribute to the Anglicization of Cherokee words, phrases, and other forms of language transference (p. 346). Our older generation of Immersion School teachers are First Language Cherokee Speakers from staunch cultural backgrounds. Even those from the Cherokee Baptist convention families were steeped in deep traditional cultural spirituality. Until more recently, as the language of our churches has drifted to English, the Cherokee Christian traditions were syncritized with traditional practices and beliefs. Even our elder church leaders grew up steeped in a rich tapestry of Cherokee spirituality and tradition. Those same elders are often suspicious of the old Cherokee cultural practices and have not passed them down to their children and grandchildren.



Likewise, the lack of transmission was mirrored in language preservation. It is a new thing for our youth to engage in some cultural activities, outside of the few families that have maintained the traditions within the Cherokee Reservation. Between the concerns of the influential religious population, and the conservative ceremonial traditions, historically the language programming at CN has kept deep culture out of the curriculum. Public schools, boarding schools, and various other educational institutions were considered the primary means to a resolution or solution to the Indian problem as it was posed by the US government (Kulago & Herne, 2022, p. 189). The aim of these policies and processes was to “assimilate, civilize, Christianize, Americanize, detribalize, and deculturate Indigenous Peoples with the intentions to disconnect us from our lands. The attacks on the tribal ways of life which were considered “socialistic and contrary to the values of ‘civilization’” were identified as insufficient and failed in the attempts to civilize Indigenous Peoples” (p. 189). Our language wasn’t spoken to children nor intentionally used with them for over forty years. Even our most traditional Cherokee ceremonial grounds were not

supportive of integrating Cherokee cultural practices into the school, feeling that only those that grew up in ceremony should have exposure to those sacred teachings.

When the Immersion School began, both conservative factions, the Baptist and Ceremonial, were against integrating Cherokee values, traditions, and lifeways into the school. Certainly, the public schools did not push Cherokee content and there were few families providing Cherokee cultural traditions or language to their children. The Immersion School initiated the first effort to create a serious Cherokee language learning environment with instruction and academic content provided in the Cherokee language medium, however, initially great efforts were made to keep Cherokee cultural systems out of the school. When the Language Department inherited the Immersion School, the outside pressure had subsided where the Language Department successfully began implementing culture within the school. Many Immersion School language advocates really wanted to push a cultural approach, understanding that integrating communities, schools, and families, while fostering intergenerational transmission of Indigenous knowledge by weaving culture, philosophy, and lifeways into the curriculum is the most effective way to engage in Indigenous language revitalization (McCarty et al, 2021, p. 349).

Over the last year and a half, graduates of CLMAP have begun to enter the school as instructors and teacher's assistants. Some have been selected to help infuse our curriculum, in every Cherokee language educational program, with the deep culture of our spiritual practices from our Cherokee churches to the ceremonial grounds. This new initiative integrates academic standards and material into the learning sessions through the context of cultural activities, through the lense of traditional values, stories, and cultural protocols. These young people have teamed up with First Language Cherokee Speakers that are veteran Immersion School teachers, to create a curriculum team. They are the new ᏍᏏᏏᏏ ᏍᏏᏏᏏ ᏍᏏᏏᏏ *didehyododi duyugtv iyadvhndi* "We Use This to Teach Them the Right Way". This is a cultural curriculum program that provides through the lens of the Cherokee ethnosphere that surpasses the state and federal standards, providing relief to the first language speaking Cherokee elders who have been teaching at the school for two decades, and professionally, in the public school system, for over forty years.



This team has engaged with the young people in the Immersion School who have expressed their desires as Cherokee language learners. We began to overtly incorporate ceremonial activities and culturally grounded teachings about traditional practices and lifeways into the instruction and curriculum as has been suggested by many Indigenous educators (McCarty et al, 2021, p. 346). Those elders who once discouraged overt cultural practices in the school have become accepting of the new initiatives. The full cultural curriculum path is included in the appendices (See Appendix 6).

X. Academic, Cherokee Language Retention and Career Success of Immersion Students

ACADEMIC:

By state standards, the Immersion School scored poorly during the years covered in this report. The primary reason for these scores relates to the state required testing being administered in English only. Since the Immersion School did not introduce English until the third grade, students were expected to perform poorly on these tests. Furthermore, the Immersion School didn't have staff that were both adequately proficient in the Cherokee language and trained in educational instruction. This particular issue has been addressed with the majority of the instructors now being certified teachers with an advanced proficiency in the language.

When the Language Department was created in 2020, English as a subject was phased out in the earlier grades and is not introduced until the sixth grade. It is notable that student academic achievement has improved with the focus in a Cherokee first environment. With the increase in Cherokee and the Cherokee first approach to teaching, the Immersion School has seen improved academic and Cherokee language performance in the classrooms. *For full details on the negative influence of English in the Immersion School, please see page 3.

SCHOOL REPORT CARD DATA:

Under the charter, the academic success of students was measured almost exclusively using the Oklahoma Report Card system. During the operation of the Cherokee Immersion School from 2011 to present, the criteria used for the report card system has changed several times. The years affected by these changes and details about the assigned letter grades can be found either next to or immediately after each table. Examining the overall scores, the Immersion School has averaged a "D" on the report card during the years shown.

Year	Overall Grade	Letter grade
2010-2011	No data	No data
2011-2012	No data	No data
2012-2013	No data	No data
2013-2014	57	F
2014-2015	56	F

There is no data during 2010-2013 because the state required several years of student testing data before a grade could be assigned. Starting in school year 2013-2014, a letter grade was assigned to the school. As mentioned within this report, testing was administered in English only. This is the primary reason for the "F" letter grade given to the school for the two years shown in the adjacent table.

Year	Perf Multiplier	Growth Multiplier	Bottom growth	Total Bonus Points	Overall Grade	Letter grade
2015-2016	Reading F (69/42)	Math F (69/35)	Science F (30/23)	Soc Stu F (48/52)	39	F
2016-2017	50	25	25	8	65	D

Starting with school year 2015-2016, a new scoring system was implemented by the State of Oklahoma. While the letter grade designation was kept, the criteria was changed. One can see that students were evaluated based on specific subject area knowledge. However, the same issue for testing was the same as in previous years, i.e., the tests were administered in English only.

Year	Academic Achievement	Academic Growth	Eng Lang Proficiency	Chronic Absenteeism	Overall
2017-2018	16% - D	49% - C	No data	92.47% - B	37% - D
2018-2019	21% - D	36% - D	No data	79.8% - F	28% - D
*2019-2020	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
*2020-2021	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
2021-2022	29% - D	50% - C	13% - C	76.74% - F	34% - D
2022-2023	15% - D	72% - B	17% - C	77.53% - F	37% - D
2023-2024	Data pending	Data pending	Data pending	Data pending	Data pending

Once again, the state changed the criteria for the letter grade system assigned to schools for the 2017-2018 school year. Despite the continued requirement for testing in English only, note that the students' academic growth began to improve beginning in the 2021-2022 school year. Chronic absenteeism is still an ongoing issue that needs to be addressed at the Immersion School. This is partially due to habits formed during the pandemic, when students were attending virtually. *For the school years 2019-2020 and 2020-2021 accountability for all testing indicators was suspended through a waiver granted by the U.S. Department of Education. Therefore, data for waived indicators are not available for these school years. The 2023-2024 data is not yet available on the OKSDE website. **A majority of schools applied for the U.S. Department of Education waivers for 2019-2020 and 2020-2021.



Immersion Graduates – From spring of 2012 to spring of 2023, the Cherokee Immersion School graduated sixty-three (63) students who attended the school as part of the language Immersion system. Of these 63 language Immersion graduates, 17 are still enrolled at SHS and on track to graduate with their graduating class of 2025, 2026 or 2027. 38 have graduated from Sequoyah High School. 8 students did not complete high school at Sequoyah but moved to other schools during their high school years. After graduation, 7 students have applied for and received the Cherokee Nation Scholarship, with two (2) graduating from college, the others are progressing through their degree programs. 9 students are currently employed with Cherokee Nation with 4 students returning to the Cherokee Language Department and 5 students working other departments.

Cherokee Language Retention – There have been a total of seventy-three (73) Immersion School graduates who started in immersion prior to sixth grade. These seventy-three (73)

students include ten (10) graduates from 2024. Starting in the fall of 2023, seventh and eighth grades were made part of the language immersion education at the school. Before the fall of 2023, there were students who started at the school in the seventh and eighth grades, and these students have not been included as part of the survey data. In November of 2024, the Language Department sent forty-seven (47) surveys to Immersion School graduates (able to be located) who are now out of high school and received twenty-one (21) responses. Eleven out of twenty-one (21) respondents to the survey, conducted specifically for this report, indicated that they rarely or never use Cherokee. These eleven graduates have retained their knowledge of Cherokee, but due to trauma and/or lack of language support outside of school, they no longer use the language. This indicates that roughly 50% of Immersion School graduates, out of high school, aren't speaking Cherokee. The reasons for this disengagement are complicated but there are a few reasons that have been identified that account for this issue.

The other ten respondents to the survey are working in the Language Department or are connected with the department in some way and use the language daily. Although not part of the survey, those graduates who are now involved in the language have verbally indicated their slow reintegration to the language is due to overcoming the trauma from their language learning experiences.

Testimonies of past students – In January 2025, a focus group was conducted with Immersion School graduates who had graduated from high school from 2016 to 2020. The notes below represent this specific group of graduates' feedback on their experiences at the Cherokee Immersion School. They were asked to give a general statement about their overall experience during their time at Immersion and to provide any comments they had on whatever issues or topics they felt relevant to the discussion. Regarding the Cherokee language, they were asked to comment on their attained proficiency from their time at the school as well as language support after they graduated and their current Cherokee language usage. Below are the comments that were made during the discussion:

- Immersion taught life skills along with educational standards. Most lessons incorporated math with practical skills (i.e. cooking) all while utilizing Language.
- Some instability with location shifts in the learning environment that were disruptive (moving from building to building).
- Environmental aspects both inside and outside of the classroom were enjoyed and helpful to some students.
- Writing skills were inconsistent and not as much of a priority to some instructors. Students did not feel like they were properly prepared for their English courses when they moved onto secondary learning environment.
- Some students felt Immersion did an acceptable job of instilling language in the student, and they didn't feel too far behind when moving on to secondary school. English aspects of skillset were picked up fairly quickly in the new learning environment after the initial adjustment period.
- Other students experienced difficulty transitioning to a secondary learning environment. Those students felt they performed better once they made it to CLMAP. Conversational skills drastically improved in a short time frame (6 months) than in entire Immersion School period.

- Inconsistent instruction of the material produced varying experiences for students. They suggested better teacher training to address this issue going forward.
- Too rigid structure of in classroom instruction and not enough focus on conversational skills. Some students felt they could only communicate via the materials and not via organic conversation outside of the school environment. (i.e. “you did this, so you say exactly this. You felt this specific way, so you say it in Cherokee like this.”)
- Not enough variety of subjects provided. Most did not receive enough instruction in Core courses either (Math, Science, History, etc.) to be prepared for secondary learning environment. Some Core courses were not introduced in a timely manner and students were left feeling behind or unfulfilled in their desire to learn more.
- Experiential based instruction appears to have been more impactful for the student's language acquisition and retention overall.
- Year-round instruction was a part of the experiential based instruction that was the most successful. Summer Break gaps were harmful to retention for some students. Being on a more consistent year-round school calendar produced a close bond between students and students with their parents. The established routine was accepted and preferred by participants. Only one of the focus group graduates had this experience during their time at the school.
- About half of the students would rate the instruction as Average, with room for improvement. Most enjoyed their time at Immersion but felt like there could have been more offered in terms of organic conversations, variety of course materials provided, consistent instruction styles, and less negative pressure regarding their responsibility to “save the language”.
- Most students referenced issues with English courses when making the transition to a secondary learning environment. Some felt their writing skills were lacking, even in Cherokee, that would’ve made their transition to a secondary learning environment easier and less shocking.
- Three students specifically went on to work for CN and the Language Department.
- Most students felt that parent involvement was crucial to their language acquisition/retention. Their participation waxed and waned throughout the school year. Would like to see more commitment/support from their end towards their learning journey. Maybe include it in parent contracts and a CLMAP requirement?
- Some students experienced negative pressure from instructors regarding speaking/using Cherokee instead of English while in the classroom. (Teaching style).

Overall, three general themes emerged from the group:

1. While many attained a conversational level of proficiency, a majority felt “punished” in learning Cherokee to the point that they refused to engage in learning Cherokee for several years after graduating from the school.
2. The group expressed consensus around the idea that teachers in the school needed to be trained as “teachers” because they all had negative experiences at the school with untrained staff.

3. All of the Immersion graduates felt that the school would have been much better if experiential learning had been used as the primary form of instruction.



Career Success of Immersion Students



SPG galilo Kelsey Morgan, attended the Immersion School starting in second grade. She completed her primary education at Sequoyah High School where she was selected as the Salutatorian of her graduating class. After graduation, attended the University of Oklahoma. While at Sequoyah, Morgan participated in many activities such as volunteering at a CASA rally against child abuse and serving meals to elders at the Tri-Community Building in Briggs, Oklahoma. She graduated from the Cherokee Immersion School and is the first Immersion School graduated to receive the honor of salutatorian at SHS. Morgan has been a member of the volleyball team, academic team, and student council all four years of attending Sequoyah. She was also a part of the National Honor Society during her junior and senior years. She was the drum major for the marching band her senior year. She was on the

Superintendent's honor roll, named a member of the gifted and talented education enrichment

program, and was selected to be in the Eastern Oklahoma Band Directors Association from 2018 to 2022. She received a superior rating at 2018 State OSSAA Solo and Ensemble Competitions and was a delegate to the 2021 Oklahoma Girls State program. During an interview about being selected as Salutatorian, Kelsey said:

“When I was first told that I was salutatorian, I felt a lot of pride because I came from Cherokee Immersion Charter School. I’m the first person to graduate from that school to be given this title at Sequoyah and that brings me a lot of joy and happiness to represent my school.”



DSRBS agalisiga “chuj” Mackey first attended the Immersion School when he was three years old and continued into sixth grade. He graduated from Sequoyah High School in 2020 and completed the Cherokee Language Master Apprentice Program (CLMAP) in the fall of 2023 before being hired as a Culture Teacher in the Cherokee Language Immersion School. He is married to Paloma Lopez-Mackey who is also an employee of the Immersion School. Together, they have a son, DLQWYD *adawelagia*, who is in the Baby Immersion program. Paloma or ᎠᎩ *woya* is learning Cherokee as an inaugural member of the Baby

Immersion’s adult language medium professional training program after spending a year in CLMAP. They are both committed to speaking Cherokee in the home and are also expecting another baby boy in January 2025. Agalisiga is a great example of the success of learning the language. He is a Cherokee guitarist/musician and singer/songwriter. He grew up participating in traditional Cherokee ceremonies, with ceremonial songs being the foundation of his voice which he carries with him as he creates more mainstream music.

On October 28th, 2024, Agalisiga released an all-Cherokee language country music album. Additionally, he has performed at various events including the Cherokee National Holiday and the grand opening of the Bob Dylan Center in Tulsa, OK, as well as multiple local music venues across eastern Oklahoma. He was also entered into the NPR Tiny Desk Competition where he was chosen as a finalist and featured on NPR’s Sunday Weekend Edition. His artistic goal is to perpetuate the Cherokee language and culture through musical expression. His success in music has been evident of this and his work is an authentic reflection of who he is and what he believes. During an interview, Agalisiga said,

“Coming from a background of culture, I believe we need to hang on to the things that have been passed down to us. I also have the realization that in order for us to be relevant and to keep up in the world, we’re going to have to grow. So, we need to hang onto what we have, but we also need to add to it. Writing and performing songs in the Cherokee language is my way of saying, ‘hey, look, even though this language is old, it still has importance to this day.’”



ᎠᎹ ᎠᎹᎠ ᎠᎹᎠ, began his time at the Immersion School in 2012 when he transferred into the school's fifth grade. He was inspired by his younger sister who attended the school as well as motivation from his family at home and his ceremonial grounds family who pushed him to go to the school. While there, he was able to learn much of the language under the tutelage of Helena McCoy ᎠᎹ and Curtis Washington ᎠᎹᎠ, in sixth. ᎠᎹ would go on from Immersion to Sequoyah High School.

Throughout high school, ᎠᎹ was involved in his ceremonial grounds, the National Honor Society, and being among some of the first immersion students to be a part of the newly created 14th Generation. ᎠᎹ graduated in the top ten percent of students at Sequoyah while also receiving the Gates Scholarship among its third cohort in 2020.

ᎠᎹ started college during the COVID-19 pandemic. His is studying at Northeastern State University in Cherokee Language Education, with minors in English and Creative Writing, and will graduate this year in the class of 2025. ᎠᎹ plans on using his degree and experience to help teach the language and create more language material, language learning content, as well as promote more language writing and media creation in the language. ᎠᎹ wants to attend the Cherokee Language Master Apprenticeship Program and one day get his master's degree.

ᎠᎹ believes that going to the Immersion School not only inspired him to learn the language but also to be a better person. After the loss of his younger brother, Kai or ᎠᎹᎠ (Tawodi) who had attended baby immersion, to cancer in 2016 continuing on his Cherokee language learning became even more important. He believes that the language is one of the ways that he still connects with his brother as well as other family, elders, and speakers he knew who have passed on. Learning the language gave him greater purposes in many aspects but it also helped him to learn how to speak with intent, to value the knowledge and experience that everyone holds, and to trust in yourself and trust the process. Attending Immersion connected him to his culture and language on such an impactful level, and he hopes that he will impact his community as much as his family, teachers, and elders have impacted him.

The following charts depict data on career pathways, academic achievements for those students who attended SHS, and those students who attended college or trade school once they graduated from SHS.

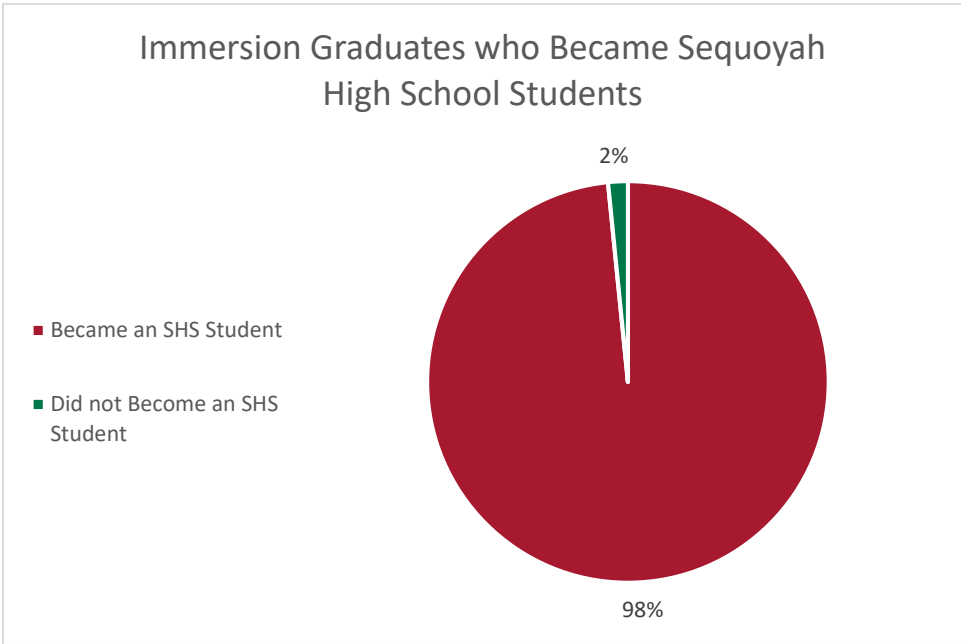


Figure 1: Of the 63 Immersion graduates utilized in this report, 98% (62) applied to and were accepted to attend Sequoyah High School (SHS). One (1) student did not apply and was therefore did not attend Sequoyah, constituting 2% of the population.

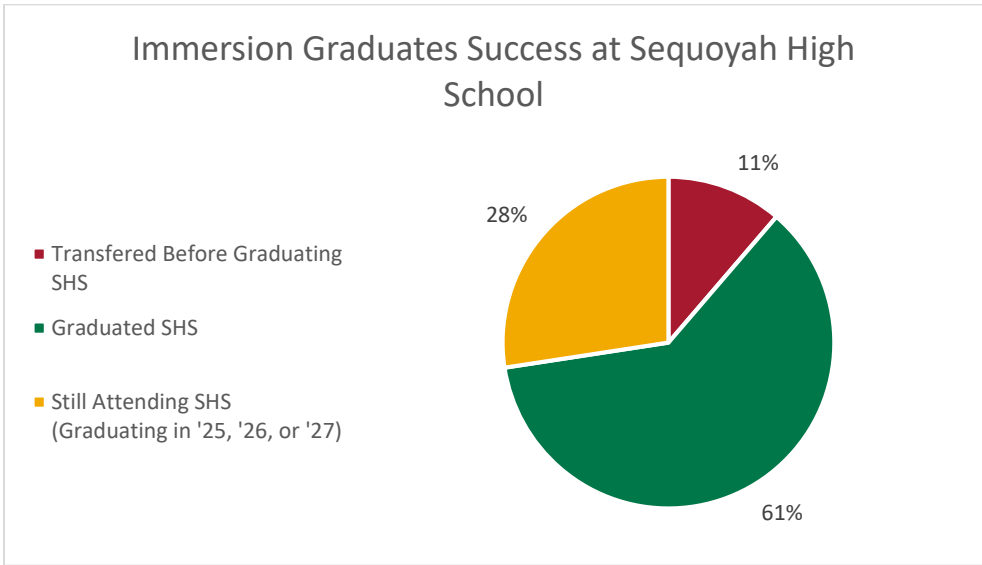


Figure 2: Of the 62 Immersion graduates who attended classes at SHS, 11% (7) of those who started at SHS transferred before graduating, 61% (38) graduated from SHS, and 28% (17) are still attending SHS and set to graduate in 2025, 2026, and 2027. A total of 55 Immersion graduates are considered SHS students.

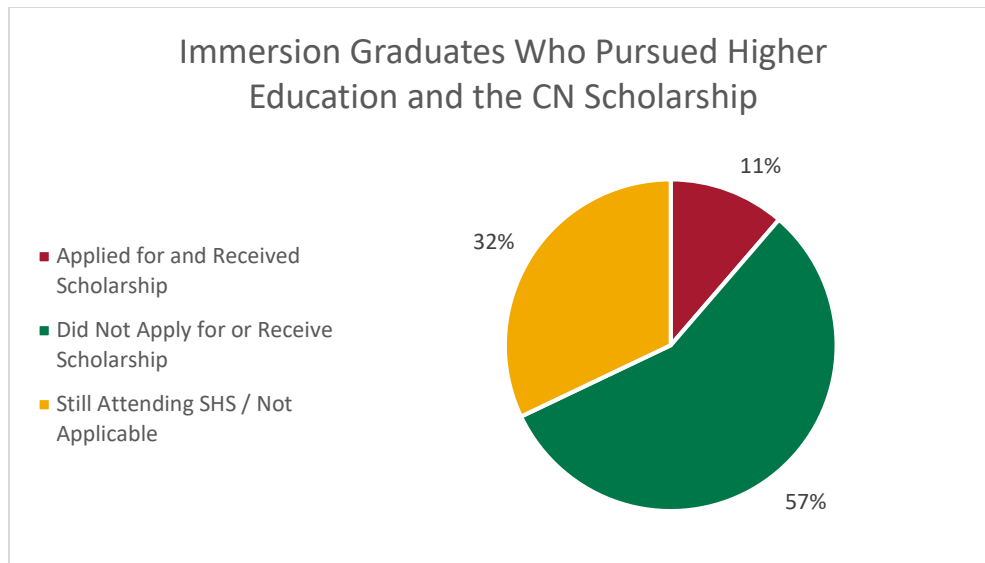


Figure 3: Of the 63 Immersion graduates utilized in this report, 11% (6) applied for and received the Cherokee Nation Undergraduate or Graduate scholarship, 57% (30) have not applied for and therefore did not receive the Cherokee Nation scholarship, and 32% (17) are still attending SHS. It is possible that some of the 57% who did not pursue the Cherokee Nation scholarships attended colleges or universities; however, if this is the case, we do not have access to that data.

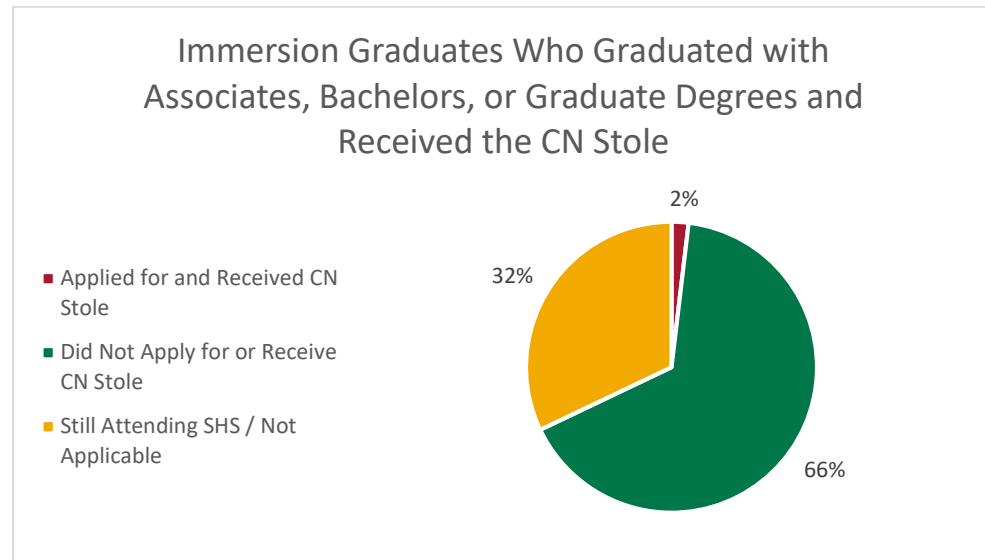


Figure 4: Of the 63 Immersion graduates utilized in this report, 2% (1) graduated with an Associates, Bachelors, or Graduate degrees and applied for and received the Cherokee Nation stole, 66% (35) have not applied for and therefore did not receive the Cherokee Nation stole, and 32% (17) are still attending SHS and are ineligible for the Cherokee Nation stole. It is possible that some of the 66% who did not receive the stole graduated with a degree; if this is the case, we do not have access to that data.

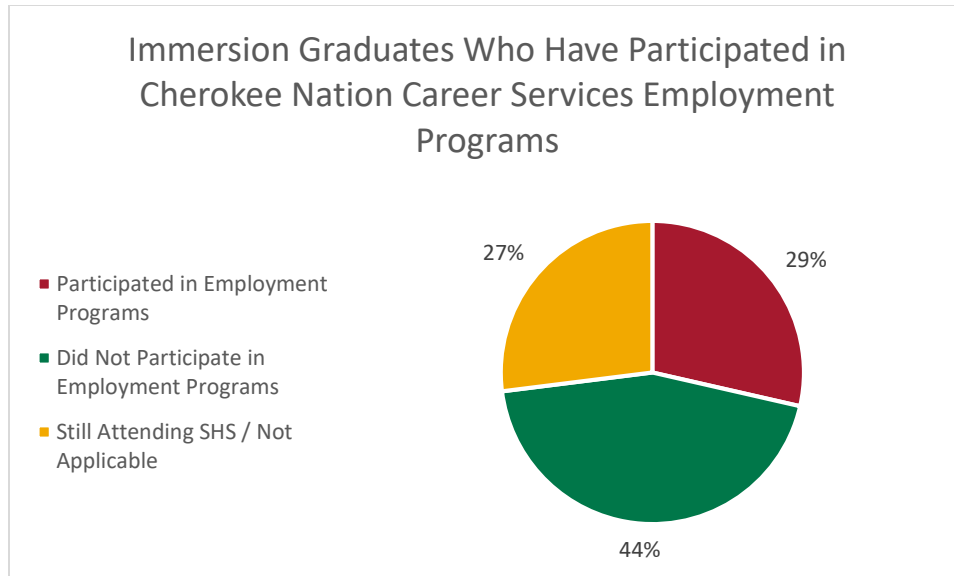


Figure 5: Of the 63 Immersion graduates utilized in this report, 29% (18) have participated in Cherokee Nation Career Services' Employment Programs, 44% (28) have not participated in employment programs, and 27% (17) are still attending SHS.

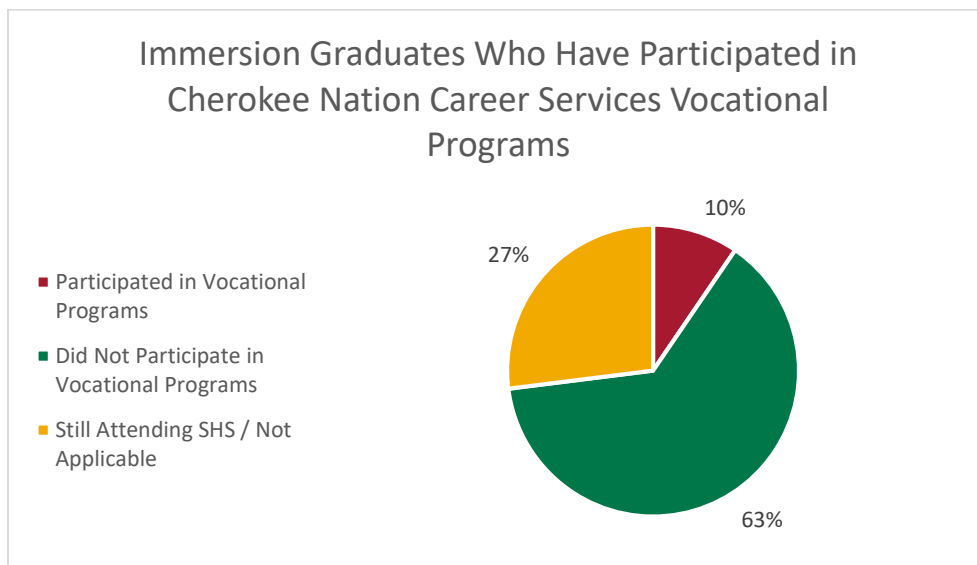


Figure 6: Of the 63 Immersion graduates utilized in this report, 10% (6) have participated in Cherokee Nation Career Services' Vocational Programs, 63% (40) have not participated in vocational programs, and 27% (17) are still attending SHS.

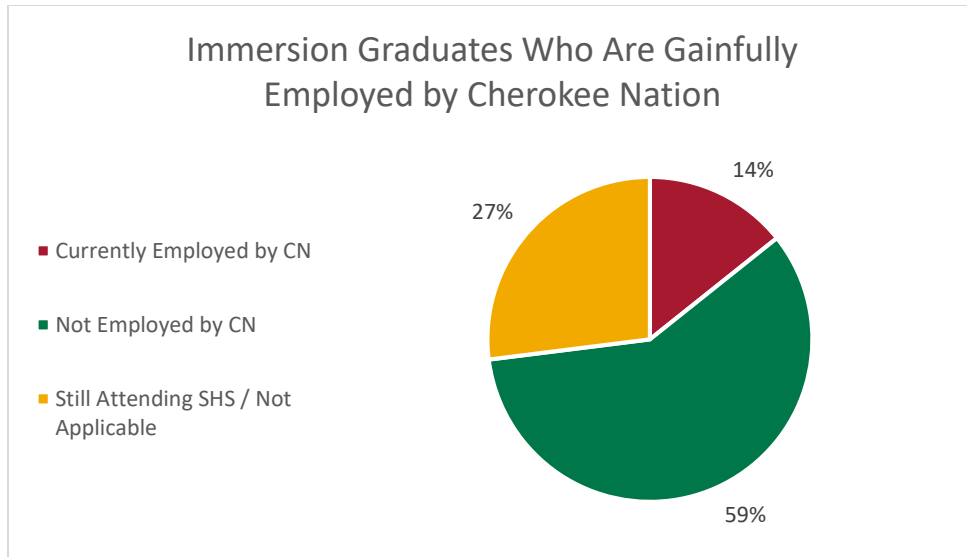


Figure 7: Of the 63 Immersion graduates utilized in this report, 14% (9) are currently employed at Cherokee Nation, 59% (37) are not employed at Cherokee Nation, and 27% (17) are still attending SHS.

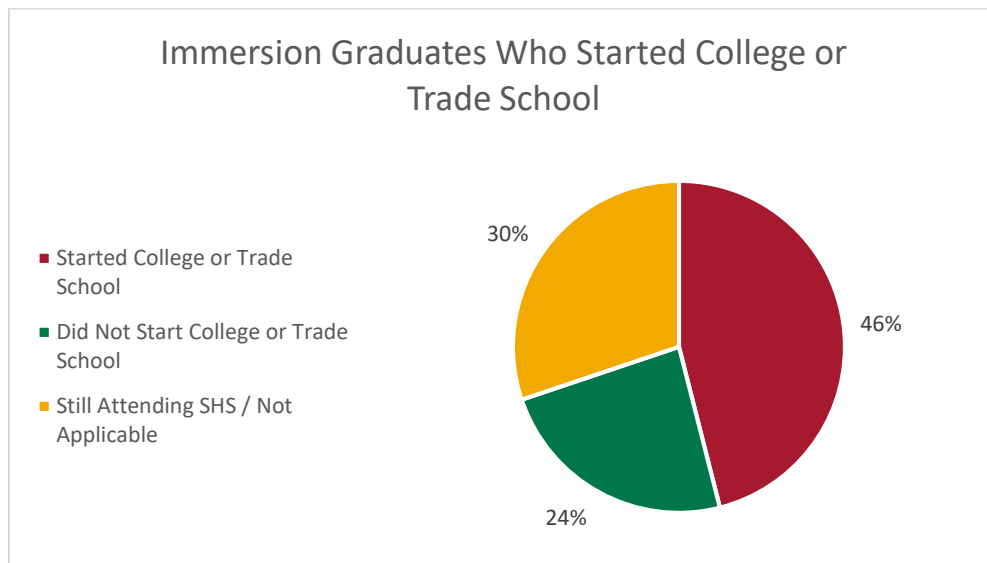


Figure 8: Of the 63 Immersion graduates utilized in this report, 46% (29) indicated they had started college or trade school, 24% (15) indicated they had not started college or trade school, and 30% (19) are still attending SHS or were not available at time of survey.

XI. Recommendations for Program Changes or Enhancements to Increase the Efficacy of Immersion Education Programs

Revitalization is an important word. It is not just about preservation and recovery, but it is also about reaching out to take the steps to reinvigorate our living language with vitality. It needs clear reasons to thrive in the future as well to make it happen. The reasons are communicated with enrichment classes that give learners a taste of Cherokee. They educate about the general nature of the language, how to read and write it, its endangered status, its importance and value and these enrichment classes can help us select serious language learners that can be used in immersion settings to really teach the language.

Total Immersion methodologies are the only research-based approaches that have had any success in real language revitalization. There are three types of language learning settings that have been successful and all of them use language immersion. Language nests, language Immersion Schools and immersion master apprentice programs. There are quite a few different ways to execute these three types of initiatives, and that diversity provides that we need to develop and maintain our own systems to determine what is most effective in our communities, classrooms, and other learning environments for Cherokee language acquisition.

This strategic approach has evaluated all the potential variables and challenges to language acquisition and postulate best practices to be implemented in Cherokee language learning initiatives. Departmental staff continuously make suggestions and help develop curricula, and teaching methods to test with our language learners. Programs must evaluate these methods and curricula to refine language learning practices to ensure that they are reaching maximum efficacy. Though it is not optimal to be married to any one process, it is important to maintain one focus, an outcome-based philosophy. Successful language acquisition is the benchmark to meet the goals of creating speakers, teachers, and leaders for Cherokee language revitalization efforts. In the past, even those programs that have historically used immersion techniques and openly state that the goal is fluency, are only able to give a head nod to language proficiency and fluency, while they really sought to pursue academic excellence. Academics are a needed focus, and even though academic excellence may be a priority, if you don't have proficiency in the language of instruction then academic content cannot be easily passed on to learners.

Traditional Cherokee speakers are process oriented thinkers and are slow to reply to direct inquiries. Cherokee cultural ethic provides that direct confrontation is not acceptable to correct peers and superiors. This lengthy process allows for the language stake holders to matriculate their feedback through the social channels and networks involved in the Cherokee language community. It enables the team developing the process to allow for comprehensive feedback and create a more successful product. CN language programming must carry out the maintenance of and oversee future Cherokee Language revitalization initiatives and make suggestions when it comes to Cherokee Nation's language policies. As a part of the goal to remain vital and in alignment with the most contemporary and effective practices, language initiatives must maintain contact with various language experts and advocates to be more able to provide objective guidance and critical examination of Language initiatives and processes. Particular attention must be paid to retired Cherokee language leaders and even people of language expertise from other tribes and organizations.

In planning for the future, there are things to keep in mind as language programs develop to prepare Cherokee language learners, teachers, and leaders. To initiate a much wider screen of CN employee language proficiency the department should start with language proficiency evaluations for second language speakers, and learners currently engaged in language learning programs and to be effective they must show at least an Intermediate high speaking proficiency level. Additionally, developing and implementing a Cherokee language literacy proficiency evaluation for second language speakers is a valuable step, and further, they must show an equally rigorous (Intermediate high) writing proficiency level.

Eventually the Department of Cherokee language will address the lesser concern for an oral proficiency evaluation for native first language speakers, to be considered a full Cherokee speaker it is suggested that they must show at least advanced high speaking proficiency level. Further, oral interviews will be needed to discuss teaching methodology, language experience, and language acquisition with veteran language teachers and experts that have been lifelong contributors to Cherokee language efforts. Their knowledge will ground and set the standards for future employee goals and initiatives.

It is invaluable that strategic decisions are made for employee selection, especially for language teaches or instructors. When selecting language program teachers, aside from the necessary level of language proficiency, it's imperative that they have immersion experience, and understand the value of language revitalization, and language immersion practices in a way that they can communicate both support for it and some of the challenges associated with it. They also need to explain the value of cultural identity and explain its importance, giving no less than four concrete examples of Cherokee cultural identity and its expression. When the potential teacher is a second language speaker, they do need one year of teaching experience in a language immersion environment if possible. However, native first language speakers, would need six months of teaching experience in a language immersion environment.

Employee Classes language program – To ensure a complete Cherokee environment for students, everyone employed in the Language Department, specifically the Durbin Feeling Language Campus, must have a minimum Cherokee proficiency. This includes office staff, custodial staff, and cultural grounds crew-anyone working on campus. For this reason, language classes must be developed for all staff at any level who work within the Language Department. A draft of a plan for doing these employee language classes has been written and will be implemented in the near future. The Language Department employee classes will serve as a pilot program for building language classes for all CN employees.

Professional Development – LLGP and NAL@ED

LLGP – The *Cherokee Nation Immersion Teacher Institute (CITI)* is a language initiative designed to address critical gaps in Cherokee language preservation by enhancing the training and development of Cherokee language teachers. Funded by the Living Languages Grant Program, the project aims to provide professional development opportunities for educators associated with Cherokee language programs, including those in the 14-county Reservation and surrounding areas. CITI focuses on equipping teachers with advanced pedagogical techniques and a deeper understanding of language acquisition and teaching strategies. By targeting both Native speakers and Second-Language Learners among the teaching workforce, the institute

seeks to elevate academic and cultural proficiency in Cherokee. Through structured workshops, summer intensive workshops, and year-round support, the program aspires to create a skilled and empowered group of educators capable of fostering a sustainable environment for language revitalization.

The CITI program also addresses the challenges posed by the limited availability of certified Cherokee language teachers and the declining number of fluent Cherokee speakers. With fewer than 1,500 active speakers, many of whom are of the grandparent generation, the language faces an urgent need for revitalization. By providing teachers with tools to integrate cultural heritage into their instruction and enhancing their proficiency in academic Cherokee, the program ensures a robust foundation for intergenerational language transmission. Additionally, the initiative supports collaboration among educators, leveraging resources from existing language programs like the Cherokee Language Master Apprentice Program to create a comprehensive support system. Through these efforts, the CITI program not only strengthens the teaching workforce but also safeguards the Cherokee language for future generations, aligning with the Cherokee Nation's mission to preserve and promote its cultural identity and values.

NAL@ED – The *Hadanvtesgesdi Tsalagiha: Think Cherokee* project is designed to enhance the quality of Cherokee language education at the Cherokee Immersion Charter School, which serves Pre-K through 8th-grade students. The project aims to improve teacher proficiency in the Cherokee language and teaching methodologies while fostering a sustainable model for professional development. By leveraging assessments and input from first-language Cherokee speakers, the project will develop individualized intensive training plans for educators to address specific learning gaps and enhance instructional techniques. In addition, the initiative seeks to create a culturally immersive learning environment that aligns with the broader goal of revitalizing the Cherokee language.

Key activities include evaluating teacher and student proficiency, conducting professional development training, and integrating culturally responsive teaching methodologies informed by community and parental input. The project also emphasizes the importance of engaging parents in language learning efforts through events and resources to support language use at home. Expected outcomes include improved teacher language proficiency, enhanced student acquisition of the Cherokee language, and strengthened cultural awareness. Furthermore, the project will establish a replicable model for language preservation programs while supporting sustained professional growth for educators. Over the course of three years, the initiative aims to achieve measurable progress in language proficiency among teachers and students, increased academic performance, and active community engagement, contributing to the preservation and revitalization of the Cherokee language.

NALI-Immersion Enhancement (SHS Immersion Track) - Cherokee Nation's existing language revitalization programs, including the Cherokee Nation Language Department and the Cherokee Immersion School are collaborating with Sequoyah High School (SHS) to incorporate language immersion programming in the SHS curriculum. Together, this collaboration will:

- Implement an Immersion Track scheduling option and language learning cohort for Immersion Charter School graduates and other SHS freshmen who wish to be on an immersion-based track.
- Contract for the development of a virtual classroom platform that is customized to SHS's needs that will facilitate Cherokee language learning and interaction between both teachers and students; and
- Develop high school-level, Language Arts curriculum to be taught in an immersion setting and incorporated into the immersion-based schedule track.

Bus routes - As the Cherokee Immersion School has evolved from a language preservation program that predates the 2005-2006 school year to a state-accredited charter school district serving two school sites, Cherokee Immersion School Administration has attempted to present a competitive school choice option for stake-holding Cherokee families. Over the years, various activities such as individual and team sports, marching band, robotics, and traditional Cherokee cultural activities have been implemented alongside immersive Cherokee language programs with the hopes that the Cherokee Immersion School will keep pace or surpass public-school neighbors. However, extra-curricular activities and supplemental cultural and academic programs cannot eliminate the need for logistical support in addressing basic community needs.

As the school community has grown it has become evident that a bus routing system to provide school transportation is necessary. The urgency of the situation has been compounded by the passage of Oklahoma House Bill 1934, which was signed on May 25, 2023, and took effect in January 2024, allowing all students, regardless of where they live, the opportunity to attend the school of their choice. School choice, as defined by the state of Oklahoma, offers families five options. Along with public schools, these options include charter schools, virtual charter schools, homeschools, and scholarship opportunities to attend private schools. By offering bus route transportation, the Department of Cherokee Language and the Cherokee Immersion School will establish a precedent that fosters equity for families across the Reservation, regardless of their geographical location or socioeconomic status. Rather than struggling to deliver their children from their communities to their local Cherokee Immersion School site, families will instead have the option to welcome the school into the most remote areas of their respective local communities.

The need for bus route transportation has been conveyed mostly through anecdotal evidence. These narratives apply real-life for-instances to the statistical demographics that make up language "hot spot" communities in the Greasy area as well as Kenwood, which has also been designated as a future school site. Families in these communities have shared an interest in language revitalization, if only the infrastructure existed to bus their students to and from school. In the greater Tahlequah community and the areas just beyond, dozens of families have requested bus route transportation citing the lack of as the main reason for not being able to send their children to the Cherokee Immersion School.

In previous years, facilities and limited human resources prevented school growth. With the construction of larger, more accommodating facilities and the development of a greater number of Cherokee language-learning teachers, we can aggressively pursue opportunities for growth. The Greasy school site could comfortably accommodate 300 students and the existing Tahlequah

site on the Durbin Feeling Language Center Campus could accommodate at least 220. By offering transportation both existing sites could reach capacity enrollment beginning with the 3-year-old classes in 2025-2026 school year.

While the two existing school sites in Tahlequah and Greasy, as well as the potential future site in Kenwood, all present unique logistical challenges, implementing a bus route system could provide a cohesive element that the school district as a whole has been lacking. The most common route designs are circular and shoestring routes. Circular routes begin at the school, visit a group of stops in a circular pattern, and then return to the school. This pattern accommodates individual residences which reflects the demographic makeup of the most rural areas of Greasy and Kenwood. A circular route may be run in the same direction in the afternoon (which could balance out bus riding times for the day), or in reverse in a “last on, first off” pattern.

A shoestring route begins at a point away from the school and works its way back to the school, picking up students along the way. This pattern would be most suitable for the Tahlequah site located on the DFLC campus. It would allow students to be bussed to and from the more outlying areas that ultimately border the Greasy and Kenwood communities. Combining the two route concepts establishes a needed connectivity between the three school sites (See Appendix 5).

Middle School – Once the Middle School opens in August of 2026, a new slate of course offerings for Immersion students will begin. The middle school has dedicated classrooms for band, Esports, life-skills, music, A/V room, stage, full-size gym (for wrestling, basketball, and weightlifting), and culture classrooms. In addition, there will be a number of outdoor resources for students such as, greenhouse, stickball field, blacksmith stations, turkey house, smokehouse, animal processing area, garden, garden classrooms, milling station, all designed for experiential learning that will enhance the subject matter language learning contributing to various verb forms and their conjugations. These will also tie into the emerging culture curriculum.

DFLC Baby Immersion & Immersion School – With the opening of the Cherokee Immersion Middle School in August of 2026, the 4th through 8th grade classrooms at DFLC will open as these grades move to the Middle School. When this happens, the Immersion School proposes to double the number of Baby Immersion classrooms along with creating two Immersion tracks, one for Baby Immersion students and another for students who begin in the 3-year-old classroom or later. Once implemented, there will be four Baby Immersions classrooms, two (2) 3-year-old classrooms, two (2) 4-year-old classrooms, two (2) Kindergarten classrooms, and Baby Immersion students will follow their own dedicated Immersion track from Baby Immersion through and into kindergarten. Once these students begin first grade, they will integrate into one classroom with students in the regular Immersion School track (those who began in the 3-year-old classroom or later).

As a new program to assist students who enroll at the Immersion School after Pre-K, a transition program will be put into effect that provides one-on-one tutoring for these new students at the school. The transition program will pair the student with an Advanced Low or above speaker and

the Cherokee language tutoring will be done a minimum of 50% of the school day with the new student until the student's language proficiency is at grade level.

School Calendar – Beginning with the 2026 school year, it is recommended that the Immersion School calendar be moved to a trimester (year-round) from the two-semester system. This change is necessary to align the school with the curriculum (See Appendix 6) and curriculum cultural calendar (See Appendix 7), and it prevents the students' language from decaying over the summer break. Several school functions will be affected by this change such as teacher contracts (discussed below), summer programming, and extra-curricular activities. These areas will be addressed with parents and staff as planning for this implementation begins. Potential resources available to assist in this transition are Baby Immersion staff and CLMAP participants.

Teacher Contracts – The department wants to modify teacher contracts so that the employees can work beyond the scope of the conventional school year. This change in teacher contracts would coincide with the change in the school calendar from a two-semester system (fall and spring) to a trimester system (year-round). To adequately immerse the students in the Cherokee culture, it is mandatory that they attend throughout the year rather than having summer month gaps in instruction. This also ensures their language retention during the school year-research has shown that students lose up to a quarter of their language acquired during the summer months.

Assessments – While language assessments have been reintroduced at the school, these assessments have only evaluated student proficiency. Assessments that target the full range of student academic, linguistic and cultural knowledge, must be developed in Cherokee. This task will be large in scope as these assessments will have to be created to measure student academic progress, language proficiency, and cultural competency at every grade level. Since the school has expanded to include seventh and eighth grades, this means that assessments would cover Pre-K to eighth grade. Assessments will also need to be created for the NALI-SHS track mentioned above in 6.A.3. Individuals with expertise in creating, conducting, and evaluating assessments will need to be recruited and hired.

Additional School Positions – As the Language Department continues to expand and school sites are added and grow, several new positions will need to be added, and existing positions increased. Below are the positions that have been identified:

- School Resource Officers
- School Nurses
- Assistant Principals
- Counselors
- Bus drivers/Maintenance
- Custodians
- Clerical staff
- Teacher Aides
- Certified Teachers
- Curriculum
- IT support staff
- Librarian
- Cultural Cook Apprentices

Immersion family programs:

- Parent language classes
- DFLC Village housing – second language learner families
- Annual event for families

Curriculum:

- Full creation and implementation of the culture-based curriculum with qualified staffing and ongoing training. Specifically, this means that individuals who work in the group are trained in curriculum and experiential based learning.
- The curriculum requires for year-round schooling. Activities run through all four seasons and will mandate students be on campus to participate. The trickle-down effect will require modifications to Teacher contracts, the school calendar, after-school programs, Extracurriculars, and in-between semester breaks.
- Training and professional development for Teachers and Staff regarding culture-based curriculum. Not all teachers and staff will be knowledgeable about the culture or the curriculum, so professional development must target everyone who comes into contact with students on the language campus.

Kenwood Immersion School – The need for starting an Immersion School in Kenwood is based upon several factors:

- Kenwood is one of only two language hotspots left in the Cherokee Nation. As such, it is one of the only places left in the world where Cherokee is still used in social and public spaces.
- The Cherokee spoken in Kenwood reflects an under-represented dialect of the language that deserves its own representation in curriculum and language programs. To ensure that this version of Cherokee is retained, efforts to revitalize this dialect should be rooted in multiple programs in this community.
- The Cherokees in Kenwood have maintained a number of traditional and cultural practices and students would have access to familial and community resources and support. This support would be extended to access to the Kenwood Language and Culture Reserve as well (inclusive of the Kenwood Language Campus).

Dropping the Charter for the Immersion School – Based on the legislative mandates set forth in the Durbin Feeling Cherokee Language Preservation Act – 2024 Permanent Reauthorization in subsection 3 “Report on Language Education Self-Governance; Authorization to Withdraw Language Immersion School from State of Oklahoma Charter,” a report was submitted that recommended to withdraw the Immersion School from the charter with Oklahoma. Details for this decision can be found in the report. (See Appendix 8). Issues related to this topic can be found in this section under “Accreditation.”

Accreditation – With the recommendation to exit the Charter, as outlined in the Report from DFLC Legislation referenced above and included as Appendix 8 to this report, the Immersion School must seek an alternative means of accreditation that encompasses curriculum, school standards, operational requirements, Tribal and Federal law, and safety measures. This accreditation is essential to legitimizing the education provided to Immersion School students, ensuring they are eligible to attend secondary and post-secondary institutions of their choice.

Possible accreditation options have been identified through existing entities, such as WINHEC, OPSAC, and Cognia.

* See Appendix 10 for Parent Committee Recommendations Letter from 2012 regarding the operation goals and support for the Immersion School.

* See Appendix 11 for Cherokee Immersion School Parent and Graduate survey responses.

* See Appendix 12 for the “Cherokee Language is Sacred” Values Statement.

* See Appendix 13 for a list of the contributors to this report.



Appendix 1



NATIVE LANGUAGE COMMUNITY COORDINATION

Cherokee Nation

Focus Group Findings

Prepared by Sister Sky
October 2020



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REPORT OVERVIEW

Introduction

The Cherokee Nation is a grant recipient for the Native Language Community Coordination Demonstration Project (NLCC), funded by Administration for Native Americans (ANA). To inform on strategies to meet NLCC goals, the Cherokee Nation conducted focus groups within the Nation. This report presents the findings of the focus groups.

Methodology

To facilitate the focus groups, the Cherokee Nation contracted with Osiyo Group, a Native-owned consulting firm specializing in working with tribal governments and organizations. The principal and co-founder of Osiyo Group, who is a member of the Cherokee Nation, was the moderator for all groups. Focus group composition was carefully selected to include mixed-education, mixed-gender, all male, all female, First Language speakers, second language speakers, and mixed-age (adult, young adult, and older adult). Focus groups, which were all video recorded, were held within the Cherokee Nation jurisdiction and several at-large communities. Transcripts for the focus groups were completed by the Cherokee Nation, with analysis completed by Sister Sky, Inc.

FOCUS GROUP OVERVIEW

Beginning in July 2018 through August 2019, 13 focus groups were held at seven (7) different locations. Each focus group was approximately two (2) hours. The number of participants in each group ranged from four (4) to 12, with an average (mean) of 10 participants for each focus group. In total, there were 111 focus group participants, varying in age from 19 years old to 100 years old (of ages known). The table below provides details about the representation, location, and dates of the 13 focus groups.

Focus Group	Participants	Site Location	Date Held
First Generation English Speakers	9	Stillwell, OK	Aug 2018
Cherokee Speakers ¹	12	Stillwell, OK	Aug 2018
Claremore	5	Claremore, OK	Aug 2018
Fort Gibson, Group 1	10	Fort Gibson, OK	Nov 2018
Fort Gibson, Group 2	9	Fort Gibson, OK	Nov 2018
OKC Men	5	Oklahoma City, OK	Nov 2018
OKC Women ²	4	Oklahoma City, OK	Nov 2018
Sallisaw Men	9	Sallisaw, OK	Aug 2019
Sallisaw Women	12	Sallisaw, OK	Aug 2019
Tahlequah Young Adults	7	Tahlequah, OK	Aug 2019
at-large	7	Tahlequah, OK	Jun 2018
Dallas Group 1	11	Addison, TX	Jul 2018
Dallas Group 2	11	Addison, TX	Jul 2018

¹ Many of the Cherokee Speakers focus group was conducted in the Cherokee language.

² The first half of the transcripts of the OKC Women focus group was not provided for analysis.



FOCUS GROUP FINDINGS

The focus group moderator posed a collection of more than 30 scripted questions within each group. The 30 scripted focus group questions were categorized into seven (7) domains:

- 1) Community and Personal Barriers to Learning the Cherokee Language
- 2) Known Resources to Address the Loss of the Cherokee Language
- 3) Roles and Responsibilities for Preserving the Cherokee Language
- 4) Speaking and Hearing the Cherokee Language
- 5) Survival of the Cherokee Language
- 6) Value of the Cherokee Language
- 7) Perception of Language

The findings for each domain are presented within this section of the report. When applicable, responses within each domain are further distilled into themes. A full list of focus group questions, categorized by domain, can be reviewed in Appendix A.

Community and Personal Barriers to Learning the Cherokee Language

Focus group participants engaged in thoughtful conversation around the community and personal barriers that tribe members and/or the Cherokee Nation as a whole may be experiencing concerning learning the Cherokee language. The moderator asked three (3) specific questions regarding these barriers:

“What obstacles are preventing you from learning more of the Cherokee language?”

“What issues or challenges does your community face related to learning the Cherokee language?”

“What issues or challenges does your community face related to the Cherokee language?”

Robust discussions to these questions occurred in each of the 13 focus groups. Thoughts and feedback around potential barriers/obstacles were also interspersed in responses to other questions asked by the moderator. Analysis of the community and personal barriers to learning the language revealed five (5) distinct sub-themes into which the barriers were categorized. The sub-themes include:

- 1) Lack of Opportunity
- 2) Lack of Intrinsic (Internal) Motivation
- 3) Difficulty of the Language
- 4) Stigma and Discrimination, and
- 5) Lack of Resources

These sub-themes are discussed below, within the greater context of personal and community barriers to learning the Cherokee language.

LACK OF OPPORTUNITY

Lack of opportunity (or perception thereof) was the predominate community and personal barrier theme associated with learning the Cherokee language. It was more common for this theme to be present when discussing personal barriers, than when discussing community barriers.

This theme includes, but is not limited to discussions concerning the following: a) resources being inaccessible due to distance; b) having no Cherokee speakers with whom to practice the language; c) having little or no time to dedicate to learning the Cherokee language due to work, families, responsibilities, etc.;



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d) having little audio exposure to the language; and f) lack of awareness around language and/or cultural activities.

Representative excerpts for the identified sub-theme *lack of opportunity* include:

“Responsibility is my barrier to learning the language. My other life, my colonized life. Like having to worry about getting a degree, getting a job, owning a house. I don’t have all the time in the world to work on my language. I should have been brought up in my language.”

--Participant of the Young Adult Focus Group held in Tahlequah, OK

- ❖ *I would say the biggest issue is in the area is just access to the language and information*
- ❖ *For me, [help learning the language] is just hard to find. You literally have to go online to find someone that is speaking it or teaching it*
- ❖ *I think one of the biggest challenges is that there are not enough people that can speak Cherokee who can carry on conversations, and who can carry the language on generation-to-generation*
- ❖ *I think at that age [adult] they are wanting to learn, but they just don’t have the time or a place to go to learn. Because, they have to work*
- ❖ *I don’t feel there is very good communication about available classes. I didn’t really know about when some of those classes were*
- ❖ *I am not close to my biological father’s side of the family so I have heard very few speak [Cherokee] that are close to me*
- ❖ *The at-large communities are in our own little world; we are far removed from the Nation, so those logistics -- that is what I see as the biggest obstacle*
- ❖ *Raising a family and being involved in church. You guys know how it is. You get busy*
- ❖ *I think we have such busy lifestyles right now but trying to obligate ourselves to a two-year program to learn all of it*

LACK OF INTRINSIC MOTIVATION

Lack of intrinsic motivation was also a theme identified as a community and personal barrier to learning the Cherokee language. A lack of intrinsic motivation was present more often when discussing community barriers, than when discussing personal barriers. There were two (2) focus groups which did not discuss this theme as a barrier to learning the Cherokee language. These were the Sallisaw Women’s focus group (12 participants) and the Claremore focus group (5 participants).

Reasons cited that *lack of intrinsic motivation* may be a barrier to learning Cherokee, include, but are not limited to: a) participants did not feel a sense of belonging, or a connection to the culture/history to drive the desire to learn; b) they did not see the value or relevance of learning the language; c) they did not have the self-discipline or accountability to learn; d) there are too many distractions in life to remain committed to learning; e) they lacked interest in learning the language; and f) there is not a wide-spread awareness that the language is in jeopardy.

Representative excerpts for the identified sub-theme *lack of intrinsic Motivation* include:

“I don’t even try to visit with my daughter and her kids, because nobody talks to you. They are all on their phones... I used to visit the 11-year-old, but now she is on the computer and has a phone. Now there is no one to talk to. So, I don’t go down there... TVs and the smart phones and all that-- we use them like babysitters. That is where the language is being lost”

--Participant of the Cherokee Speakers Focus Group held in Stillwell, OK



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- ❖ *It's got to be a desire. That is the first thing you have got to desire to do it*
- ❖ *My first thought is apathy-- how do we overcome that? Because, first you got to get people interested in it. You have got to get them motivated and want to*
- ❖ *The level of importance increases as you start to question yourself and you want to know more*
- ❖ *Another obstacle is that it takes pride. Pride in culture to want to learn it. If you don't have the history and the history has not been taught, there may not be any pride*
- ❖ *My two girls learned; they were interested in it. The other one wasn't. She could have learned it*
- ❖ *Tablets. Kids are always on them. They are not interested in learning the language. They want to play something that is fun*
- ❖ *We are kind of like the outcast of the Cherokee Nation unless you live in your little fourteen districts then it is like you don't feel like you are a part. That what I feel like*
- ❖ *When my dad was alive, I was in high school then. I was like "Dad, teach me Cherokee, teach me how to speak." "Why?" he would ask. "Well, because it is part of my heritage, part of who I am." "It is just going to be dead; it isn't going to be any good." That is what he would tell me*
- ❖ *My grandfather, he showed me how to do certain things [cultural traditions], like how to make a bow. And with my uncle, he would show me certain things. And, I see that being lost [elders teaching children traditions] both inside the Nation and outside the Nation*
- ❖ *It is not economical to speak Cherokee first in the home any more, in our daily lives. It is hard to implement something that has no need, except cultural influence. There is no economic benefit, other than culture and family and things. It is hard to get that implemented; it is hard to [promote the language] when it is not needed*
- ❖ *I went to [an at-large] high school and the [Cherokee] culture there was not really heavy. We would have people from Cherokee Nation come for Indian Culture Days, but language and culture were never stressed. And, I feel that could be an issue, a barrier that separates us from Cherokee*
- ❖ *It is tough you really got to put a lot into it. You really got to have a want to [do it]*

DIFFICULTY OF THE LANGUAGE

"People give up on it. They will try to learn [Cherokee], but it is a hard language to learn. And, then people get discouraged because they are not seeing that immediate progress, like what they would hope to see..."

--Participant of the
Sallisaw Men's Focus
Group held in Sallisaw, OK

Another theme identified as a community and personal barrier associated to learning the Cherokee language is the *difficulty of the language*. The difficulty of the language was cited more often in reference to personal barriers, rather than for community barriers.

This theme includes, but is not limited to discussions concerning the following: a) difficulty in and variation of the pronunciation of words; b) differences in the language (dialects) between regions; c) differences in the language when taught at home versus when taught in school; d) a lack of an "official language" where one can verify correct pronunciation and translation; f) effective learning impeded by starting too late in life (i.e. not learning as a child); and g) the complexity of the language, including alphabet, syllabary, grammar, and conjugation.

Representative excerpts for the identified sub-theme *difficulty of the language* include:

- ❖ *I know that it is taught proper. That is difficult simply because we don't add all the endings and it is not necessarily how I speak. But, a lot of times I will say, "Here is how you are taught, and here is how we say it"*



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- ❖ *If you don't start out when you are young then it is tough. You can't even get the sounds, in other words, Cherokee people say a word, it has got that sound*
- ❖ *Unless you grew up around [the language] it's not the same way they are teaching in school*
- ❖ *My mom and dad, they are both fluent... He grew up in Bunch and she grew up Bull Mountain. But they would say things differently even in the home. Dad would pronounce something different and she would say it another way*
- ❖ *I regret not being able to learn it, but it is so stinking hard. If you don't do it when you are little you would have to be one heck of a learner when you are older*
- ❖ *We have different dialects of Cherokee (pronunciation issues and different vocabulary). So, it matters where you are from; it can be completely different. Just like English, there is slang and new meanings for words*
- ❖ *Different regions have different pronunciation. So, we go back and try to pronounce it-- is that the correct way to say it? I just don't understand*
- ❖ *If you noticed, they speak with their hands and their motions-- we have just language but [not the motions]. Like my granddaughter, she is a full blood and that is how she answers. She will say "thank you" and she puts her head down. You tell her 'si-yo,' and she raises her head up. "Where you going?" She points with her lips*
- ❖ *It is the hardest [languages] in the world to be able to speak. We got a lot of gung-ho want-a-bee's that will jump in and go at it for a month or two. Then, "No, no, no. I don't understand what you are talking about, what you are doing, what you are trying to show me. I will stick to my English"*
- ❖ *I try to learn. I have a hard time hearing especially phonics, and I am also dyslexic. Trying to learn it on my own without people to help is really hard*
- ❖ *The complexity of it is a little bit overwhelming to me, I mean it might as well be Mandarin. It is like you look at it and you have no clue it is hard to decipher on your own*
- ❖ *There is confusion in different dialects, when the eastern and west, living in the east and the west, and even living up on the Nation there is different, as far as the way it is spoken*
- ❖ *It is an intensive language...I think that is a big [barrier]. It is difficult with 85 syllabaries versus the 26 alpha characters in English. It can be a little bit too much to remember*
- ❖ *You just don't know if you are saying it right*
- ❖ *You can tell someone who has learned it in a classroom and someone who learned it from their parents. It is just different. You can tell it in their voice*



STIGMA AND DISCRIMINATION

The theme *stigma and discrimination* is centered around first-hand and second-hand experience of stigma and discrimination associated with learning the Cherokee language. This theme had a stronger presence when discussing community barriers, than when discussing personal barriers. There was also a general agreement among all focus group participants that historical discrimination experienced by their parents/grandparents was likely a major factor contributing to the decline in the number of Cherokee speakers. It should be noted that discussion of this barrier was absent (i.e. not present) among the participants of the Young Adults focus group.

This theme includes, but is not limited to discussions concerning the following: a) historic trauma caused by colonization; b) first- or second-hand experience with discrimination around speaking the language; c) denying one's own Cherokee heritage or identity; d) discrimination among/between Cherokee members; and e) resistance to speaking and teaching Cherokee in the home.

"We don't realize how much has been lost from centuries and generations back. My dad spoke [the language] very well. I didn't get to speak it because it was discouraged. Momma didn't want it spoken in the house, and some of the other elders didn't allow it."

--Participant of the Fort Gibson 1 Focus Group held in Fort Gibson, OK

Representative excerpts for the identified theme *stigma and discrimination* include:

- ❖ *We got looked down upon because we didn't speak Cherokee*
- ❖ *Your wife lets you speak? Mine barely does*
- ❖ *My mom went to a boarding school and she was forbidden to speak [Cherokee] too. My Mom still doesn't want to talk about it, but she will if we ask her questions about it. She was one of those who were forbidden to speak it*
- ❖ *I was mistreated by my own people [when I was in the boarding school], because I didn't have their ways*
- ❖ *The "disconnect" between the elderly population and the Cherokee Nation is a barrier. There is a lot of frustrated elders out there and it is not going to drive their children or their grandchildren towards wanting to learn anything about the Cherokee Nation*
- ❖ *The chiefs of the Cherokee Nation discouraged the black Indians from participating [in the language and culture]*
- ❖ *When we were young my dad didn't want to teach us because he got in trouble. Because, he got spanked. And, I don't want my kids going through that. Just because of the language. He said we would be better off, it is a white man's world now, and education wise and they can't do them dirty because it is their language and their ways.*
- ❖ *I will share with you that on my birth certificate... it says Caucasian instead of Native American*
- ❖ *That is the reason my mom didn't teach me Cherokee and the culture...Prejudice*
- ❖ *We [black Cherokee] haven't been accepted like we should, over the years we aren't informed. if you are not accepted in those things are not going to be freely given out.*
- ❖ *I am not documented, so I am not part of the Cherokee Nation in Tahlequah or the Eastern Band either-- but that doesn't mean that I am any less Cherokee okay? I would like to reach out to people who don't have that CDIB card. I am here and I want to learn, but I don't have that documentation*
- ❖ *how they treat Oklahoma Cherokee and how they treat other Cherokee that are that took different water routes on the Trail of Tears or wherever they are, they treat them different. If you are not in Oklahoma you are just treated different*



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- ❖ *That is why a lot of people aren't pushing the language to their kids because they are afraid it is going to ruin them*
- ❖ *we didn't find out we were Native American until later on in life*
- ❖ *A lot of them can speak. They just don't want to let other people know that they speak*

LACK OF RESOURCES

"Everybody learns differently. If the only resource you have [to learn Cherokee] is to go online, or get a book-- some people just can't learn that way. For them, it has to be possible to learn the language more than one way. Usually you learn a language growing up, it is spoken and you hear it. That is the best way to learn you know, through immersion lots of conversation."

--Participant of the Dallas Group 2 Focus Group held in Addison, TX

This theme includes discussions around a *lack of resources* (or perception thereof) as a community and personal barrier to learning the Cherokee language. *Lack of resources* was present more often when discussing personal barriers, than when discussing community barriers. Furthermore, focus group participants from the at-large communities identified a lack of resources as a barrier more often than focus group participants from the 14-county jurisdiction. One focus group, First Generation English Speakers, held in Stillwell (representing residents from the 14-county Cherokee Nation jurisdiction) -- did not cite this theme as a barrier to learning the language.

This theme includes, but is not limited to discussions concerning the following: a) absence of resources; b) limited resources to facilitate a variety of learning modalities; c) limited awareness/knowledge of potentially available resources; and d) inability to access available resources.

Representative excerpts for the identified sub-theme *Lack of Resources* include:

- ❖ *No availability of resources*
- ❖ *Most of the resources are online, which is not accessible to everyone and not everyone can learn online by themselves.*
- ❖ *I know there have been some classes presented in the past, but I don't think they were very good. I don't feel there was very good communication about those classes because I didn't really know about when some of those classes were being held*
- ❖ *I think it all boils down to education. With anything that a community faces or a culture faces-- it all goes back to educating people*
- ❖ *Some older people in our group are anti-computer, for them technology is zero. They need other options*
- ❖ *Besides reaching out to family members back home I am at a loss at how to learn Cherokee*
- ❖ *I mean I would love to be involved, but there are very few resources. I guess it is my fault for not asking*
- ❖ *If they offer class, it is their choice whether you want to go or not. If you don't want to go, don't go. And then people like me who want to learn it, you never do see a class*
- ❖ *Tulsa is a huge city; there is nothing. I am pretty sure that when I was a little kid, I went to one class. I don't know where it was; there are just not very many places to go learn it*
- ❖ *I think the amount of resources available or kind of resources is a barrier. I mean you can only pick up so much vocabulary on your own with what resources are currently available out there*
- ❖ *There are no community-based resources for Cherokee language for our Cherokee Nation tribe*



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- ❖ *Awareness of the courses because I think there are some out there, I just don't know if they are publicized and/or made available to us as individuals*
- ❖ *My cousin contacted the Nation via e-mail to ask how/where he could properly translate a sentence. He had already tried online, but he just wanted to make sure he was right. The Nation was not able to answer his question, instead they directed him to take a course in the language. But he just needed that one phrase*
- ❖ *Not enough Cherokee language teachers*

Known Resources to Address the Loss of the Cherokee Language

Focus group participants were asked, “What resources do we have as a tribe or community to address some of these issues that we know?” Additionally, discussion of known available resources occurred throughout the focus groups during other discussions as the moderator facilitated the interviews. These resources were captured and distilled into ten (10) themes. Focus group participants reported the following categories of known resources:

1. Online resources, including Google, translation, fonts, apps, syllabary, online classes, social media (Facebook, YouTube, Word of the Week)
2. Public school or university programs and classes (Johnson O'Malley Program, electives, coursework)
3. Traditional media – newspaper (Cherokee Phoenix), radio, TV (Osiyo TV, clinic waiting room programming)
4. Books and other materials (Bible, CDs, books)
5. Cherokee Speakers and Elders
6. Gathering places (church, community or cultural centers, etc.)
7. Events, conferences (Leadership Conference, Oklahoma Native American Youth Language Fair)
8. Immersion School and Immersion Camp
9. Stand alone in-person classes or groups (for both adults or children)
10. Tribal resources (money, the Cherokee Language Master Apprentice Program)

“I work at Connors State College so we have Cherokee Promise Scholarship Program. The students were grouped up and they had to explore the culture and kind of hang out together, room together, and kind of do things like that. It has helped them be more aware of who they are as individuals and stick together and push through the programs.”

--Participant of the Fort Gibson Group 2 Focus Group held in Fort Gibson, OK

Representative excerpts from the discussion around known resources include:

- ❖ *I occasionally get on the internet and me and my son we look up Cherokee word of the day. Look up other words we are wondering about too*
- ❖ *I like to watch Shoshoni Johnson on Facebook because, he reads in Cherokee and I am watching it every time and I have a notice set up*
- ❖ *Immersion in Tahlequah -- I think that is neat. They teach the kids and they come out at a young age and it is amazing to hear them speak fluent, awesome and stuff*
- ❖ *I attended a conference this summer in Tahlequah where they had the at-large communities and then the communities from the nation and went to the seminars and so forth and at one of them, they were talking about a language app that you could get on your phone to teach you how to speak Cherokee. I haven't tried it yet I would like to try it though*
- ❖ *They have Cherokee on TV that way you can take time and learn if you want to keep up with it.*
- ❖ *Cherokee.org the Cherokee Nation website I am sure the syllabary is on it*
- ❖ *And we have the elders of the tribe. That is the best resource you have right there*



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- ❖ *We have a building intertribal here in Dallas... I don't know if anybody has been there*
- ❖ *We have the Indian education program in the three school districts here*
- ❖ *Fort Gibson School is teaching Cherokee now in class in high school*
- ❖ *I love that there is an immersion class right there at Cherokee Nation. I know some people who have gone into it there and it is just great that they have that system there and it just started a few years ago, the Master/Apprentice Program also for the adults and they have kind of bridged the gap in generations and I really like that because I can understand Cherokee, but I can't speak it so I am really glad that is available I want to take it someday*
- ❖ *They sale books at the gift shop with words and phrases and things like that are very helpful. They also have books that have information on plants. Plants that are used by Cherokees. Also, old stories that have been brought up by Cherokees and things like that*

Roles and Responsibilities for Preserving the Cherokee Language

Focus group participants were asked, "Do you believe the Cherokee Nation has a role in the preservation of our Cherokee language?"

"I don't think I have met anyone who is Cherokee who doesn't want to grasp their culture in some part of their life."

--Participant of the OKC Men Focus Group held in Oklahoma City, OK

Within all focus groups, the majority of discussions affirmed that participants believe the Cherokee Nation has a role in the preservation of the language. For this inquiry, regarding whether or not the Cherokee Nation has a responsibility to preserve the Cherokee language, there was little variation between at-large focus group participants and participants residing within the 14-county jurisdiction.

Representative excerpts from the discussion include:

- ❖ *I think if you would ask any Cherokee Nation citizen [if the Cherokee Nation has a role in the preservation of the language], I don't think any of them is going to say "No." I don't think [citizens] would ever say they think [the Cherokee Nation] should not be putting resources in preserving the language*
- ❖ *Absolutely*
- ❖ *Yeah, it should be [preserving the language] 100%*
- ❖ *We know that [the Cherokee Nation] has a role in it...*

Focus group participants were asked, "What do you believe the role of the Cherokee Nation should be regarding the preservation of language?" The top three (3) roles discussed were 1) controlling/leading the effort; 2) developing education/teaching the language; and 3) promoting the language as a cultural priority. Representative excerpts from this discussion are listed below:

- ❖ *It should be headed up straight. They should be supportive*
- ❖ *Take control*
- ❖ *They have access to the resources and access to the speakers*
- ❖ *Do everything we can to preserve the language and the heritage. To remember, to always remember*
- ❖ *[In the past], the schools wouldn't let you [speak Cherokee], but now they are trying to bring it back and teach it you know. So it needs to be developed and preserved that way. [The Nation needs to let citizens know] that it is [not only] important to learn the language but it is okay to learn to speak our language*

"How can we succeed if we don't have the Nation pushing it and pushing it in schools?"

--Participant of the Dallas Group 1 Focus Group held in Addition, TX



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- ❖ *The true mark of leadership is to create excitement and a desire... within people to obtain... language*
- ❖ *What about job wise you know how if you can speak Spanish and get paid more there is tons of people in this area why not an incentive to speak Cherokee*
- ❖ *I think there is a shift from using it to serve your members as the elderly start to, unfortunately a lot of the single speaking Cherokee you know that generation is coming to pass so it needs to move to a cultural priority versus just being able to use it to serve a lot of members*
- ❖ *They should promote the education of it and the opportunity for it*
- ❖ *I know there are a lot of people who aren't Cherokee feel like it is unfair. There are probably more people interested in learning, than are not. You don't have to be Hispanic to learn Spanish. They teach Spanish in every school*
- ❖ *I think the Nation is in a position to do something... Right here in the Nation, we got the means and we got the technology and we got the population...*

Focus group participants were asked, “Do you believe the federal government has a responsibility to the Cherokee language?”

“Yes, [the federal government] took it away from us. They deliberately took it away from us.”

--Participant of the At Large Focus Group held in Tahlequah, OK

There was a strong presence of focus groups participants affirming that they believe the federal government does have a responsibility to the Cherokee language. Generally, this affirmation seemed to be founded on the premise that the government was responsible for the removal of the language/culture, and therefore should also be responsible for the preservation of the language.

There was a moderate presence of focus group participants stating that they did not believe the federal government has responsibility in language preservation. Generally, there seems to be a general distrust in the federal government's ability to preserve the language in a manner agreeable to the Cherokee Nation. A selection of focus group participants believe that it is the responsibility of the Cherokee Nation to preserve the language, rather than the federal government.

For this inquiry, regarding whether or not the federal government has a responsibility to the Cherokee language, there was little variation between at-large focus group participants and participants residing within the 14-county jurisdiction. Discussion around what whether or not the federal government holds a responsibility in the preservation of language included the following excerpts:

- ❖ *Do you want the government involvement who worked to change the narrative that most of the country sees as history?*
- ❖ *They should, but they don't. There is a lot of stuff that the federal government should be doing, but they don't, or wont, or whatever*
- ❖ *They took it and stole it from us, why not? They didn't allow us to have it. That is how I feel. Don't get me started*
- ❖ *Yes, because they are responsible for suppressing it*
- ❖ *The federal government has a responsibility to not so much teach, but to give us the funding. Give us the grants, help expand it*
- ❖ *I believe they caused it with all that they did in the past. I believe they caused our Cherokees to have an attitude of feeling bad about themselves ... I think they were the initial cause of it... so they should have some accountability for it*



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- ❖ *They [the federal government] would want to put rules on it... It needs to be with the Cherokee people. Funding maybe. They can owe us some money*
- ❖ *There would be regulations if they had involvement*
- ❖ *... there should be some type of push or effort to restore it. But, then again ... you can't trust a word that comes out of their mouths. I mean they have only done half of the stuff they said they would*
- ❖ *I almost wouldn't want them to touch it*
- ❖ *Well, I do because they are the reason, we don't speak our language. The reason it is in such a bad state is because the forced assimilation and colonization actually, and part of decolonizing is learning our language*
- ❖ *I wouldn't say it it's a responsibility because, that is on the nation itself. It has nothing to do with our federal government whether we decide to teach it*
- ❖ *I think all the way around we rely on the federal government for way too much of everything. It is like in my home-- I don't rely on the federal government, I take care of myself.*
- ❖ *Teach your kids to do something. Don't wait on the federal government to show up and do something*

Focus group participants were asked, “Do you believe individual tribal citizens have a responsibility to our Cherokee language?” Among all focus groups, there was strong agreement that individual tribal citizens have a responsibility to the Cherokee language. Of those who discussed this agreement, many suggested the need to take action and/or strengthen their own sense of responsibility. For this inquiry, regarding whether or not individual tribal citizens have a responsibility to the Cherokee language, there was little variation between at-large focus group participants and participants residing within the 14-county jurisdiction.

“I would rather see it be our responsibility than rely on the federal government.”

--Participant of the First Generation English Speakers Focus Group held in Stillwell, OK

Discussion around what whether or not individual tribal citizens have a responsibility to the Cherokee language included the following excerpts:

- ❖ *As a young one, we count on you to bring it back to us. To give them that responsibility may be all they need for them to step up*
- ❖ *I never would have thought to ask [the citizens]. So, that is interesting. You know, what are you doing to preserve the language? Because, I never would have thought it was my place to do that*
- ❖ *We all have a responsibility to our language*
- ❖ *I do. I mean if we are going to sit around like pigs to talk about it. We are responsible for that*
- ❖ *I think [the government] may be responsible for what happened in the past that it is our responsibility to what happens in the present*
- ❖ *That is part of us as a people. I do think we should do more with it*
- ❖ *My mother, her grandmother started that the Nation can do as much as they can do, but it is obviously up to the members. We have to accept it, pick it up and do our part. That is the burden that I am feeling*
- ❖ *We don't care*
- ❖ *If you are Cherokee, then you need to know a little bit about where you are coming from*
- ❖ *[Maintenance/learning the language] is an individual thing*
- ❖ *It is up to that individual. I am wanting to learn.*
- ❖ *I think we will start to lose our identity if we left the federal government in charge*
- ❖ *Yes, It is all a part of us*



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- ❖ *It is our responsibility to pass down what has gone on before us, especially our culture. Just like storytelling and all this stuff that needs to be passed down and if we ourselves can't speak the language then it is just going to die. I don't want to see that happen*
- ❖ *I think that most of us would probably think that we are not doing our part. Because, I already feel that way. Just from sitting here, that it is not up to the powers to be, [it is up to] each individual person, each one of us*

Speaking and Hearing the Cherokee Language

Focus group participants were asked, “*What language is spoken most in your community?*” Participants from nine (9) focus groups agreed that English was the language most spoken in their communities, with three (3) focus groups reporting Spanish or a mix of English and Spanish as the language most spoken in their communities.³

“My last relative who could speak Cherokee died last year. He spoke fluent Cherokee. He tried to teach us and we were uninterested in learning. It was like, *I don't have time for that.*”

--Participant of the Fort Gibson 1 Focus Group held in Fort Gibson, OK

Focus group participants were asked, “*Does anyone in your family speak Cherokee?*” Typical responses regarding fluency to this question could be categorized as:

1. Families who were NOT necessarily fluent, but knew at least some Cherokee words;
2. Families who can speak Cherokee, but choose NOT to; *and*
3. Families who could speak Cherokee, but those that do, the family members are no longer alive.

Among focus groups, there was fairly even mix of categorization of families, including when comparing focus groups composed of at-large members and members residing within the 14-county jurisdiction.

Representative excerpts from the discussion include:

- ❖ *I got some great uncles that are still alive and some cousins*
- ❖ *Every one of us, there was 13 of us. Was our first language*
- ❖ *I have a great uncle that is still alive that speaks*
- ❖ *I have cousins that say, “I don't understand you.” I am like “you were raised talking Cherokee like I was, what happened to you?”*
- ❖ *I have in-laws that can throw around words just because they have relatives in their late 90s. Some of that has been passed down*
- ❖ *It is lost in our family*
- ❖ *It stops with my brothers and sisters. They don't speak at all*
- ❖ *my dad could speak it but us kids we always went to English*
- ❖ *My grandmother spoke it a little*
- ❖ *No, not that are living*
- ❖ *Not at home, but I do have like my siblings speak it. Our elders normally do, but not in the household*
- ❖ *There is no one here who speaks. Even my grandma who grew up as her first language being Cherokee, never speaks Cherokee*

³ Transcripts for this question was not available for the OKC Women focus group held in Oklahoma City, OK.



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- ❖ *It was the strongest with [my aunts and uncles]. Then it kind of died down during my growing up*
- ❖ *Whenever we were little, my mom would fix whatever, and she would say, “Say it in Cherokee” or you wouldn’t get it*
- ❖ *Yes, as a first language*
- ❖ *Yes, aunts, uncles*
- ❖ *Yes, everyone on my grandma’s side, my mama, my aunts, but they really never taught me. Or, I never really wanted to learn, somehow.*

Focus group participants were asked, “Where do you hear Cherokee most often?” Responses included the following locations:

“I don’t think I have ever heard [the Cherokee language]. I have never been to a Pow Wow.”

--Participant of the Tahlequah Young Adults Focus Group held in Tahlequah, OK

- a) At annual events / cultural events / gatherings
- b) At church
- c) Language classes or school
- d) Households of friends / family
- e) Certain geographic regions
- f) Traditional and social media
- g) Medical facilities

Representative excerpts from the discussion include:

- ❖ *In our community English is the predominate language, but in our church the language is still strong*
- ❖ *We have a mix [of languages] in our Cherokee class. Our teacher explains to us in Cherokee.*
- ❖ *At the Indian hospital or at the clinics I do hear it spoken often, and I will hear it older couples or older people*
- ❖ *At my husband’s best friend’s house*
- ❖ *On YouTube a lot and you can find a lot of songs. You can find a lot of fluent Cherokee speakers and they tell the elders speaking Cherokee stories*
- ❖ *Tahlequah, that is the only place I hear it*
- ❖ *Dallas Indian Methodist Church*
- ❖ *In Tahlequah*
- ❖ *Home and in church*
- ❖ *At the holidays – when we go to the holidays, rodeo and things*
- ❖ *I just hear it on O-Si-Yo TV*
- ❖ *At events*
- ❖ *Stomp grounds*
- ❖ *At pow-wows, all the time*

Focus group participants were asked, “How often do you speak Cherokee? Daily, weekly, or not often?” Participants from the First Generation English Speakers and the Cherokee Speakers focus groups all reported to hear the Cherokee language *daily*.

Other focus group participants reported to hear the language *daily*, but clarified that they specifically seek out the language to hear each day, and that in many cases it is just a single word, and not necessarily a

“Before I retired, I heard [the Cherokee language] every day. I worked with a bunch of boys who lived in Greasy.”

--Participant of the Sallisaw Men Focus Group held in Sallisaw, OK



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conversation. The majority of focus group participants reported that they heard the Cherokee language *not often*, with some reporting that they *never* hear the language.

Representative excerpts from the discussion include:

- ❖ *Anytime, I go to the Dallas Indian Methodist Church, if Mr. Duck is there. That is the only time I hear it. That is the only person I know that speaks it fluent*
- ❖ *Whenever I talk to my uncle*
- ❖ *It comes up on my U-Tube randomly all the time. That is the only way I see it. I can say weekly just because of that. Because I access it. It comes up, you know how they randomize your feeds on Facebook. The random videos come up on mine all the time. Thank goodness for that otherwise I would have even looked at that this week*
- ❖ *Weekly*
- ❖ *Maybe once or twice a month*

Focus group participants were asked, “Where would you like to hear your language?” A selection of top responses included: at home; everywhere; in schools; and in media (social media, YouTube, TV, radio, newspapers).

Representative excerpts from the discussion include:

“That would be awesome if [the Cherokee language] was in my home. If I could speak it to my wife and my kids that would be awesome.”

--Participant of the OKC Men Focus Group held in Oklahoma City, OK

- ❖ *In schools and ball games. They would be hollering at the kids in Cherokee that would be so awesome*
- ❖ *Just as we were speaking and all sitting here all of us talking in Cherokee*
- ❖ *I think it needs to be in all schools not just certain ones*
- ❖ *It should be heard in each county*
- ❖ *Everywhere*
- ❖ *Just anywhere. Like I said I don't hear it at all unless I am looking for it*

Discussion among the participants of the Cherokee Speakers revolved around the specific need regarding where they would like the language to be heard. Representative excerpts from the discussion include:

- ❖ *I think [Cherokee should be heard at] the council meetings. More people would go and sit in if it was in Cherokee...*
- ❖ *Also, the at hospital and clinics. We need somebody at the front desk*
- ❖ *I worked at the Police station at one time. They told me the elders would call in with a medical emergency, but they couldn't understand them. They couldn't get the help out to where they needed it, because nobody in the dispatch area knew how to speak Cherokee*

Focus group participants were asked, “How do you think your grandparents would feel if you could speak Cherokee?” and “How would you feel if your grandchild or your grandchildren would learn Cherokee?” All participants from each of the focus groups responded positively in regarding the queries, with the majority of responses were that they would feel “proud.” Additional responses included: honored, happy, elated, tickled, very proud, hopeful, and great.



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Representative excerpts from the discussion include:

- ❖ *Extremely proud*
- ❖ *I think they would smile upon us*
- ❖ *My son came home from his Cherokee language class he was so excited and they did baskets and I still use that little basket with trinkets on my dresser*
- ❖ *[I would feel] like the culture wasn't going to die*
- ❖ *[I would feel] like I have accomplished something*
- ❖ *I think that is why we need to learn it, so we can speak it on the other side*
- ❖ *My grandmother wouldn't let us. She wouldn't let us speak about our culture nothing and now as an adult knowing her. I know that she would be very proud*
- ❖ *I think they would be proud. The first time I went to Tahlequah for the National Holiday I felt connected*
- ❖ *I already know because my grannie will say something to me in Cherokee and I didn't quite pick it up and she would say "you would know if you still lived around here" and it makes me feel awful. If I could speak it she would be super proud of me*
- ❖ *I could see them smiling now*

"I would be proud [if my grandchildren spoke Cherokee]. It is too important to me, but there is nothing you can do if the parents don't teach them. They have to have somebody to talk to them every day. Like we did."

--Participant of the Cherokee Speaker Focus Group held in Stillwell, OK

Survival of the Cherokee Language

"I think it is worse because there is not really a big focus... We are just keeping the language going; there are not very many people around who can teach it."

--Participant of the Sallisaw Women Focus Group held in Sallisaw, OK

Focus group participants were asked, "Do you think it is getting better or worse for the Cherokee people who want to speak the Cherokee language?" Collectively, there was a fairly even distribution of focus group participants who reported that things are *getting better* for Cherokee people who want to speak the language and for those who reported things are *getting worse* for the Cherokee people who want to speak the language. There was a slight majority of at-large focus group participants that reported things are *getting better* and a slight majority of 14-county jurisdiction focus group participants that reported things are *getting worse*.

Representative excerpts from the discussion include:

- ❖ *I don't think it is getting any better. I don't think there is more people that know the language now than there was a few years ago. I think, like we talked about, it is kind of dying off. I don't think it is getting any better no*
- ❖ *I think it is essentially getting better because they are offering classes at school now*
- ❖ *I think that desperation sometimes can be a driving factor in that aspect it might be getting a little bit better that people might be seeing the need for it and are willing to take action for it*
- ❖ *I guess it is dying now. I guess the funding is not there so*
- ❖ *Unless, it was passed down to their children it's gone. I know the classes are doing well and you see a lot of people are coming out of there and I follow that, that is amazing but you know it is going to take more than 20 or 30 people a year, if that, I don't really know how many is coming out to get that going. Because, there is that many elders passing away every year so. Just needs to be more focus*



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- ❖ *I think we kind of plateaued; we were on a decline and now we came back up. Now, we have maintained at this course and it could go either way at this point. It is up to us whether or not we let [the language] go down further*
- ❖ *It is getting worse*
- ❖ *The resources are better, the support is there*

Focus group participants were asked, “Do you believe the Cherokee language will survive without substantial intervention from the Cherokee Nation?” Collectively, the vast majority of focus groups reached group consensus that the Cherokee language would most likely be lost without substantial intervention from the Cherokee Nation.

Representative excerpts from the discussion include:

- ❖ *Any language would get lost easily*
- ❖ *[The language] won't be sustainable*
- ❖ *If you don't use it you lose it*
- ❖ *If Cherokee Nation pushes it more, and I am so glad that they do that. I hope they push it to all the Cherokee people because we are losing it*
- ❖ *We need those resources from the tribe because our Native elders, Native speakers I heard less than 10%. So, mainly in our rural areas if there is no way to reach out to other people because community it would require substantial intervention from the tribe it has to do with funding for outreach services*
- ❖ *The nation could be a big help, but ultimately it is up to the youth. We are still here, but we need more of our language ... we are not going to go. Cherokees are not going to die out*
- ❖ *Language is the soul of the Nation; it is glued together through the elders*

“The language is in the family. If it is taken out of the family, then you have to have help get it back into the family. There are so many families that move. There are so many families that get so detached that they lose the language.”

--Participant of the Dallas
Group 2 Focus Group held in
Addison, TX

Focus group participants were asked, “In 50 years over half of the world's languages will be lost. Do you think Cherokee will survive?” A few participants in some of the focus groups stated that they believed the Cherokee language would not be spoken in 50 years, regardless of attempts to save it. Conversely, many participants across all focus groups stated that the language would be spoken in 50 years, citing the tenacity and resiliency of the Cherokee Nation and its people as the reason the language would survive. There was a strong concentration of focus group participants expressing hope about the survival of the language, and/or expressing that the language would survive but only IF the Cherokee Nation and its people took action.



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Representative excerpts from the discussion include:

“The situation like we are doing today, that is what is going to make the language survive. Doing these events. Going and talking about it, discussing it, putting it together. You have to things push to maintain--you have to have people's involvement.”

--Participant of the Fort Gibson Group 1 Focus Group held in Fort Gibson, OK

- ❖ *Our government has not allowed us to [speak] our language and [live] our culture in my father's generation and even in mine. I think it will still endure...*
- ❖ *If there is nobody there to preserve the language, it is going to be gone*
- ❖ *If we don't do something about it now, it won't be here in fifty years. I don't know anybody my age that uses the language. It all the ones that are closer to the end that use it now*
- ❖ *[The survival of the language] is totally up to the Cherokee Nation*
- ❖ *That is why they call it a first language. You know we are losing all of our first language speakers amazingly fast. And, we have not been keeping up with it like we should have through the years*
- ❖ *We have survived thus far. We are still here*
- ❖ *Can't get any worse than it is today. People have been doing research in this from the beginning of time, from the removal, forward*
- ❖ *In fifty years, I think we will have some [language]. I mean we have enough resources especially in the fourteen counties for sure*
- ❖ *Within the next 10, 15, or 20 years it will be dead. Like she said it is dead in her family. And, it is going to die even more if we don't step up and keep it going. You know, it depends on the individual if they want it to stay alive. And, that is the way I look at it*

Focus group participants were asked, “Before today, had you thought about the status of the Cherokee language?” Most participants across all focus groups reported to have had a general awareness that the language was “dying” and/or “in decline,” but many had NOT understood the true status of the language before the day of the focus group.

Two (2) strategies discussed within the focus groups that demonstrated the state of the language to participants were:

1. Being shown where the Cherokee Language currently falls in the Fishman's 8-level Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS). Currently, the scale shows the Cherokee Language as “endangered” with just 2,000 speakers remaining; and
2. Having just the Cherokee speakers stand in a large room full of Cherokee Nation tribal members

Most focus group participants, across all groups expressed sadness, shock, or surprise once the focus group moderator explained that the Cherokee language was considered to be endangered according to the Fishman's GIDS scale.

Representative excerpts from the discussion include:

“It is going to take a long effort to work, to even stay as it is. You are going to lose language through death. You are going to lose some of those, most of those of 2000 speakers. So, it is going to take a ton of effort and interventions to replace that.”

--Participant of the Sallisaw Women Focus Group held in Sallisaw, OK

- ❖ *You see [the language] dying out, in general. I mean, I remember my grandma she spoke it a lot and then I could go back to my uncles and aunts about half would speak it. Then you get to my cousins and brothers and sisters that is where you start seeing the variations there is a select few that took interest in it and then the other ones are just caught up in the whirl*



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- ❖ *I would have definitely thought there would have been a whole lot more [speakers] than what you have shown here today. I am just, just... I just thought there was so much more*
- ❖ *I have heard it so much about the history and my dad has taken me to cemeteries where they are buried and stuff and I have read the stories and stuff that they wrote and not all families have that. Some people don't have that pride in their heritage because it was kind of snuffed out of them; it was choked out of them*
- ❖ *I would like the language to be in the safe zone*
- ❖ *As a Cherokee, when I see [the Fishman's GIDS Scale] it makes me saddened*
- ❖ *The graph is saying something needs to happen and needs to happen fast*
- ❖ *We got to do as much as we can because what does it matter. I feel like you lose a lot if you lose the language*

Focus group participants were asked, “Can the Cherokee culture survive without the language?”

Discussion among focus group participants revealed that overall, focus group members do believe that the culture could survive without the language. However, most discussion around this centered on the culture surviving, but in the end, it would not be the same without the language.

Representative excerpts from the discussion include:

- ❖ *It could survive, but I think it would be missing something*
- ❖ *You can maintain culture without the language, but it would feel stronger if the language were there*
- ❖ *I feel like it would be missing a big part*
- ❖ *There are parts of it that could probably survive it just wouldn't be the same without the language being there*

Additionally, there was a slightly higher tendency for members of the 14-county jurisdiction to believe that the culture would not survive without the language, when compared to the at-large focus groups.

“The only thing that the Cherokee language is going to be good for is to save the culture, because it isn't going to be good for anything else. Knowing the language is not going to get me anywhere in life. I mean, I am not going to go down to the local grocery store and get a job because I speak Cherokee. Language is just a cultural thing ... to keep the culture alive.”

--Participant of the Sallisaw Men Focus Group held in Sallisaw, OK

Representative excerpts from the discussion include:

- ❖ *No, [the language] is just like blood*
- ❖ *[Losing the language] changes it. It won't be our culture*
- ❖ *[Without language] I think it would all slowly go away*
- ❖ *It would be a museum to me. Can it survive? No*
- ❖ *Language is what makes a culture thrive... there are some things you can't do in the culture without the language*
- ❖ *With culture, you have to have a way to communicate. The way you communicate is through your language. It is the center point*
- ❖ *I don't think we can. I mean our ceremonies, stomp dances, and our oral tradition that we pass down. I don't see culture without the language*
- ❖ *[Language] is the way they communicate. Without the language there is not any culture*



Value of the Cherokee Language

Focus group participants were asked, “*Do you believe our language is sacred?*” There was a consensus among all participants from all focus groups that the Cherokee language is sacred. One participant from the Dallas Group 2 focus group member said that the language “*defines us as Cherokee people.*”

Focus group participants were asked, “*What value does the Cherokee language have to the tribe?*” and “*What value does the Cherokee language have to you?*” Responses to these queries on the value of the Cherokee language are depicted in the following summary.

“[The language] keeps me connected. I have always felt close to my Cherokee heritage.”

--Participant of the Dallas Group 1
Focus Group held in Addison, TX

The value of the Cherokee language (or the tribe) is...

My life – my identity – my spiritual connection – my heritage – connection to family – connection to my ancestors – my culture – my personal expression – my personal pride – the heart/soul of the tribe – the elders – my uniqueness – it completes us – my home.

Focus group participants were asked, “*Do you think the use of the Cherokee language can improve the well-being of the Cherokee people?*” There was a consensus among the majority of focus group participants that use of the Cherokee language could improve the well-being of Cherokee people. The most commonly discussed improvement to one’s well-being was that speaking Cherokee could bring a sense of pride, belonging, or connection.

Several participants shared that any second language, Cherokee or another otherwise, could improve the well-being of people. There was also some discussion in the Oklahoma City Men and Dallas Group 2 focus groups that speaking Cherokee would not improve the well-being of the people, primarily because there is no economic benefit to using the language and/or because English is the primary language. The participants shared:

- ❖ *I think that to speak Cherokee you are limiting your ability to be a success in this world. If you look at the education system in Oklahoma and center it in Tahlequah within the fourteen counties. You have good schools and bad schools etc. the point is all of them needs to learn fluent English so that they can compete in this white man’s world. I mean compete like how to fill out a job application. I know Cherokees who don’t know how to fill out a job application other than put their name on it. So, I think they need to learn that first before they learn Cherokee. How to compete in White Man’s world*
- ❖ *when I go to the store, I am going to speak English and am not going to speak Cherokee. When I go to a meeting, I am going to speak English and am not going to speak Cherokee. If I go to a meeting where then people are speaking Cherokee, I need to speak Cherokee. So, I will speak Cherokee if there is some type of community built around speaking that language. So then there is a benefit from me doing that or there is an incentive-- then I will be more apt to do it*
- ❖ *I know some Cherokee who can't fill out a job application besides putting their name down*

For those who shared that the use of the Cherokee language could improve the well-being of the Cherokee people, representative excerpts from the discussions include:



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- ❖ *Yes, we won't have the emptiness*
- ❖ *The people in general will feel better just hearing it spoken*
- ❖ *It is a blanket that surrounds us all. It is going to cover us all and protect us all*
- ❖ *I think it can improve the well-being of me, if I can learn it. It adds to our identity.*
- ❖ *Yes, it is non-violent and it is peaceful. I think it would benefit the tribe for that alone right there.*
- ❖ *Just a little bit of language would mean a lot of well-being for lots of people*
- ❖ *Yes, I worked at a clinic before I retired. They hired me because I could interpret for the elders and explain the importance of daily medications in Cherokee. Unless, you explain to them in Cherokee so they can understand it they are really not going to accept [the doctor's recommendation]*
- ❖ *I think it provides people with a connection which would speak to their emotional and spiritual well-being to have that connection to the people and their heritage*
- ❖ *I think it would make us stronger. It would connect us more if we were to use it more*
- ❖ *Personal pride. You know when you have personal pride then you are able to do something*
- ❖ *I think so. You learn the language in something that originates from your past from your ancestors. I don't know I think it gives you a sense of not uniqueness, but gives you a sense of ownership*
- ❖ *Being mixed your identification is questioned you know you are trying to figure out, what am I, who am I, who do I belong to, what do I belong to and things like that. I feel like language kind of completes that circle of just who you are*

"I think that the more we speak our language the more we learn our culture and get who we are back. And, I think that in turn that it lowers suicide rate, lowers alcoholism, lowers substance abuse, and all those negative aspects we have to ourselves."

--Participant of the Young Adults Focus Group held in Tahlequah, OK

Focus group participants were asked, "What are some of the things you like about the Cherokee language and culture?" and "What is one thing that makes Cherokee unique from everyone else?" Findings from the analyses of responses of these two (2) queries were combined because they yielded similar responses and discussions. A selection of descriptive responses regarding what participants like about the language/culture and/or what makes Cherokee unique included:

Beautiful – unique – open – inclusive – prideful – connected – family – inspiring – moving – protected – supportive – valuable – syllabary – unity – acceptance – home – tight-knit – wisdom – welcoming – hardworking – kindness – generous – dedicated – exclusiveness – identity – resilience – traditions – strong sense of self

Representative excerpts from the discussion include:

- ❖ *I like that it has stayed true to itself and the people have stayed true to themselves. You don't see it adapting to outside cultures*
- ❖ *I like how the Cherokee Nation takes care of their people not only with the health care aspect, but with housing and services, as well. And how they are really supportive of when a tribal member has a problem with something the tribe will step in and help*
- ❖ *Cherokee education is all about making sure their people were well educated. I think that is a neat thing and I would love to see more of that*



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“For me, I like that there is syllabary so that we can write down our language... there are not a lot of tribes that have a written language. So, I like that a lot.”

--Participant of the OKC Men's Focus Group held in Oklahoma City, OK

- ❖ *To me, I am very proud to know that I am a Cherokee. I really didn't have any part in it. I was born this way and I am so thankful that I am. I see a unity in our Cherokee people, an acceptance, it is like a big family*
- ❖ *I like the idea how the language is expressed in pictures... I like that*
- ❖ *It's the best tribe*
- ❖ *I didn't realize how inclusive it was on a community basis, on making sure everyone is doing well*
- ❖ *I feel like Cherokee is a small group compared to others races. The fact that we still have our language, and care about... it is kind of important*
- ❖ *One thing I have seen about Cherokee people is that they like to laugh you know they really like to have a good time*
- ❖ *We don't care what other people thinks of us*
- ❖ *I think we are very open. You have be documented and everything else, but we are very open*

Focus group participants were asked, “Is there a connection between the strength of the Cherokee community and the language, culture, and the education?” This question seemed NOT to be extensively addressed in any of the focus groups – it seemed this question was not well understood by participants.

Of the 11 focus groups that discussed this question and/or that had transcripts available, all groups, to a degree, believed that there either *was*, *should be*, or *could be* a connection between the Cherokee community and the language, culture, and education.

“It is the strength of the nation is what it is. I think it is those things that bring us together that show that we are Cherokee.”

--Participant of the Claremore Focus Group held in Claremore, OK

Representative excerpts from the discussion include:

- ❖ *I think because so many don't know the language, we are still strong in the community setting. I don't really see a link right now between the two*
- ❖ *Right now, I don't think so. I think it is kind of a neat feeling to be together. Community centers and rural communities do like church and community functions. Tribal councils and things like that. I don't think language is the mainstay of community involvement. I do think it brings people together, but I don't think it is the mainstay. I don't think it has a core value to community right now, presently. But, in the future it is possible*
- ❖ *I kind of argue that is not the case, we are a melting pot and that is what makes us strong*



Perception of Language

Focus group participants were asked, “Do you think the language in which you think affects how you see the world?” All discussions in all focus groups were affirmative for this query.

Representative excerpts from the discussion include:

“Cherokee has been described as very descriptive...You see different things; you have two or three different meanings. You can’t get that same thing in English. But English is straight forward.”

--Participant of the Young Adults Focus Group held in Tahlequah, OK

- ❖ *It’s the big picture. You take your shoes off and you feel the grass. You take your shoes off and you feel the water through your toes. That is Indian thinking. It more like a picture. But we have been programmed in a non-native world, which is very commercial*
- ❖ *Different languages have different words and different ways of presenting information so I think yes in some aspects. Some languages have words that other languages don’t have so I think that would have something to do with how you see things*
- ❖ *The nuance of the language in defining culture and I think if you really want to understand what somebody thinks and how they look at the world you do have to look at their language*
- ❖ *[The Cherokee language] is deeper than the surface*
- ❖ *The Cherokees didn’t have words for half to three-quarters of stuff that goes on*

Focus group participants were asked, “Do you think looking at things through different perspectives helps with problem solving?” All discussions in all focus groups were affirmative for this query.

Representative excerpts from the discussion include:

- ❖ *You should always take different viewpoints because yours isn’t always right*
- ❖ *You have got to get everybody’s opinion*
- ❖ *Nothing changes if you look at it from one way. Same action; same results*
- ❖ *There are always two sides to one story*
- ❖ *Yes, because your way is not always the best way. Sometimes I am hard headed, but yes, I think looking at both sides is always good. Lots of ways to do things*

“There is not normally just one way to solve a problem. The more ways that you can think of a problem, the more it takes shape and you are able to come up with solutions.”

--Participant of the OKC Men Focus Group held in Oklahoma City, OK

Focus group participants were asked, “Do you think speaking more than one language makes you smarter?” There were mixed responses to this query, but the majority of focus group participants agreed that speaking more than one language makes a person “smarter.” Rather than smarter, some participants preferred to think of individuals speaking more than one language as: well-rounded, diverse, beneficial, educated, and/or open.



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Representative excerpts from the discussion include:

“I think everyone is smart enough to do it—it is just if they do it. But it doesn’t necessarily make them smarter. Most people have the ability.”

-- Participant of the Young Adults Focus Group held in Tahlequah, OK

- ❖ *I am smart anyway. Let me ask you something. Why would you ask that question?*
- ❖ *Well your brain is a muscle right so if you exercise it, it probably sparks something in there that is active in all of us*
- ❖ *I think it broadens your vocabulary skills and your ability to read differently and see differently, and in some ways smarter. I think it enhances your skills as an individual*
- ❖ *It makes you more open to the possibilities of the world. Different countries do think a little bit different, just like in Cherokee. They see more in pictures. And, it helps you when you start thinking in the other language. You open up to a larger world*

Focus group participants were asked, “Do you think European languages are superior to Native languages?” Nearly all participants in all focus group did NOT report that European languages are superior to Native languages. While there was a consensus that European languages are not superior, there was discussion that these others languages are/may be:

More developed – more documented – more accepted – has more speakers – more widely used – more accessible – garners more interest in learning the language

Representative excerpts from the discussion include:

“Cherokee had the Wind talkers, and the Nazis couldn’t figure it out. That is pretty powerful to have a language that can do that.”

--Participant of the Dallas Group 1 Focus Group held in Addison, TX

- ❖ *No, because they deal with the same issues. We are all the same basically as human beings. We express the same things in our own unique way*
- ❖ *When it comes to utility, each [language] has their value. I think that is a better way of putting it. I can’t tell you if one is more valuable than the other, there is different value for different people*
- ❖ *The Europeans may think they are above us in our language because of their large numbers*
- ❖ *More people would know a European language than Cherokee, but it wouldn’t superior in quality or its importance*



SURVEY QUESTIONS/STATEMENTS

In addition to the scripted questions asked by the moderator during the focus groups, participants were also asked to complete five (5) item survey. Results from this survey are presented below..

Focus group participants were asked to rate their level of agreement with the statement, “*The Cherokee nation has a financial responsibility to support efforts to reverse the loss of the Cherokee language*” using the following scale (which has been reversed for this report):

Strongly Agree (5); Agree (4); Neutral (3); Disagree (2); and Strongly Disagree (1)

Collectively, all focus group participants produced a mean score of 4.65, suggesting that focus participants *agree to strongly agree* with the statement.

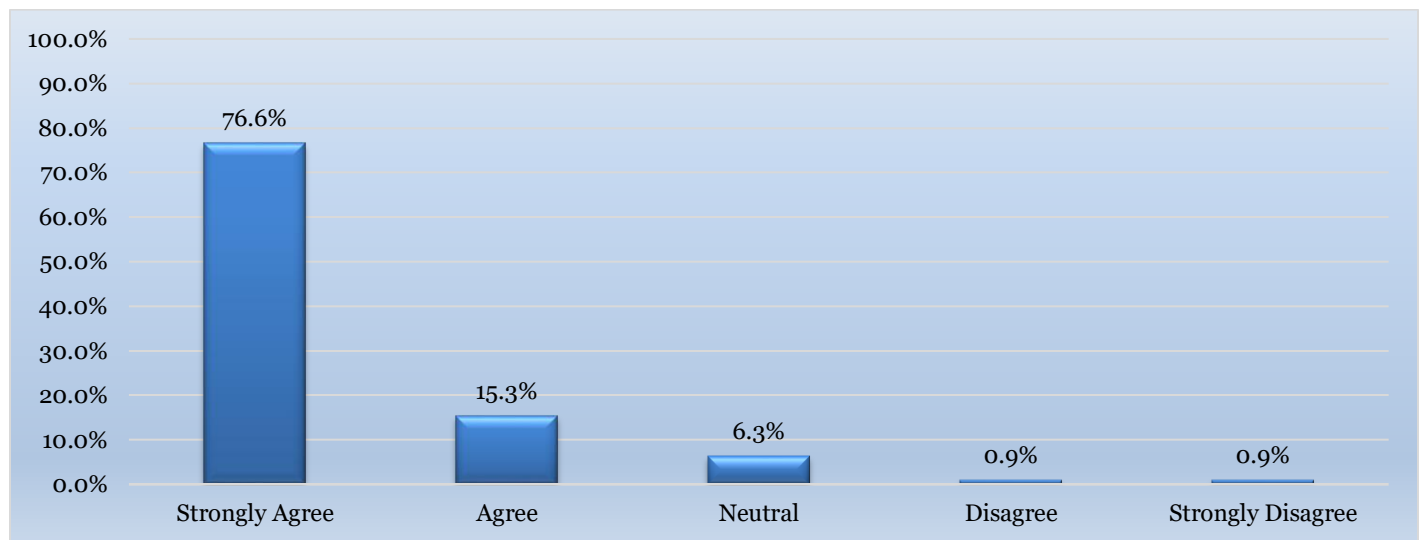


Figure 1: “*The Cherokee nation has a financial responsibility to support efforts to reverse the loss of the Cherokee language.*” (N=111)

Focus group participants were asked to rate their level of investment to the question, “*How invested are you in learning the Cherokee language?*” using the following scale⁴ (which has been reversed for this report):

Strongly Agree (5); Agree (4); Neutral (3); Disagree (2); and Strongly Disagree (1)

Collectively, all focus group participants produced a mean score of 4.55, suggesting that participants are *invested to strongly invested* in learning the Cherokee language. of the at-large community (n=38) (4.65).

⁴ The scale provided with this question is not compatible, however, this is how the question was presented to focus group participants.

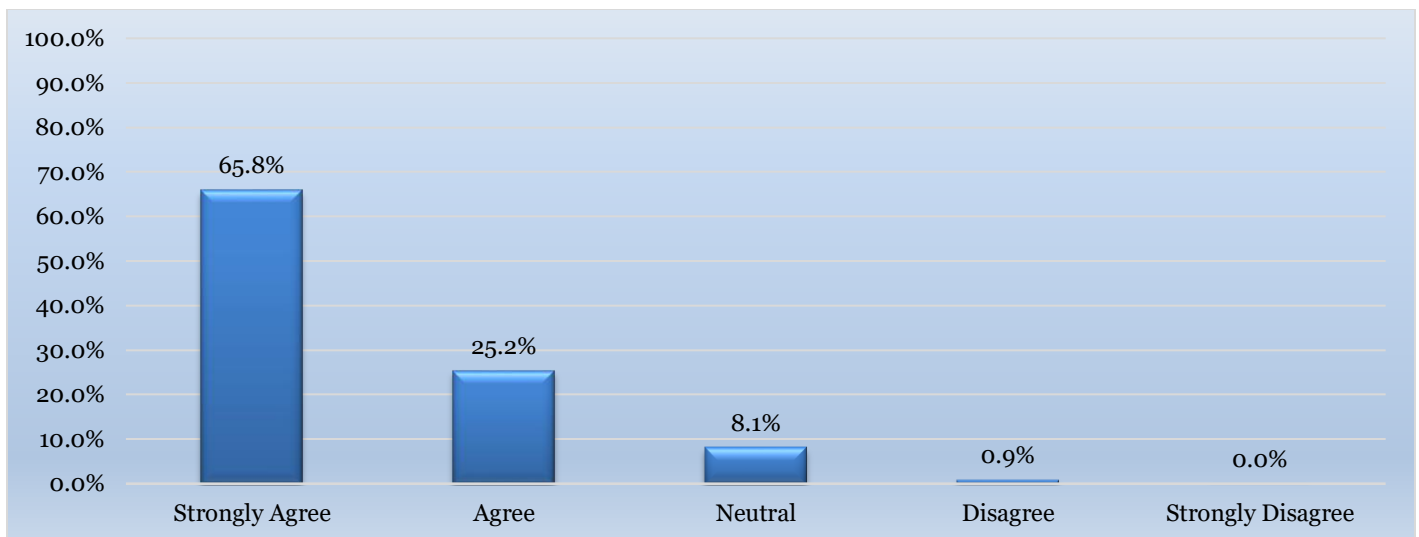


Figure 2: Responses to the Question “*How invested are you in learning the Cherokee language?*” (N=111)

Focus group participants were asked to rate the importance of the question, “*How important is the Cherokee language?*” using the following scale⁵ (which has been reversed for this report):

Strongly Agree (5); Agree (4); Neutral (3); Disagree (2); and Strongly Disagree (1)

Collectively, all focus group participants produced a mean score of 4.74, suggesting that participants rated the Cherokee language as *important to very important*. The percentage of responses, in aggregate, are presented in the figure below.

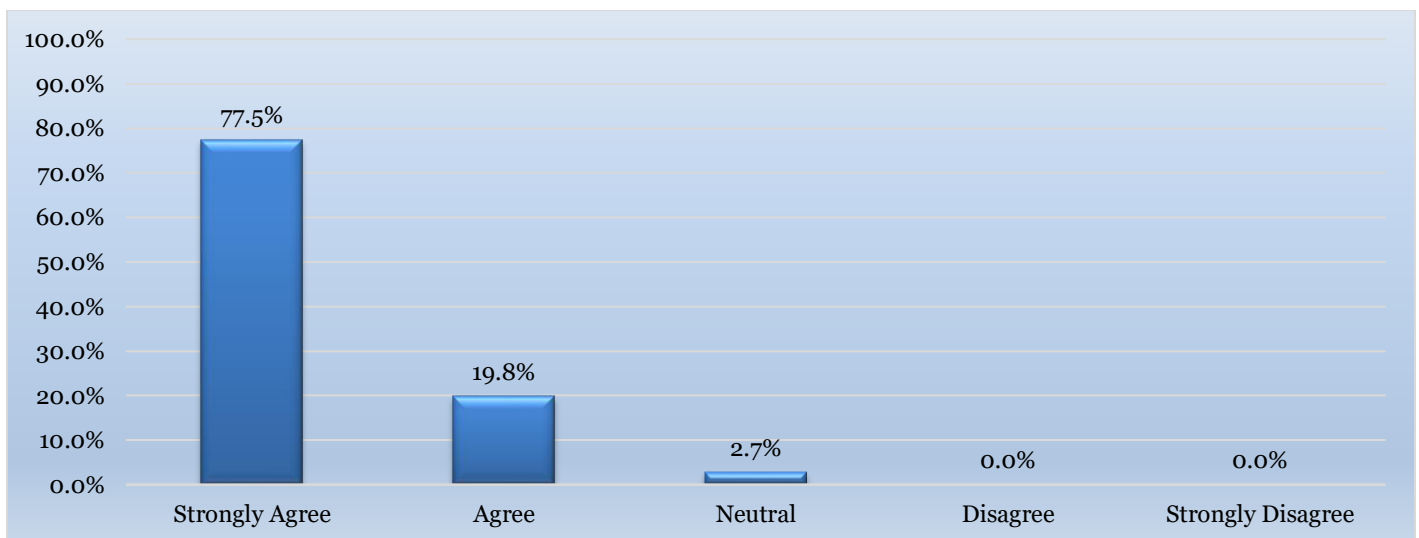


Figure 3: Responses to the Question “*How important is the Cherokee language?*”

⁵ The scale provided with this question is not compatible, however, this is how the question was presented to focus group participants.



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Focus group participants were asked to rate their level of agreement with the statement, “*There is a direct association between the strength of a tribal community and its connection to its language,*” using the following scale (which has been reversed for this report):

Strongly Agree (5); Agree (4); Neutral (3); Disagree (2); and Strongly Disagree (1)

Collectively, all focus group participants produced a mean score of 4.59, suggesting that participants *agree to strongly agree* with the statement. The percentage of responses, in aggregate, are presented in the figure below.

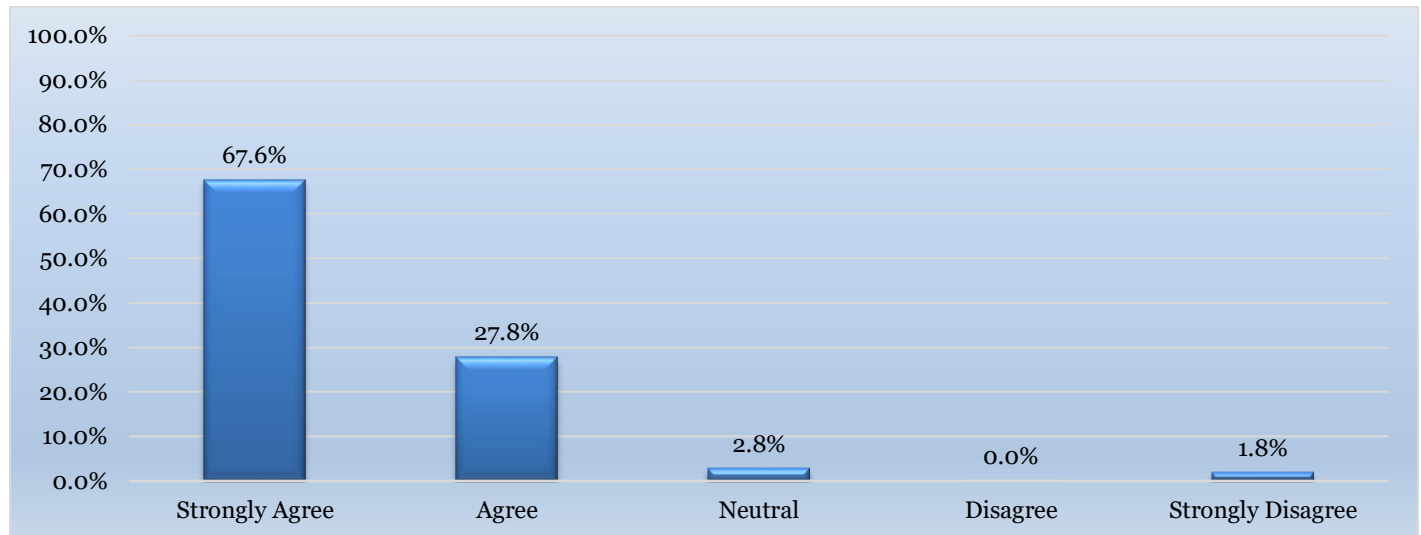


Figure 4: Level of Agreement with the Statement “*There is a direct association between the strength of a tribal community and its connection to its language*” (N=108)

Focus group participants were asked to rate their level of agreement with the statement, “*The federal government has a responsibility to the Cherokee language,*” using the following scale (which has been reversed for this report):

Strongly Agree (5); Agree (4); Neutral (3); Disagree (2); and Strongly Disagree (1)

Collectively, all focus group participants produced a mean score of 3.96, suggesting that participants *agree* with the statement. The percentage of responses, in aggregate, are presented in the figure below.



NATIVE LANGUAGE COMMUNITY COORDINATION

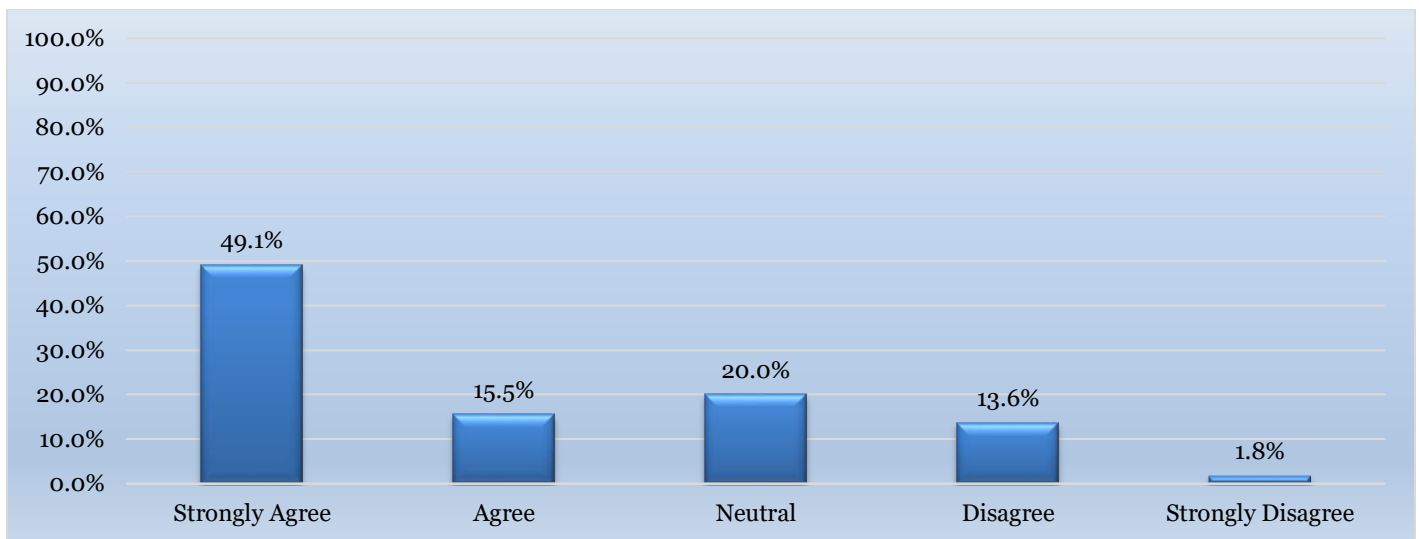


Figure 5: Level of Agreement with the Statement “*The federal government has a responsibility to the Cherokee language*” (N=110)



APPENDIX A

Complete List of Focus Group Questions, Categorized into Domains

The table below provides a list of all the scripted questions which were asked by the moderator within the focus groups. Some questions were not addressed in some focus groups, and not all questions received sufficient discussion to warrant inclusion in the analysis.⁶

Focus Group Question		Domain
1	<i>What issues or challenges does your community face related to the Cherokee language?</i>	Community and Personal Barriers to Learning the Cherokee Language
2	<i>What obstacles are preventing you from learning more of the language?</i>	
3	<i>What are our main obstacles then in preventing our people from learning our language?</i>	
4	<i>What resources do we have as a tribe or community to address some of these issues that we know?</i>	Known Resources to Address the Loss of the Cherokee Language
5	<i>Do you believe the Cherokee Nation has a role in the preservation of our language?</i>	Roles and Responsibilities for Preserving the Cherokee Language
6	<i>What do you believe the role of the Cherokee Nation should be regarding preservation of the language?</i>	
7	<i>Do you believe the federal government has a responsibility to the language?</i>	
8	<i>Do you believe individual tribal citizens have a responsibility to our language?</i>	
9	<i>What language is spoken most in your community?</i>	Speaking and Hearing the Cherokee Language
10	<i>Does anyone in your family speak Cherokee?</i>	
11	<i>Where do you hear Cherokee spoken most often?</i>	
12	<i>How often do you speak Cherokee? Daily, weekly, or not often?</i>	
13	<i>Where would you like to hear your language?</i>	
14	<i>How do you think your grandparents would feel if you could speak Cherokee?</i>	
15	<i>How would you feel if your grandchild or your grandchildren would learn Cherokee?</i>	

⁶ The following question, “When you interact with our Cherokee Nation public officials do you think prior about their opinions on topics of Cherokee language?” was not addressed in enough focus groups and/or did not generate adequate responses to warrant inclusion in this analysis.



Focus Group Question		Domain
16	<i>Do you think it is getting better or worse for the Cherokee people who want to speak the Cherokee language?</i>	Survival of the Cherokee Language
17	<i>Do you believe the Cherokee language will survive without substantial intervention from the Cherokee Nation?</i>	
18	<i>In fifty years over half of the world's languages will be lost. Do you think Cherokee will survive?</i>	
19	<i>Before today, had you thought about the status of the Cherokee language?</i>	
20	<i>Can the Cherokee culture survive without the language?</i>	
21	<i>What are some of the things you like about the Cherokee language and culture?</i>	Value of the Cherokee Language
22	<i>What is one thing that makes Cherokee unique from everyone else?</i>	
23	<i>Do you think the use of the Cherokee language can improve the well-being of the Cherokee people?</i>	
24	<i>Do you believe our language is sacred?</i>	
25	<i>What value does the Cherokee language have to the tribe?</i>	
26	<i>What value does the Cherokee language have to you?</i>	
27	<i>Is there a connection between the strength of the Cherokee community and the language, culture, and the education?</i>	
28	<i>Do you think the language in which you think affects how you see the world?</i>	Perception of Language
29	<i>Do you think looking at things through different perspectives helps with problem solving?</i>	
30	<i>Do you think speaking more than one language makes you smarter?</i>	
31	<i>Do you think European languages are superior to native languages?</i>	

Appendix 2

DIGITAL PRESERVATION PLAN

Jerrid Miller

CHEROKEE NATION LANGUAGE DEPARTMENT, ᄎᄆᄆᄆᄆ ᄆᄆᄆᄆ ᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆ

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Section 1: Purpose

1.1 Plan Development

This digital preservation plan was developed, in part, to preserve the already existing digitized Cherokee language materials created and/or acquired by the Cherokee Nation Language Department. Guidance and strategies will be needed to ensure a lasting framework exists for the integrity, authenticity, long-term preservation and storage of these digitized materials for the benefit of the Cherokee language speaking community.

1.2 Plan Philosophy: Applying Archives 2.0 to Digital Preservation Planning

Archives 2.0 is a philosophical concept within the study of Archival Science that promotes the following approaches:

- A). Welcoming access policies to the general public, not restricted to a few academic researchers by the establishment.
- B). Transparent archival decisions, not opaque archival management.
- C). Driven by user needs, not archival produced recordkeeping.
- D). Facilitating, not controlling access to materials.
- E). Attracting users through social media campaigns, not relying on users to find you.
- F). Archival best practices and standards, not dated ideas and misconceptions.
- G). Tangible, meaningful metrics, not lofty results.
- H). More revisiting, revision and corrections, not finite archival products.
- I). Embracing innovation and flexibility, not “we’ve always done it this way.”
- J). Embracing technological participation, not technological phobia.
- K). Value in selfless-service, not ego-driven “known it all” mindset in working with archival holdings.
- L). Advocacy for digital material needs, not accepting its obsolescence.

When these philosophical concepts are mindfully applied to digital preservation planning, advocacy for digital resources becomes apparent when considering the needs of a user-driven research demographic reliant on digital materials for long-term consumption and access.

1.3 Plan Strategies

Digital preservation comprises a vital component to the respective mission of the Archives of the Cherokee Nation Language Department. This digital preservation plan will focus its strategies of digital preservation in accordance with established best practices and account for its

actions by all involved staff, Cherokee language speakers, Cherokee language learners and Cherokee Nation citizens as a point of responsibility and trust.

Its active management and preservation takes into consideration that digitized materials are always in a fragile state: continued changes to hardware, software, best practices and file formats are an endangerment to digital materials without established digital preservation strategies put in place.

1.4 Primary Discourse Audience for this Digital Preservation Plan

The primary discourse audience for this digital preservation plan are those staff members, management, and other interested parties directly involved and responsible for the creation, development and upkeep of digitized Cherokee language materials within the framework established by the Cherokee Nation Language Department. Other discourse audience readers may include those related to grant-funding sources, tribal dignitaries, peer professionals and patrons.

1.5 Listed Objectives

The objectives listed in this digital preservation plan are driven by current Cherokee language preservation strategies and how they may be enhanced by digitized Cherokee language materials as an available digital corpus body of literature. Their preservation and accessibility define the necessary framework as a manageable cultural resource embedded within the Cherokee Nation Language Department. The listed goals and objectives for this digital preservation plan are as follows:

- A). Adopt archival best practices, establish applicable standards and implement all aspects of the Open Archival Information System (OAIS) Reference Model as a suggested digital platform and delivery system for digitized material holdings.
- B). Establish policies, procedures and action plans to support digital preservation efforts with currently available resources as a long-term sustainable model for digital preservation efforts.
- C). Apply appropriate strategies for identifying physical and digital materials as candidates for digital preservation with suggested formats.
- D). Provide access to digitized materials while respecting the cultural value placed on “culturally sensitive” materials.
- E). Develop and mentor staff expertise through archival training focusing on digital preservation strategies.
- F). Utilize collaboration efforts between inter-departmental assets, Cherokee Nation entities and external repositories to meet and exceed expected digital preservation goals and objectives.
- G). Access and review adopted digital preservation policies, procedures and action plans, as needed, to address changes in technology, available resources, and digitized material holdings needs.

Section 2: Scope of Contents

The digital resources of the Cherokee Nation Language Department is composed primarily of content created from digitized materials and “born digital” materials. Its digitized materials come from Cherokee syllabary source documents, audio recordings and video recordings.

It is anticipated with the adoption of a collections development policy that the archives will continue to acquire additional Cherokee language materials as they are identified and become available for consumption through digitization. In the near future, digital preservation strategies will be needed, developed, applied, and implemented to accommodate best practices for digitization, associated metadata creation, digital storage, and format migration, which will briefly be touched on in this plan.

Section 3: Challenges of Digital Preservation

3.1 Face Off: The Challenges of Digital Preservation

There are significant challenges to overcome in implementing an effective digital preservation plan when consideration is given to continual changes in hardware, software, file formats, archival standards and best practices. Limited resources, available staff and on-hand technology square off with these challenges daily in an effort to face the daily challenges of digital preservation.

3.2 No Standard Solution: Various File Formats Exist

Various file formats are available and vie commercially to display embedded contents for today’s user-driven market. Their availability today does not, however, guarantee them from digital obsolescence tomorrow. Being mindful and choosing a material’s file format in relation to its long-term preservation needs will require monitoring and adopting standards and best practices such as those developed and set by the Federal Agencies Digital Guidelines Initiative (FADGI).

3.3 Exodus: File Format Migration

Existing file formats of digital materials will need to be converted into recommended future-driven preservation formats to remain accessible for consumption and to avoid digital obsolescence because of archaic formats. This digital preservation plan will include provisions to address file format migration to promote future accessibility and digital preservation of already digitized materials, to include candidates for digitization.

3.4 Good is Bad and Bad is Good: Long-term File Integrity

Over time, embedded digital data can contain some errors, become corrupted or infected with malware, effecting its accessibility for long-term preservation. This digital preservation plan will implement strategies to regularly monitor file integrity, correct any detected file errors or correct file degradation utilizing archival best practices.

3.5 For the People: Public Accessibility to Digitized Materials

Public accessibility and its delivery of digital content to our users is mission essential when considering Cherokee language preservation needs in relation to digital preservation. This digital preservation plan must touch on the topics of its security, delivery method and digital storage when public accessibility to Cherokee language materials is applied as a situational challenge. Certainly, materials which are deemed “culturally-sensitive” will also need to be addressed as their own stand-alone topic and how this will influence policy regarding restrictive use of digitized materials.

3.6 Inconsistency v. Consistency: Applying Consistent Standards for Digitization

Inconsistent standards in digital preservation efforts result in inconsistent results when done inconsistently. For a digital preservation plan to succeed, it must follow and build itself on a bedrock of best practices and standards that are ever-evolving by proven results within the community of professional archivists. These are laid out in writing by fraternal trade organizations and recognized as consistent best practices by both the national and international communities.

This digital preservation plan will apply consistent best practices and standards to maximize resources, efficiency and results when applied to its digital preservation efforts.

3.7 It's an Undertaking: Scale of Materials and Storage Space

A rule of thumb for digital materials is that digital storage space will always increase in size as digital materials are added to its archival holdings.

The assigned archivist, in association with this digital preservation plan, will have to tackle two reoccurring challenges: 1). That the amount of Cherokee language analog materials drives the need to create digitized materials and 2). Securing digital storage space for it and any “born digital” materials increases with holding size.

3.8 Imagine the Loss: Contextual Information

Imagine the information written on a single card catalog in the old library card catalog file days and then trying to apply that to describe the context of a digital file. It might seem that you are trying to contextualize “data about data”. Metadata is the contextual information about data (either embedded or external) that promotes discovery, structures data and supports the administration and preservation of its digital files.

Digital files often lack metadata, causing information to be lost about the significance of that material and its digital content. This digital preservation plan actively promotes the creation and continuity of metadata associated with any digitized materials in its material holdings.

Section 4: Digital Preservation Action Plan

4.1 Actions that will be taken for Digital Preservation

This digital preservation plan will follow a three-prong approach in conducting digital preservation actions utilizing the following best-practice approaches: 1). Open Archival

Information System (OAIS) Reference Model, 2). Federal Agencies Digital Guidelines Initiative (FADGI) for digitizing cultural heritage materials, and 3). National Digital Stewardship Alliance Levels of Digital Preservation V 2.0 Matrix (LoP).

In this three-prong approach, The OAIS Reference Model will provide a system model for archival activities focused on digital preservation and digital material availability for our designated Cherokee language community. FADGI will provide digital preservation standards for the file formats and content that exist within this system model. LoP will provide a framework for these standards as digital preservation activities increase and resources become available.

To physically carry out digital preservation efforts as an action step, the Cherokee Nation Language Department will be heavily dependent on staff know-how, available technology, ongoing resource support from Cherokee Nation, and the format/content of digitized material stored in our holdings.

Preserved digital materials and its associated metadata will be developed and stored according to archival best practices and standards within the established framework of the Archives of the Cherokee Nation Language Department. The Open Archival Information System (OAIS) referenced below in Section 8.2 of this digital preservation plan and titled *OAIS Reference Model* will act as a digital preservation and resource management model for our digitized material holdings.

4.2 Applying the OAIS Reference Model to Cherokee Nation Language Dept.

The Cherokee Nation Language Department, through its undertaking to amass Cherokee language documents as a corpus body of literature available to its Cherokee language speakers, second language learners, and Cherokee Nation citizens, has accepted the responsibility to digitally preserve these materials and make them available to its acknowledged discourse community for the duration of its existence.

In doing so, all digital materials held in holdings by the Archives of the Cherokee Nation Language Department are currently at great risk for digital obsolescence, file integrity corruption, technological changes to accessibility and available digital storage space. The need for a long-term digital preservation plan to fit the needs of the Cherokee Nation Language Department becomes very apparent when these immediate issues are taken into consideration as viable threats to our digital material holdings.

Enter the Open Archival Information System (OAIS) Reference Model. Originally developed by the Consultative Committee for Space Data Systems (CCSDS) to manage space data and information systems, the OAIS Reference Model has since that time come to be viewed by various disciplines (to include Archival Sciences) as the international, best practice standard for long-term preservation needs of digital materials while maintaining open-access availability to its intended public users.

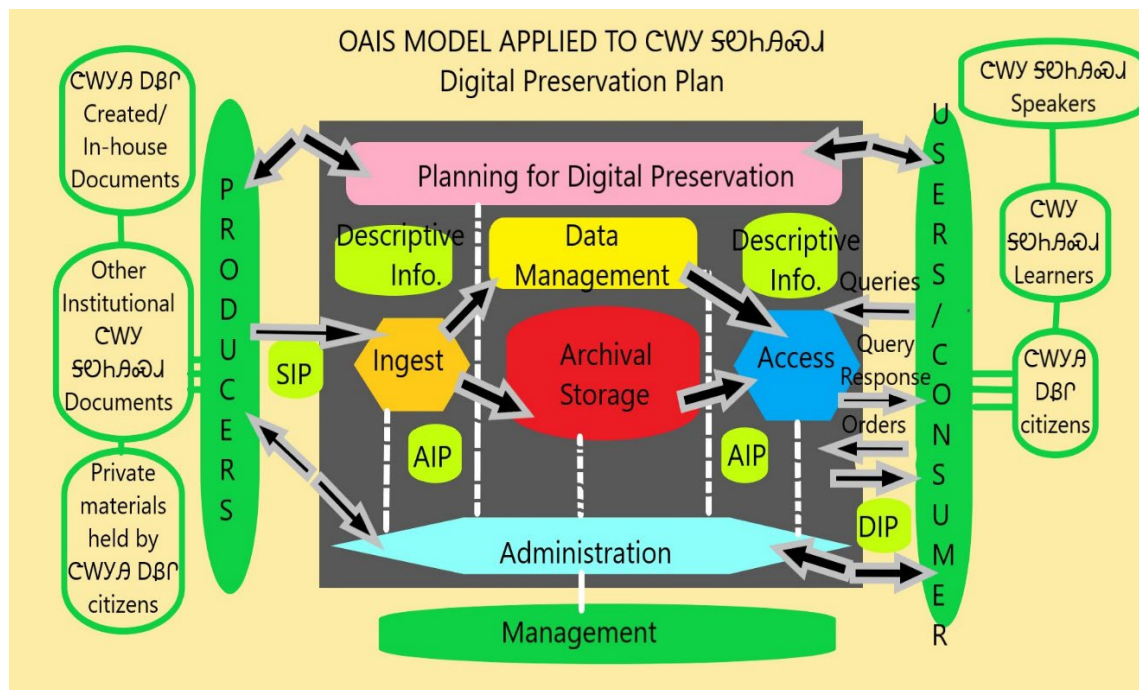


Figure 1: OAIS Reference Model applied to Cherokee Nation Language Department's Digital Preservation Plan.

The conceptual framework for the OAIS Reference Model is highly suited for the needs of the Cherokee Nation Language Department in implementing this digital preservation plan. The OAIS Reference Model, itself, sets a standard for the activities involved in digital preservation rather than the method for carrying out those activities. The following items list and identify the mandatory standards associated with carrying out the OAIS Reference Model activities.

- A). Accession appropriate digital materials from creators and producers of Cherokee language materials.
- B). Obtain sufficient control of digital materials with regard to its proper accession (or acknowledged communal intellectual property rights), meeting its recommended format standards for archival preservation, and appraised value to ensure its long-term preservation needs.
- C). Determine that the user/consumer demographic of those digital materials (made up of Cherokee language speakers, second language learners, and Cherokee Nation citizens) can understand the content information being provided to them.
- D). Ensure that any digital materials being preserved are meeting digital preservation objectives and have been proven to still be accessible in a desired format by our

user/consumer demographic of Cherokee language speakers, second language learners and Cherokee Nation citizens.

E). Follow documented policies and procedures as a point of digital preservation against all reasonable contingencies-never deleting digital materials unless it is part of an approved strategy.

F). Make any preserved digital materials available to its user/consumer demographic of Cherokee language speakers, second language learners and Cherokee Nation citizens and enable its dissemination to be a verifiable copy of the original source material (with supporting documentation validating its integrity).

With the adoption of the OAIS Reference Model as an integral, working standard for this digital preservation plan, its latest revision should be referenced for guidance: *Reference Model For An Open Archival Information System (OAIS) Draft Recommended Practice CCSDS 650.0-P.2.1 Pink Book October 2020*.

The conceptual framework outlined by the OAIS reference model and listed below will describe the six functional entities and the planning and action needed for their implementation in this digital preservation plan:

4.2.1 Ingest

Ingest is the functional entity process of receiving digital material and its related metadata from a creator/producer and formally integrating it into our archival holdings held by the Cherokee Nation Language Department. This process is referred to as a Submission Information Package and is simplified as an SIP in the OAIS Reference Model utilized by our digital preservation plan.

At this juncture, our archival staff has the responsibility to process the received SIP into our holdings (if accepted) by performing quality checks to the SIP (to include verification of its file type, validation of its file content and normalization of the file, i.e. converting a digital material into a persistent file format, if needed).

Archival staff will then generate an Archival Information Package (referred to simply as an AIP) which includes making sure it complies with the set archival standard for documentation and data formatting, enhance or create additional metadata associated with the digital material's file, create descriptive information associated with the AIP for inclusion into our archival holdings database and then transfer the AIP to its long-term/permanent storage system.

4.2.2 Archival Storage

Archival storage is the functional entity step that provides for the overall handling, storage, maintenance and retrieval of AIPs in association with their long-

term/permanent storage. This step begins once an AIP is received from Ingest and lasts through the duration of its long-term/ permanent digital storage.

Long-term/permanent digital archival storage will require a technical infrastructure focusing on the 3-2-1 backup strategy where digital content is duplicated and removed off-site to local and geographically friendly, but readily-accessible backup storages (at minimum).

Tasks associated with this functional entity step include managing storage hierarchy, performing routine and special error checking, provide disaster recover capabilities and implement them as necessary, migrate AIPs as needed, and provide access copies to our Cherokee language speakers, second language learners and Cherokee Nation citizens users.

4.2.3 Data Management

The data management functional entity step is very similar to a production data base in that it acts as an administer database responsible for maintaining the integrity of the data management system, performs queries, generates reports and receives database updates. All of this is accomplished by collected descriptive information metadata associated with individual AIPs being coordinated with supported archival system information.

Cherokee Nation Language Department recommendations will be a driver for establishing inner-department and Cherokee Nation-wide metadata required standards to monitor effective data management operations, as none currently exist. Its utilized technology will be a primary determinant in the mission success of implementing the OAIS reference model-finding, ordering, and retrieving of OAIS information holdings by our Cherokee language speakers, second language learners and Cherokee Nation citizens being that benchmark of success.

4.2.4 Administration

The administration functional entity step manages the day-to-day archival operations and services in the OAIS reference model and brokers the divide between management and those Cherokee language speakers, second language learners, and Cherokee Nations citizens accessing our digital materials as users in the OAIS environment. Additionally, eight functions (listed below) can further be broken down and define the administration functional entity moving components:

- A). Negotiate system agreement, as a function, solicits desirable archival information for the OAIS in the form of an SIP, negotiates submission agreements with producers, maintains a calendar of expected data submission sessions and the resource requirements it will take to support its Ingest into holdings.
- B). Manage system configuration, as a function, delivers system engineering for the archival system to continuously monitor its functionality and control change to its configuration as needed.
- C). Archival information update, as a function, provides a mechanism for updating the archives as it receives change requests, procedures and tools from Manage System Configuration. It also provides an update by sending a dissemination request to Access, updating those contents from any resulting DIPs, and then resubmit them in SIP form to Ingest.
- D). Physical access control is a placed mechanism that either restricts or allows physical access to our archival holdings based on internal policies received from the established standards and policies function (listed below).
- E). Establish standards and policies, as a function, is responsible for establishing and maintaining its standards and policies on behalf of its archival system to include storage management policies, disaster recovery policies, periodic reports to management, etc.
- F). Check submissions, as a function, receives AIPs (verifies content for Cherokee language users) or SIPs (meets specifications of submission agreement) and verifies the quality of data meets established archival standards and best practices.
- G). Activate Requests, as a function, maintains records of event-driven requests, compares them to archival contents to determine data availability and if needed, generates a dissemination request.
- H). Customer Service, as a function, handles the dual role of creating, maintaining and deleting consumer accounts of Cherokee language speakers, second language learners and other Cherokee Nation citizen users while also fulfilling general information and specialized research requests.

4.2.5 Preservation Planning (Planning for Digital Preservation)

The preservation planning functional entity step is defined as preservation managing strategies to contend with content change, functionality, and to mitigate loss carried out through the existence and long-term preservation of AIPs in holdings. While technology is a major component associated with this functionality step, departmental concerns and its final decision making responsibilities for digital preservation planning are the primary voice and driver for change. Listed below are five functions that drive this entity step:

A). Monitor Designated Community, as a function, tracks changes to service requirements, data formats, media choices, preference for software packages, new computing platforms, and mechanisms for communicating with archives.

B). Monitor Technology, as a function, tracks emerging digital technologies, information standards and computing platforms.

C). Preservation Watch, as a function, collects, compares and analyzes all preservation related information with the intent of monitoring changes in archival preservation strategies and best practices.

D). Develop Preservation Plans and Strategies, as a function, is responsible for developing Cherokee Nation Language Department digital preservation strategies and standards, access associated risks to its digital materials, and sets in motion digital preservation policy management to its system infrastructure.

E). Develop Packaging Designs and Preservation Plans, as a function, develops new information package designs for AIP and SIP templates.

4.2.6 Access

The access functional entity step is defined by its ability to help Cherokee language speakers, second language learners and Cherokee Nation citizen users find and retrieve information from our holdings. It generates a DIP in response to a requested AIP in holdings and delivers it to the requesting user. Listed below are the three functions that drive this entity step:

A). Coordinate Access Activities, as a function, provides multiple interactions to access information from our archival holdings through query requests, report requests, and orders from our Cherokee language speakers, second language learners and Cherokee Nation citizen users. This function determines if information is available to perform a request, regulates if a user is authorized to access certain digital materials and notifies the user if a request is available from their request.

B). Generates DIP, as a function, stages the completed DIP response from accepting its DIP request through its notification that the DIP is ready for delivery.

C). Deliver Response, as a function, handles both online and offline deliveries of responses to our Cherokee language speakers, second language learners and Cherokee Nation users through requested DIPs, queries, reports and assistance. This function identifies the intended user, determines the requested transmission

procedure that is needed, places the response in the temporary storage area for transmission and supports the final response transmission delivery.

4.3 FADGI Standards for Preservation and Digitized Content

Digital materials, held by the Cherokee Nation Language Department, include both “born digital” and “born analog” materials found in inconsistent digital formats, as no previous adopted standardization have been previously adopted. These materials were digitized by the department with the intended use of them being accessed by Cherokee language speakers, second language learners and Cherokee Nation citizens for language revitalization efforts. The content of these digital materials includes sound recordings, text files, image files and video recordings.

Long-term preservation, storage and access of these digital materials remains a great concern to the Cherokee Nation Language Department. In addressing these concerns, this digital preservation plan advocates the use of standards developed by the Federal Agencies Digital Guidelines Initiative (FADGI) for consistent file format standards of preservation master copies of digital content. More in-depth standards can be referenced in FADGI’s *September 2016 Technical Guidelines for Digitizing Cultural Heritage Materials Creation of Raster Image Files*.

Digital Content	File Format: Preservation Master (AIP)	File Format: Access Copies (DIP)
Text Files	TIFF, JPEG, PDF/A	PDF
Image Files	TIFF	JPEG
Sound Recording Files	<i>WAV</i>	MP3
Moving Image Files	AVI	MP4

Figure 2: FADGI Standards applied to Cherokee Nation Language Department’s most commonly held digital material content for consistent file format preservation.

4.4 NDSA Levels of Digital Preservation (LoP) V 2.0 Matrix

The National Digital Stewardship Alliance Levels of Digital Preservation V 2.0 Matrix (LoP) is a tiered set of suggested guidelines for preserving digital content at four progressive levels of sophistication (i.e. protect your data, know your data, monitor your data, and repair your data) across five different functional areas (i.e. storage/geographic location, file fixity & data integrity, information security, metadata, and file formats).

Its matrix was developed with the intent to help build and evaluate technological components of a digital preservation plan. The application for adopting LoP into the Cherokee Nation Language Department’s digital preservation plan provides a framework for building digital preservation activities as resources become available and digital preservation becomes more of a focus for our collected digital materials. Its latest inception can be referenced here at <https://OSF.io/2mkwx/>.

With defined, laid-out preservation levels, preserving a larger quantity of digital content will become more effective and efficient over the duration of the implementation of this digital preservation plan.

Functional Area	Level 1: Know your content	Level 2: Protect your content	Level 3: Monitor your content	Level 4: Sustain your content
Storage	Have two complete copies in separate Locations. Document all storage media where content is stored. Put content into stable storage.	Have three complete copies with at least one copy in a separate geographic location. Document storage and storage media indicating the resources and dependencies they require to function.	Have at least one copy in a geographic location with a different disaster threat than the other copies. Have at least one copy on a different storage media type. Track the obsolescence of storage and media.	Have at least three copies in geographic locations, each with a different disaster threat. Maximize storage diversification to avoid single points of failure. Have a plan and execute actions to address obsolescence of storage, hardware, software, and media.
Integrity	Verify integrity information if it has been provided with the content. Generate integrity information if not provided with the content. Virus check all content; isolate content for quarantine as needed.	Verify integrity information when moving or copying content. Use write-blockers when working with original media. Back up integrity information and store copy in a separate location from the content.	Verify integrity information of content at fixed intervals. Document integrity information verification processes and outcomes. Perform audit of integrity information on demand.	Verify integrity information in response to specific events or activities. Replace or repair corrupted content as necessary.
Control	Determine the human and software agents that should be authorized to read, write, move, and delete content.	Document the human and software agents authorized to read, write, move, and delete content and apply these.	Maintain logs and identify the human and software agents that performed actions on content.	Perform periodic review of actions/access logs.
Metadata	Create inventory of content, also documenting current storage locations. Backup inventory and store at least one copy separately from content.	Store enough metadata to know what the content is (this might include some combination of administrative, technical, descriptive, preservation, and structural).	Determine what metadata standards to apply. Find and fill gaps in your metadata to meet those standards.	Record preservation actions associated with content and when those actions occur. Implement metadata standards chosen
Content	Document file formats and other essential content characteristics including how and when these were identified.	Verify file formats and other essential content characteristics. Build relationships with content creators to encourage sustainable file choices.	Monitor for obsolescence, and changes in technologies on which content is dependent.	Perform migrations, normalizations, emulation, and similar activities that ensure content can be accessed.

Figure 3: NDSA LoP matrix levels of digital preservation.

Section 5: Identified Resources needed for Digital Preservation

The following discussed resources (listed below in this section) are needed in order to implement the success of this digital preservation plan. Its implementation and sustainment rests on the support and resources that it will require.

5.1 Dedication and Commitment for Allocation of Staff Time

A clear dedication and commitment for training, reallocating current work assignments to meet the digital preservation mission and designating certain staff in defined roles are necessary for the short and long-term success of this digital preservation plan. In this way, staff time becomes a committed resource.

5.2 Dedicating Financial Resources

Long-term digital preservation needs and action strategies will have to have some funding commitment to support continued digital preservation efforts with regard to its maintenance, infrastructure and technological needs.

5.3 Archival Best Practices in relation to Digital Storage Capacity

It is highly advised that our digital material holdings be stored in a manner that is consistent with archival best practices in relation to its digital storage capacity. The digital storage capacity is defined in this plan as being the technical infrastructure for storing digital material holdings: its hardware, software, network access, data backup, and facilities. Best practices in digital preservation requires that the 3-2-1 back up strategy be followed: three copies of data are stored in two different types of storage media, with one copy being kept offsite.

5.4 Reliance, Collaboration and Cooperation

The archives established under the Cherokee Nation Language Department acknowledges that only through reliance, collaboration and cooperation between the different Cherokee Nation departments and its talents, other national archival repositories and recognized stakeholders can this digital preservation plan be accomplished with the intent of bringing together a corpus body of Cherokee language material for the benefit of our Cherokee speakers, its consolidation and under the watchful eyes, its preservation and perpetuation.

Section 6: Roles and Responsibilities within the Digital Preservation Plan

This digital preservation plan acknowledges that it takes “Cherokee Nation to preserve and perpetuate the Cherokee language.” This cannot be done alone, by any one project or person. Digital preservation is just one facet in preserving and perpetuating our language. Identified stakeholders listed below each play a part in this digital preservation plan’s success as their responsibilities bridge the divide between creator, caretaker, user and administrator.

6.1 Digital Preservation Team

The digital preservation team includes those Cherokee Nation staff, management, contract employees, community representatives and volunteers who directly or indirectly provide involvement, insight and labor in the implementation of this digital preservation plan.

Part of the communal responsibility of the digital preservation team is to provide an informal means to evaluate the direction, work flow, procedural components and archival best practices that guide this digital preservation plan. From this collective insight, a redraft and reevaluation of this digital preservation plan may be needed.

6.2 (Digital) Archivist Role

The role of the (digital) archivist is central to implementing this digital preservation plan. They are responsible for the creation and management of all digital resources. Their workload includes the appraisal, acquisition, description, preservation and access of the entire digital holdings of the Cherokee Nation Language Department to its designation consumer community of Cherokee language speakers, Cherokee language learners, and Cherokee Nation citizens.

6.3 Creators and Producers

Creators and producers are analogous terms used in this digital preservation plan to describe the role they play from a materials' entity of origin up and until the point of its successful transfer to this archival repository. This may or may not include accompanying metadata. Simply put, both creators and producers provide Cherokee language materials that are either digitized or are candidates for digitization.

6.4 Users

Users are those patrons from the Cherokee language speaking community, Cherokee language learners and Cherokee Nation citizens accessing digital material content from our digital material holdings. Their role in this digital preservation plan is that of a consumer who drives the need to provide continued access of digital materials for research and learning purposes. As a consumer, their responsibility to consume rests on the availability of digital material holdings. Trust exists by them that those materials are unaltered and preserved with the source integrity intact and maintained.

6.5 IT and Tech Support

IT and Tech Support's role in this digital preservation plan focuses on the advisement and management of the technical infrastructure created to care for our digital material holdings. It and Tech Support can be represented by designated staff within the Cherokee Nation Language Department, members of the Cherokee Nation IT Department, contract employees or vendors. Their responsibilities will focus on the creation, installation, maintenance and support of all necessary hardware and software as needed for assigned staff to carry out their role(s) in the implementation of this digital preservation plan.

6.6 Administration

Administration is defined as the role and responsibilities those members of the Cherokee Nation Language Department management, support staff, Cherokee Nation elected officials, and also those in appointed positions provide in terms of financial resources, managerial insight, program advocacy and technological support in relation to the establishment, implementation and continuation of this digital preservation plan.

Section 7: Litmus Test for Prioritizing Digital Preservation Projects

It is essential to prioritize digital preservation projects and activities involving digitizing analog Cherokee language materials. The following listed categories are meant to shed light on departmental priorities for digital preservation projects. The true litmus test is the intrinsic and linguistic value the department holds for these materials in relation to their physical and finite availability as resources permit.

7.1 Original Source Materials

Original source materials written in Cherokee and held in archival repositories across the country are irreplaceable for their linguistic content and the appraised value they hold to the Cherokee language speaking community. Any of these materials that have not been digitized and are not accessible to the Cherokee language speaking community and its learners should be classified as the highest priority for digitization purposes.

7.2 Materials with high research interest

Materials with high research interest are defined by the linguistic significance and appraised value placed on them by researchers within the Cherokee language speaking, Cherokee language learning and Cherokee Nation citizen communities that will regularly access certain materials over others because of their content.

7.3 Analog materials with physical and general condition issues

Digital preservation of analog archival materials takes into consideration their physical and general condition at the time of digitization i.e. will it damage the analog material in any way and further hinder its long-term preservation needs during the digitization process.

7.4 Digital Obsolescence

To counter digital obsolescence, data is converted from an obsolete or likely to become obsolete format or structure into a new one. This is done to ensure continued access to the information through active format migration.

7.5 Restricted Materials

Restricted materials are defined as those materials being “culturally-sensitive” in nature. These materials take the highest priority as candidates for digitization because of their sensitive/valued content and general condition issues.

Their accessibility will be treated separate from this digital preservation plan and will be addressed in separate policies and procedures.

7.6 In-house Digitization

All digitization will be done “in-house” by competent, trained staff utilizing developed workflows, equipment and resources. Worksites will include on-site at the Cherokee Nation Language Department and offsite at other institutions and in the Cherokee Nation language communities at private residences.

7.7 Resource Availability

Available resources will be the driver behind prioritizing digital preservation projects. A combination of professional staff driven by passion to execute assigned work flow with the right, essential tools (hardware, software, etc.) needed to digitize various material formats, and the financial means to support these efforts will ultimately lead to a cost-justified, product: digitized Cherokee language materials available to Cherokee language speakers, Cherokee language learners and Cherokee Nation citizens.

Section 8: Framework Development for a Digital Preservation Action Plan

8.1 Justification and Considerations

A stand-alone Digital Preservation Action Plan will be developed separate from this digital preservation plan to address further detailed steps to preserve digital resources, describe actual work flow by involved project participants and identify specific technology used in the work process.

The justification for a separation between this Digital Preservation Plan and a Digital Preservation Action Plan stems from the need to separate project activity guidance from measurable, detailed actions taken in the workflow process of the project.

Considerations will also be taken to document results-driven goals within the framework of the Digital Preservation Action Plan. This will be done through an analysis that includes a discussion about the costs, benefits, impact, risk, and opportunities associated with the overall constraints and requirements of the proposed action plan.

8.2 Rolls and Responsibilities

Maintaining digital preservation resources by content creators, assigned staff, and project collaborators will be documented with regard to individual rolls and responsibilities in this section.

8.3 Work Breakdown Structure

The Work Breakdown Structure section further outlines the major tasks associated with this digital preservation action plan’s completion:

- A). Separate work breakdown structures for each of the Open Archival Information System (OAIS) Reference Model individual major components-preservation planning, ingest, archival storage, data management, access, and administration.

- B). Individual task responsibility assignments and their projected deadlines.
- C). Individual task completions, their associated milestones in relation to the overall digital preservation action plan, and completion dates.

8.4 Resources being Ingested, Managed, and Accessed

Any discussion about resources being ingested, managed and accessed in this section will look at the following:

- A). Required technical characteristics of digital resources- metadata inclusion.
- B). Procedures and work flow for providing metadata.
- C). Preservation criteria- outlining and defining what should be preserved from what shouldn't be and why.
- D). Long-term resource accessibility by utilized technology-to include its refreshing, migration, replication, emulation and encapsulation.

8.5 Costs and Funding Sources

This section documents the overall cost breakdown for implementing the digital preservation action plan. A separate budget should also document the ongoing costs associated with maintaining digital resources to include its funding sources.

8.6 Future needs and revisions to the Digital Preservation Action Plan

The action plan revision section discusses any changes that may occur to utilized technology, budgetary issues related to long-term preservation costs or other events that warrant a revision to the adopted digital preservation action plan.

Section 9: Integrating Strategies for Success into a Digital Preservation Action Plan

9.1 Metadata creation

The creation of metadata provides accessibility for digital materials by users. The import and capture of metadata in newly created digital materials will be done and embedded in those materials, just prior to being imported into a Collections Management System and will be done in both English and Cherokee (using the syllabary).

9.1.1 Metadata Standards (Dublin Core)

Standards for metadata will follow and utilize the established Dublin Core Metadata Element Set (DCMES) which has proven itself capable of generating metadata in both the English and Cherokee syllabary unicodes for the Cherokee Nation Language Department in initial testing.

Dublin Core, as a metadata standard, has been utilized since the mid-1990s and is recognized internationally as a cross-disciplinary standard for archivists, librarians, museums, text encoders, and computer science professionals in generating metadata.

9.1.2 Metadata Element Set

Dublin Core is made up of fifteen metadata elements used to capture the descriptive, administrative, technical, structural, preservation and rights data associated with an individual digital object and is comparable to how an individual book would have a library catalog card assigned to it. They are as follows:

- A). Title
- B). Creator
- C). Subject
- D). Description
- E). Publisher
- F). Contributor
- G). Date
- H). Type
- I). Format
- J). Identifier
- K). Source
- L). Language
- M). Relation
- N). Coverage
- O). Rights

9.2 Storage

Storage strategies for digital preservation will consider the following four principles when choosing a digital storage system for long-term preservation purposes:

- A). Redundancy and diversity.
- B). Fixity, monitoring and repair measures.
- C). Technology/vendor watch, risk assessments, and proactive migrations.
- D). Consolidation, simplicity, documentation, provenance, and audit trails.

9.3 Refreshing

Refreshing will be addressed in this section to mean no change occurring whatsoever in the bitstream when digital information is copied from one long-term storage

medium to another of the same type. Refreshing is a necessary component to address decay and obsolescence issues related to storage of digital materials.

9.4 Monitoring

Ongoing and continual monitoring of the digital preservation environment is a necessary strategy that focuses on its following components for success:

- A). The technical environment refers to those developments in digital preservation that are driven by changing field innovations, techniques in work flow or other production improvements.
- B). The legal environment should be closely monitored at the tribal, state, federal, international and institutional level with regard to regulation and statute changes.
- C). The business environment requires monitoring as changes can occur to service-providing vendors through mergers, acquisitions and bankruptcy.
- D). The political environment refers to those organizational mandates that drive digital preservation efforts and how changes to this may affect digital preservation efforts.
- E). The partnership environment is driven by shared interests, key staff, and funding changes to those organizations. As those changes occur, partnerships and collaboration should also be reevaluated by the department to see if they continue to be in the best interest to our digital preservation program.

9.5 Security

Security is a systemic responsibility for the protection of all digital assets and stresses detection, avoidance, and repair loss. As an action plan strategy, its implementation follows these components:

- A). Copying
- B). Authentication
- C). Firewalls
- D). Backups
- E). Disaster preparedness
- F). Disaster Response
- G). Disaster Recovery
- H). Training and Awareness

9.6 Redundancy

Redundancy refers to the same data being stored in separate, but multiple places for the sake of back-up. Redundancy can be achieved by the following:

- A). Utilize multiple types of storage technology. This helps to mitigate the risk of losing digital materials and achieves safety for stored data, provides a manageable cost to the department and is easily accessible.
- B). Make multiple copies of individual digital materials and store these in different geographic (but accessible) areas.
- C). Combine the use of offline media and online storage systems.

9.7 Migration

Migration should be the strategic implementation of a well-planned process with a clearly defined workflow and embracing best practices and standards when data is converted from one hardware/software conversion to another. Special attention should be paid to preserving the essential characteristics of the embedded data with minimal to no loss during its migration.

9.8 Emulation

Emulation, whenever possible, is highly encouraged to access digital materials which require an obsolete technological environment to run in due to digital obsolescence. This policy suggests replicating the original digital or hardware environment where the original code can be read and then translating that into a current, executable format.

9.9 Access

It should be understood that long-term access strategies drive digital preservation activities. Support through available technology and resources, while themselves drivers behind carrying out strategy, cannot guarantee perpetual access to digital materials. Our digital materials, themselves are fallible, and are in need of our constant vigilance, care and attention to perpetuate them through their unforeseen lifecycle.

Accessibility to digital materials will be considered unrestrictive to our Cherokee language speakers, second language learners and Cherokee Nation citizens. Digital materials will only be restrictive in nature in those instances when materials are deemed cultural sensitivity or administrative by their content.

9.10 Integration with other activities

Digital preservation should be integrated with other archival activities and daily work assignments for designated personnel at the Cherokee Nation Language Department. Embedded digital preservation strategies identify gaps, otherwise overlooked by traditional archival methodologies, and protects our archival holdings which are largely made up of “born digital” and other digitized materials. The identification of these gaps using an

integrated approach, conceivably provides better stewardship to our holdings and better design for future project management.

9.11 Collaboration with other institutions

Collaboration with other institutions (whether other tribal, state, federal or private) provides for a force multiplier in limited resources, pools together identified Cherokee linguistic materials for the department, and builds lasting partnerships that benefit a standing digital preservation program. Collaboration is highly encouraged and starts with interpersonal communication between counterparts of each party.

9.12 Use of planning tools

The use of planning tools is highly encouraged in digital preservation activities involving the Cherokee Nation Language Department. Planning tools are not limited to quantifying digital preservation goals, identifying milestones, assigning workflows, or structuring work processes to govern the overall success of the digital preservation program. Planning tools should remain fluid in nature to allow for liberal leeway with evolving changes that are anticipated to occur.

Section 10: Identified Long-term Digital Preservation Projects

The Cherokee Nation Language Department has a vested interest in the long-term digital preservation of its Cherokee language materials. This vested interest is grounded in the endangerment of our Cherokee language and the corpus body of literature and linguistic diversity that can be provided by these materials, in an effort to disseminate them within our community. These materials act, in part, to empower, to inspire, to disseminate and to convey knowledge to its intended discourse language community.

There are several long-term potential digitization projects that can be undertaken. The following listed below are categories of digital preservation projects in need of being amassed for community consumption and preservation needs.

10.1 In-house Cherokee Nation Language Materials

In-house Cherokee language materials are those Cherokee language materials that belong to the Cherokee Nation Language Department, Cherokee Nation or Cherokee Nation Businesses. They may exist as analog materials, “born analog” materials and/or “born digital materials”.

- A). Create survey and inventory of identified Cherokee language materials to determine their current department locations, appraised value, current general condition and prioritization for digitization.
- B). Digitization of Cherokee language materials housed in the Cherokee National Archives (formerly Cherokee Heritage Center), Cherokee Nation Records Management vault and any other identified repository within Cherokee Nation.

C). Digitization of all Cherokee Nation created materials to include pamphlets, posters, artwork and booklets that are written in Cherokee.

D). Digitization of all Cherokee Nation created language audio cassettes, VHS tapes, CD-ROMs and DVDs is necessary for their long-term preservation needs. These formats (especially analog tape) are highly susceptible to deterioration overtime and will eventually become inoperable. Several departments within Cherokee Nation have created hundreds of these materials containing public events, interviews, and service messages in Cherokee that go as far back as the 1970s. Digital preservation of its content in an archival-quality format will provide access to patrons utilizing our planned Digital Asset Management System (DAMS).

10.2 Other Institutional Cherokee Language Materials

A). Create a survey and inventory of identified Cherokee language materials to determine their current repository location at the local/state/international level, weigh their appraised value, identify their current general condition and rank their prioritization for digitization.

B). Digitization of all Cherokee language materials associated with the pre-allotment era Cherokee Nation governmental records located and housed at the Oklahoma Historical Society.

C). Digitization of all original Cherokee language materials located at other local/state/international level repositories that are otherwise unavailable in our own material holdings or to the Cherokee speaking community.

10.3 Private Materials

A). Digitization of original Cherokee language materials from private collections of Cherokee Nation citizens. This includes correspondence, journals, diaries, prayer books, sacred formula ledgers that are anticipated to be in a fragile condition.

B). Digitization of Cherokee language publications. There may be a yet unknown number and type of Cherokee published materials in the private collections of Cherokee Nation citizens.

C). Digitize original photographs of the Cherokee language speakers themselves, their families, locations they frequented and that they can recall, and related photographs they might have going back to the Dawes Roll period of Cherokee Nation.

D). Digitize audio, film and video collections of Cherokee language materials in various formats.

10.4 Online Cherokee Language Dictionary Project

The Online Cherokee Language Dictionary Project is a minimum three year committal by the department to develop a digital platform and online dictionary where second-language learners can hear and gain access to written Cherokee in everyday use through the use of digital materials online.

A). Application of the three-prong archival digital preservation plan approach referenced in **Section 4.1**: The OAIS Reference Model will provide a system model for archival activities focused on digital preservation and digital material availability for our online Cherokee language dictionary project. FADGI will provide digital preservation standards for the file formats and content that exist within this system model. LoP will provide a framework for these standards as digital preservation activities increase and resources become available for this project.

B). Translation of linguistic digital materials.

C). Development of online, navigable interface that combines Cherokee syllabary, English translations and word-by-word breakdown of supported context of historical, Cherokee language digital materials.

10.5 Cherokee Speakers Audio Project

The Cherokee Speakers Audio Project is a minimum three year commitment by the department to record all living Cherokee speakers with the intended goals of capturing linguistic and dialectical diversity of our language, document relevant endangered ethnolinguistic data for posterity and provide a diverse pool of digital materials that Cherokee language learners can draw on to further their studies of the language.

A). Record all participating Cherokee language speakers over the duration of the project with the intended goal of capturing a minimum of one hour of audio from each speaker in accordance to departmental direction, best practices and cultural appropriateness.

B). Transcribe interviews into Cherokee syllabary, Cherokee phonetics and translated English.

C). Process, identify and evaluate all relevant ethnolinguistic data.

D). Apply the three-prong archival digital preservation plan approach referenced in **Section 4.1**: The OAIS Reference Model will provide a system model for archival activities focused on digital preservation and digital material availability for our audio project. FADGI will provide digital preservation standards for the file formats and content that exist within this system model. LoP will provide a framework for these standards as digital preservation activities increase and resources become available for this project.

Section 11: Ongoing Training and Staff Development for Digital Preservation

Ongoing training and staff development in areas related to digital preservation, archival best practices, and community outreach strategies are highly encouraged to inform project-involved tribal employees, contract workers, management and volunteers the latest strategies and empowerment for digital preservation project success in an ever-changing field.

Section 12: Evaluating and Review of Digital Preservation Plan

The digital preservation plan will be reviewed as needed by assigned staff and management of the Cherokee Nation Language Department. Justification for review will be determined by

changes in standards, technology and best practices that directly impact the needs of our digital material holdings or preservation plan.

Appendix 3

Role of Cherokee Speaker Village

On April 11, 1909, sixty-six (66) families gathered together in present-day Tel Aviv to divide the parcels of land using seashells in order to stake their claim. This later became a central hub for economic, social, and political development for the state of Israel. However, at that time, it was just a dream that they could seed a community by using only Hebrew. At the time, Hebrew had arguably been dead for 1,700 years, with no native speakers and a paucity of limited users with very limited domains (Pasher et. al, 2017, pp 81–88). They had the Tanakh (Bible), which only had about 8,000 words, and they had a dictionary of 25,000 words which roughly represented about 10% of the words in the English dictionary at the time (Spolsky, 1995, pg.).

The original purchase of Tel Aviv was twelve (12) acres in the middle of an expanse of sand dunes. They refused to put up any street signs in any other language than in Hebrew, and later founded the first Hebrew High School, using only the medium of Hebrew for the delivery of education. There are now nine (9) million fluent speakers of Hebrew. Initially, they had heated conflicts over the language they would select as their foundation for communication, but with their choice of Hebrew they were triumphant in engineering educational institutions including primary, secondary and post secondary (higher education) schools. Where the language was originally most of the time going to be the Yiddish language, syncretic with contemporary German. (Wright, 1996, pg. 12-15) There were many critics, and most did not see an avenue for success. The community was built around the concept of working and growing agricultural Jewish foods while using the medium of the Hebrew language. (Spolsky, 1995)

When Durbin Feeling was presented with the early concepts of now the many successful language programs and projects in the Department of Cherokee Language, like the Cherokee Language Master Apprentice Program, he pulled out notes that he had written decades earlier and asked, “Is this what you guys are wanting to build?” After receiving confirmation that the plan was in alignment with his earlier dreams that, he had more than 30 years ago he turned around in his office chair, grabbed a notebook off his book shelf, flipped a few pages, and pulled out another concept to propose. He said, “the next thing that must be built is a language village.

There is no way to save our language without building a village”. The listeners took that to heart, and a few years later, the Bonnie Pigeon–Leaf language village was born. Durbin heard news that it was going to be built on his deathbed. He then said, “Good, now all you have to do is speak Cherokee every day.” Since that time, twelve (12) new speaker homes have been built, and another four (4) are currently being constructed. This is a community, where Cherokee will live, and much like Tel Aviv, it is being built around the Cherokee language, cultural practices, values and subsistence. Like those that revived the Hebrew language Cherokee language will be built on Cherokee work in agriculture, and revitalizing Cherokee foods. It would be hubris to say that it will automatically have the success the Hebrews language had with the foundation built in Tel Aviv and the communities that they built later, but it was definitely one of Durbin’s prayers.

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Appendix 4

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Keywords: Cherokee language, language revitalization, immersion, language assessment, form-focused instruction

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Introduction: the context of Cherokee language revitalization

The Cherokee language is 'Severely Endangered,' a category assigned by UNESCO (2003) to languages spoken only by the grandparental generation and upward and by a minority of the population. Cherokee is spoken by fewer than 11% of individuals registered with Cherokee Nation (CN), is not spoken fluently by many tribal members under the age of 40, and is no longer being learned by children as a home language (Cherokee Nation, 2003).¹ Although the parental generation may understand Cherokee, most either do not speak the language or consider themselves 'semi-speakers,' evidence that intergenerational transmission has not commonly occurred for the past two generations. This places Cherokee at severe risk of becoming moribund within three decades as the older generation passes away and fewer fluent speakers remain.

Since 2000, CN has taken unprecedented measures to revitalize its language, demonstrating the community's growing commitment to reversing Cherokee language shift through systematic language planning. Significant among these measures has been an early childhood immersion program that was launched in 2001 with one preschool class, which has since grown to include two levels of preschool, a kindergarten, a first grade class, and a second grade class with plans to add a third grade class in fall of 2008. This is a major undertaking for CN in terms of human and monetary resources. In fact, the fiscal year budget recently passed unanimously by the tribal council includes a record amount of spending for language development initiatives and language immersion classes (Cherokee Nation 2006).

Since CN began implementing its early childhood language immersion program, curriculum development and teaching practice have continued to develop, and children are demonstrating the ability to follow their teachers' instructions, to learn academic content through the language, and to converse among themselves in Cherokee (Peter 2007; Peter and Hirata-Edds 2006). To document the process of language development and the degree of proficiency attained by children in these programs, the Immersion Team – a group composed of classroom teachers, the immersion school director, Cherokee Cultural Resource Center staff, and several advisors from the University of Kansas – has been developing language assessments uniquely suited to the immersion classroom context. The purpose of this paper is to provide an initial description of the developing language abilities of children in the kindergarten immersion classroom through one of these language assessments known as Cherokee Kindergarten Immersion Language Assessment (C-KILA) and through observations of children's language interactions in the classroom. Specifically, we examine the children's language skills with respect to morphological features of Cherokee verbs through the process of 'obligatory occasion analysis' (Ellis and Barkhuizen 2005), and implications of the children's morphological development for the programmatic aspects of curriculum and instruction, as well as some linguistic consequences suggested by these implications.

The responses obtained through the C-KILA are the first documentation of kindergarten-aged children learning to speak Cherokee as a second language. Studies such as those of children acquiring Mohawk (Feuer 1980; Mithun 1989) and Inuktitut (Allen and Crago 1996; Crago and Allen 2001; Skarabela and Allen 2002; Swift and Allen 2002) document morphological development of children at various stages in their learning of a first language. However, very little research has been published on the acquisition of Native American or First Nations languages by *second* language learners, despite the fact that these languages are for the most part being learned as second languages. There is therefore a great need for studies that examine the second language learning of morphologically complex languages like Cherokee. Furthermore, this analysis is crucial for CN language planners in evaluating the effectiveness of their approach, and in finding ways to enhance the immersion program as it expands into early elementary grades.

In this paper, we summarize the basic principles and practice of language immersion and its prominence in heritage language revitalization efforts, with specific reference to CN attempts to promote Cherokee language learning among young children. Our goal is to begin to elucidate the process of Cherokee language acquisition through immersion, focusing on the following research questions:

1. What features of Cherokee present tense verb morphology have immersion students acquired by the end of kindergarten? What features have not been fully acquired?
2. What patterns typify their errors with respect to third person singular and plural present continuous verbs?
3. What implications do the results of the analysis have for immersion teachers?

Toward these ends, we describe the results of the C-KILA and the Cherokee language data elicited from 13 kindergarten program completers, specifically their production of third person singular and plural present continuous verbs, the most common verb forms required on the assessment. In the end, we explore the potential implications of the findings with reference to the pedagogical and linguistic knowledge that teachers have begun to acquire.

Language immersion and Cherokee language assessment

Principles and practice of immersion

Language immersion is characterized by an attempt to teach language, content, and culture without the use of a learner's first language (Reyhner 2003). There is nothing new about using a language for communication and instruction at school that differs from the language spoken at home. In fact,

ironically, an assimilative version of immersion was a feature of Indian boarding schools enforced by the US government for decades, starting in the 1800s, as a way to ensure the acquisition not only of the English language but also of English norms and values (Reyhner 2000). The first use of immersion as an educational experiment for producing bilinguals is credited to the Saint Lambert school in Montreal, Quebec, which opened its doors in the mid-1960s to monolingual English speakers in an attempt to create bilingual speakers of English and French (Artigal 1991; Swain 1996). Assumptions underlying French immersion include the notions that the younger the learner, the better the potential for second language learning, that acquiring a second language unconsciously is more effective than learning it systematically, that it is possible to recreate a natural language learning environment in the classroom, that linguistic accuracy will emerge through an approach that emphasizes communication, and that immersion is the best way to develop bilinguals within the constraints of a classroom setting (Hammerly 1989).

Since the advent of bilingual education in the 1970s there has been an increase worldwide in the use of immersion preschools as a means to teach children to communicate in languages that have been identified as being endangered (Hinton 2001). According to Hinton (p. 181),

[t]here is no doubt that [full immersion] is the best way to jump-start the production of a new generation of fluent speakers for an endangered language. There is no other system of language revitalization that has such complete access to so many members of the younger generation (who are the best language learners) for so many hours per day.

Early childhood immersion has been implemented by a growing number of Native American communities, including the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, the Navajo in Arizona, the Wind River Arapaho in Wyoming, and the Mohawk in New York and Ontario, Canada (McCarty and Watahomigie 1999). McCarty and Watahomigie (p. 8) note that these programs, though unique in their approaches and immersion contexts, share these characteristics:

- recognition that interventions must begin early in children's lives;
- establishing secure boundaries around communication in the heritage language, protecting it from intrusions in English;
- a focus on spoken language;
- the blending of authentic oral communication with challenging academic content;
- validation and incorporation of the local culture; and
- a strong commitment to the involvement of teachers, children, parents, and elders in the language learning enterprise.

Along with these shared characteristics, many immersion programs draw heavily on Stephen Krashen's (1985) 'Monitor Theory' of second language

acquisition. Krashen's theory, popular among language educators in a wide range of contexts, provides explanations for observable phenomena associated with the acquisition of a second language. Of his five hypotheses of second language acquisition, Krashen is evoked in immersion literature for his notion of 'comprehensible input' (which he defines as the input from model speakers that contains structures at the learner's current 'stage' of language competence as well as structures slightly beyond the learner's current level) and the distinction between learning (intentional and often formal language instruction) and acquisition (the natural process that occurs as children grow up in a particular language environment).

Cherokee early childhood immersion evolved from assumptions similar to those noted by Hammerly (1989), and shares the characteristics outlined by McCarty and Watahomigie (1999). Teachers in the four CN immersion classrooms use Cherokee almost exclusively for the development of both social and academic language, and consideration is given to Cherokee traditions and lifeways in the materials used and the behaviors that are modeled. Furthermore, teachers have been exposed to the concept of comprehensible input and have participated in workshops on engaging learners in communicative language activities (Peter and Hirata-Edds 2006). As advisors to the immersion program, we have provided ongoing professional development designed to increase teachers' understanding of second language acquisition and the principles and practice of language immersion. And as their knowledge and skills have increased, so too has their concern about children's learning outcomes and the degree to which they are meeting expectations in terms of their proficiency in Cherokee.

Information gleaned from Cherokee language assessments administered over several years and classroom observations (Peter 2007; Peter and Hirata-Edds 2006) corroborates research findings that teachers' reliance on the principle of comprehensible input alone has a limiting effect on the *accuracy* of second language learners' output, and that more than comprehensible input is needed to produce fluency (Francis 1999; Lightbown and Spada 1990; Swain 1985). As Francis (1999: 330) points out with regard to evidence from studies on Canadian French immersion programs, even after as many as 8,000 hours of second language learning in school, students' grammatical competence 'is almost always demonstratively non-native, often diverging considerably from target levels.' One result of these findings has been renewed interest in a 'form-focused' or 'language-focused' approach to second language teaching characterized by attention to specific language features – either deliberate or incidental – within an essentially communicative framework. In his review of 11 studies examining the effect of form-focused instruction on learners' second language production, Ellis concludes that a focus on form 'results in acquisition at least sometimes, and that when it does the effects are durable' (2002: 233).

We have observed that, as in the case of French immersion learners' language, the output of children at the end of their kindergarten year in

Cherokee immersion reflects limitations in their ability to correctly use certain Cherokee linguistic forms, specifically present-tense verbs with third person singular and plural subjects, even after as many as three years in an immersion classroom. These limitations, we suggest, are due to insufficient exposure and practice; a greater focus on linguistic forms in both the planning and implementation of language instruction, which we address in our discussion, could maximize the benefits of immersion as a means to reverse Cherokee language shift.

Cherokee Kindergarten Immersion Language Assessment (C-KILA)

Development of the Cherokee Kindergarten Immersion Language Assessment (C-KILA) began in 2006 while the kindergarten immersion classroom was in its first year. Planning for the assessment involved examining the C-KILA's predecessor, the Cherokee Preschool Language Immersion Assessment, or C-PILA, an instrument developed in 2002 during the early years of the immersion project's implementation (Peter 2007; Peter and Hirata-Edds 2006). Since the majority of children in the kindergarten program matriculated from preschool immersion, it made sense to start where the C-PILA left off, expanding on the linguistic tasks and building on children's growing exposure to and knowledge of vocabulary, syntax, and morphology. The design of the various assessment components was guided by the question: 'What should children be able to do in the language by the end of kindergarten and after two or three years in immersion?' After several brainstorming sessions, the Immersion Team generated a list of specific vocabulary, language functions, and linguistic forms and then developed a variety of test item types intended to provide as much opportunity as possible, within the constraints of a formal assessment, for children to demonstrate their range of language skills. Critical to the design of each test item was establishing validity. This was accomplished by mindfulness to questions raised by Francis and Reyhner (2002: 164): 'what aspect of language proficiency will the method that was selected hopefully reveal?' and 'to what degree will the results reflect this aspect of language proficiency?' Throughout the test development process, trial assessments with children were conducted with the aim of selecting the most appropriate methods for assessing particular aspects of language.

The version of the assessment administered consisted of ten sections designed to gauge children's abilities in Cherokee to comprehend and produce vocabulary, various morphological markings, and paragraph-length oral text. Pilot testing of this version took place on 11 and 12 September 2006 with 13 children. All 13 had been in the immersion kindergarten for the 05–06 school year, and were enrolled in the newly opened first grade immersion class. Of the 13, eight were also in the immersion preschool for the 04–05 school, and five of the eight began their immersion experience in the 03–04 school year, the second year that CN offered immersion preschool. Five of

the children tested, then, had participated in early childhood Cherokee immersion for three years. Testing sessions lasted 15–30 minutes per child, depending on his or her language abilities. The assessment was administered by the immersion director with classroom teachers observing, and was recorded in writing by the director and digitally by one of the researchers using a Sanyo ICR-S700 digital recorder.

Cherokee verb morphology and kindergarten verb production

A focus on Cherokee verbs

Several considerations factored into our decision to focus on children's production of verbs for the purposes of analysis. First, the Cherokee verb figures prominently in the language's morphology, and therefore constitutes an important aspect of overall language proficiency as well as a reflection of a Cherokee world-view. As Durbin Feeling, a Cherokee and a linguist, explains (1994: vi):

The complex structure of the verb is the heart of the Cherokee sentence. At first, the beginner may be overwhelmed by the different way Cherokees view the world and how they express this through the verb structure. . . . This great attention to the detail of the physical world indicates a different set of values, a different way of seeing and interpreting the world, the people, and things in the world.

Second, the ability to describe actions and events as they are unfolding is crucial for retelling stories, a major academic and social language function that kindergartners use on a regular basis. Additionally, since none of the children were able to produce past and future verb forms accurately on those sections of the assessment, the present-tense sections provided a richer range of data for analysis.

This description of children's utterances on the C-KILA focuses on the three verb production sections of the assessment in which children demonstrated their knowledge of Cherokee present-tense verb morphology. In each of these sections, children are shown pictures of animals and people performing different actions and are asked, *do advne?* 'What is he/she/it doing?' or *do anadvne?* 'What are they doing?'² The pictures depict basic verb vocabulary that Cherokee educators and curriculum planners expect children to know by the end of kindergarten, such as sleeping, eating, singing, crawling, reading, and painting, and the test type mirrors the kind of activity teachers use in the classroom. The purpose of these sections is to assess children's ability to use third person singular and plural present continuous verbs. In all, 24 present continuous verbs were analyzed; 16 of these were

third person singular and 8 were third person plural. Before addressing the specific strengths and limitations of the children's production with regard to these 24 verbs, it is necessary to describe briefly the morphology of Cherokee verbs relevant to the test items on the C-KILA.

A brief description of Cherokee verb morphology

Cherokee is a Southern Iroquoian language related to Northern Iroquoian languages such as Seneca, Oneida, and Mohawk. Like many other Native American languages, Cherokee can be characterized by a complex morphological marking system used to convey information. A minimum of two parts are required of Cherokee verbs.

The main part of the verb, or the **verb stem**, comprises several units of analysis: the root (the lexical meaning of the verb) along with information that indicates the time-frame (tense) and the completedness of the event (aspect). The verb root and tense and aspect markers in Cherokee verbs are not discrete units; rather, they are built into the stem and cannot be separated from it. However, adult native speakers can easily identify the core meaning of a verb even if they cannot isolate it from the rest of the verb stem. What we looked for in C-KILA data with regard to the verb stem is whether children had some idea of a semantic label for the picture, and could use appropriate tense and aspect morphology to convey a present continuous action.

Attached to the front of the stem, verbs in Cherokee require a **pronominal prefix** that specifies who is performing the action. In general, Cherokee pronominal prefixes adhere to the following rules for present continuous verbs:

1. Verb stems take their prefixes from one of two sets, Set A or Set B. This selection is not entirely predictable, but there is a strong tendency for active verbs to take Set A prefixes and stative verbs to take Set B prefixes. Twenty-three of the 24 verbs on the C-KILA that teachers expected children to know fall into Set A. (The one Set B verb, *uwotla* 'he is sitting,' was actually substituted by children with a form of the active Set A verb *alstohlusga* 'he is taking a seat,' a pattern that will be analyzed in the following section.) With respect to the third person pronouns analyzed, the basic Set A pronominal prefix is *a-* or *ga-* in the singular and *ani-* in the plural. The basic Set B pronominal prefix is *u-* for singular verbs and *uni-* for plural verbs. (There were no plural Set B verbs on the C-KILA.) In most cases, regardless of whether the verb selects its prefix from Set A or Set B, the final vowel of the prefix deletes when attached to a vowel initial stem.
2. Some verbs are lexically specified as taking a prefix *before* the pronominal prefix. For example, the distributive pre-pronominal prefix *de-* is used to connote actions performed multiple times or spread over multiple subjects or direct objects. Although for some verbs the distributive prefix is optional depending on the connotation,³ several verbs on the C-KILA have distributive

properties that require the pre-pronominal prefix: jumping (singular), singing (singular and plural), painting (plural), and crawling (plural). According to one native Cherokee speaker, omission of the obligatory distributive pre-pronominal prefix in these instances results in unlikely or humorous images. For example, the verb translated as 'The babies are crawling' without the distributive prefix conjures an image of several babies moving as if sharing the same body. As with pronominal prefixes, the final vowel of the pre-pronominal deletes when attached to another vowel.

The following examples are illustrative of the information conveyed in Cherokee third person, present continuous verbs.⁴

Example 1

Syllabary	ᑭᑭᑭ
Phonetic transcription	gatliha
Morphemes	ga-tliha
Morpheme description	3A.SG-sleep:PRC
English translation	'S/he is sleeping'

In this example of a third person singular, present continuous verb, the verb stem *-tliha* expresses the root meaning 'sleep' and indicates that the action is in progress in the present time, indicated in the morpheme description line by 'PRC.' The prefix *ga-* indicates third person singular 'he,' 'she,' or 'it.' The 'A' in the morpheme description line indicates that this verb falls into Set A. The abbreviation 3A.SG, therefore, can be read as 'third person Set A singular.'

Example 2

Syllabary	ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ
Adult target	anaditasga
Morphemes	ani-aditasga
Morpheme description	3A.PL-drink:PRC
English translation	'They are drinking'

In this example of a third person plural, present continuous verb, the verb stem *-aditasga* expresses the root meaning 'drink' and indicates that the action is in progress in the present time. The prefix *ani-* indicates third person plural 'they'; the *i* deletes because the stem is vowel-initial. The abbreviation 3A.PL can be read as 'third person Set A plural.'

Example 3

Syllabary	ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ
Phonetic transcription	dekanogi'a
Morphemes	de-ga-hnogi'a

Morpheme description	DST-3A.SG-sing:PRC
English translation	'She is singing'

Example 3 illustrates all the morphological requirements above, as well as one additional phonological change:

1. *-hnogi'a* is the present continuous stem of the verb which means 'sing.'
2. It is a verb that requires the Set A pronominal prefix *ga-*.
3. Because the initial /h/ of the stem is adjacent to the consonant of the prefix, the *ga-* prefix is aspirated and is pronounced *ka*.
4. Because singing in Cherokee is considered a distributive action, this verb requires the pre-pronominal distributive (DST) prefix *de-*.

On the basis of our discussions with the adult native Cherokee speakers who reviewed the C-KILA data, if any obligatory component noted above is not present, the verb would not be considered 'correct.' A linguistic description of each of the 24 verbs on the C-KILA is provided in the Appendix.

Kindergartners' production of Cherokee verbs on the C-KILA

Investigation of the linguistic data produced through the administration of the C-KILA was conducted according to an 'obligatory occasion analysis,' and followed Ellis and Barkhuizen's procedure for calculating the accuracy of individual morphemes (2005: 80).⁵ The first step in this procedure is to determine the verb unit that will be investigated. To better understand kindergartners' present continuous verb morphology, we examined the following:

1. the appropriateness of the verb root in relation to the picture shown in the assessment;
2. the accuracy of the verb stem vis-à-vis present tense and continuous aspect;
3. the accuracy of the third person singular and plural pronominal prefixes and distributive pre-pronominal prefix on the occasions when these were obligatory.

Children's responses to the applicable verb sections of the C-KILA were transcribed and reviewed for correctness by five fluent speakers of Cherokee as a first language. Further clarification and verification was provided by seven other speakers. The responses were entered into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet and coded with respect to the number of occasions in which the use of each unit of the verb was obligatory, the number of times an individual child supplied the correct unit, and the percentage of accuracy for each child for each unit as well as for each verb they uttered entirely

correctly. If a child answered 'I don't know' or did not provide a response, that verb was considered a non-response but was included in the overall calculations. These calculations were made using the following formula (Ellis and Barkhuizen 2005):

$$\frac{n \text{ correct suppliance in contexts}}{\text{total obligatory contexts}} \times 100 = \% \text{ accuracy}$$

Results of the obligatory occasion analysis (Table 1 below) indicate that children overall produced more correct roots (51%) than correct pronominal prefixes (16%) or correct aspect and tense (14%) (Column A). That is, in 51% of the responses, children labeled the pictures with an expected (or acceptable) lexical item but did not conjugate that root using the correct pronominal prefix or aspect and tense markers. For example, when shown a picture of a girl crying, 11 of the 13 children produced a Cherokee utterance that indicated an event of 'crying,' even though only 8 of the 13 produced an utterance that included (1) the appropriate root as well as (2) the Set A pronominal prefix *-a* and (3) the accurate present continuous form for 'cry,' *-adloh-yi-ha*.

With regard to singular and plural forms of the verbs, of the 624 total obligatory occasions for third person singular present continuous forms of the verbs (Column B), there were 184 accurate verb units (29%), but only 34 (16%) instances in which all three units of analysis – root, aspect/tense, and pronominal prefix – were correct. Of the 312 obligatory occasions for third person plural present continuous verbs (Column C), there were 70 correct verb units (22%) but only 6 entirely accurate plural verbs (6%).

The results of the analysis can be summarized as follows:

1. Children had greater mastery of singular pronominal prefixes (19%) and verb stems (17%) than plural prefixes (10%) and stems (7%).
2. Children had greater mastery of singular verbs overall (16%) than of plural forms (6%).
3. For singular verbs, plural verbs, and verbs overall, children had greatest mastery of verb roots, followed by pronominal prefixes. In all instances, the aspect and tense markers showed the least accuracy.

Categories of errors

The data produced by the C-KILA was further analyzed to consider, as much as possible, the ways in which children's speech diverged from the adult target forms. Given the fact that, in most cases, incorrect utterances often comprised a combination of errors, many of which were neither well understood nor easily categorized by the native speaking consultants, this typology is offered as an initial attempt to better understand and classify

Table 1. Obligatory occasion analysis results

A All verbs (N = 24 × 13 = 312) Obligatory verb units (N = 312 × 3 = 936)		B Singular verbs (N = 16 × 13 = 208) Obligatory verb units (N = 208 × 3 = 624)		C Plural verbs (N = 8 × 13 = 104) Obligatory verb units (N = 104 × 3 = 312)	
Correct prefixes	50 (16.03%)	Correct singular prefixes	40 (19.23%)	Correct plural prefixes	10 (9.62%)
Correct roots	160 (51.28%)	Correct singular roots	107 (51.44%)	Correct plural roots	53 (50.96%)
Correct aspect/tense	43 (13.78%)	Correct singular aspect/tense	37 (17.79%)	Correct plural aspect/tense	7 (6.73%)
Correct verb units	253 (27.03%)	Correct singular verb units	184 (29.49%)	Correct plural verb units	70 (22.44%)
Totally correct verbs	40 (12.82%)	Totally correct singular verbs	34 (16.35%)	Totally correct plural verbs	6 (5.77%)

error patterns in the immersion kindergartners' interlanguage but is by no means a complete analysis. The most common types of errors children made in their attempts to use third person present continuous verb forms are characterized below.

1. *Unacceptable lexical meanings provided for the verb root*

Adult native speakers considered a verb root to be acceptable if it conveyed a meaning that they understood to represent the picture. More than 90% of verb root errors were the result of children simply not knowing a Cherokee lexical equivalent, in any form, for the corresponding picture. Certain verbs proved particularly troublesome for a number of children – flying, hair-brushing, sweeping, crawling – and resulted in discussions with teachers about the choice of the picture used to convey the verb and other factors that may have contributed to the high number of non-responses. Included in these instances are utterances that were incomprehensible to the native speakers.

Of particular note with regard to verb roots is the consistency with which children substituted the Set A verb 'to take a seat' for the Set B verb 'to be seated', which in Cherokee involves two quite different verb roots. In each case in which a child provided an utterance, their responses were transcribed by native speakers as the imperative *halstadhug* 'Sit down,' an active verb likely to be more commonly heard than its stative counterpart *uwotla* 'S/he is sitting.'

2. *Inappropriate pronominal and pre-pronominal prefix*

With only 10% accuracy in overall obligatory occasions, C-KILA results indicate that children are still working out the complexities of the pronominal prefix. The types of error children made with regard to their prefixes varied greatly, but about 11% of prefix errors can be classified as follows:

- (a) *Overgeneralization of the third-person plural pronominal prefix ani-*. On six occasions, children overgeneralized the plural pronominal prefix *ani-* to all plural cases, regardless of the initial phoneme of the verb stem, the set to which the verb belonged, or whether or not the verb required a distributive pre-pronominal prefix. In one instance, a child attached the prefix *ani-* to an already-conjugated third person singular verb, resulting in a nonsensical utterance such as 'They he is sleeping.'
- (b) *Overuse of the third-person singular pronominal prefix*. This category accounts for the instances in which children used a singular third person pronominal prefix when they should have used a plural prefix. Of the 104 obligatory occasions that children had to produce a plural pronoun marker, they used the singular prefix 11 times, or in 11% of the unit errors.

- (c) *Inaccurate use of the distributive pre-pronominal prefix.* Only seven of the verbs on the C-KILA required the distributive (for a total of 91 obligatory occasions), and so further data are necessary to determine the degree to which children are acquiring the front end of their verbs. It is worth noting, though, that the distributive was used correctly on only ten occasions – and that in seven of those, the entire verb was correctly produced. Not surprisingly, five of the correct verbs were produced by one child who had been in immersion for three full years.

3. *Use of inappropriate aspect or tense markings*

Twenty-one per cent of the aspect/tense errors can be characterized as substitutions. Nearly 12% of these were instances in which children substituted a noun form of the verb for the actual verb, such as using the noun for 'paint' in place of the verb form 'he is painting.' In another 9% of those instances, children substituted the imperative form of a verb in place of the present continuous stem marker. In one instance a child substituted the question 'Is he swimming?' in place of 'He is swimming.'

Discussion: implications of the C-KILA results

Functionally restricted input

Our analysis of children's production of Cherokee verbs suggests that by the end of immersion kindergarten, children were beginning to apply the morphological rules for pronominal prefixes and aspect/tense markings to varying degrees. Their language production was characteristic of developmental stages in which some verb phrases were consistently accurate at the sentential level (e.g. *adlohilha* 'S/he is crying') whereas others, although containing the core meaning of the verb, reflected an interlanguage – that is, a developing linguistic system featuring production that varies from target language norms (McLaughlin 1984).

The apparent complexity of Cherokee morphology may suggest that children acquiring Cherokee as a second language would encounter difficulty in mastering the intricacies of the verbal marking system. However, in documentation of a bilingual language-learning context in which children were learning Mohawk and English as first languages simultaneously, Mithun (1989: 311–12) has demonstrated that children learning Mohawk can and do acquire such complexities of polysynthesis predictably, and that '[o]nce pronominal prefixes were acquired, . . . no unusual forms or usages were observed at all.' Although Mohawk and Cherokee have similar morphological constructions, the second language-learning context, with its inherent differences from first language acquisition, creates interesting challenges to

the young Cherokee language learners, who must master the elements described in the previous section. Such challenges were verified by the C-KILA results.

Our findings concur with research conducted in other immersion classrooms which suggests that the language present in typical immersion classrooms is not always optimal for the attainment of high levels of proficiency in the language (Lyster 2004; Swain 1996). As in the French immersion classrooms that Swain describes, instruction observed in the Cherokee kindergarten classroom can be characterized by the 'functionally restricted' language input children receive, limited attention to the integration of grammar into the teaching of content, one-dimensional, rote approach to the teaching of vocabulary, unsystematic attention to student errors, and minimal student output (1996: 95). As an illustration of how teachers' practice functionally restricted children's language production, the verbs they were observed to use most often function to get children to respond physically to commands such as 'Sit down,' 'Write on your paper,' or 'Read page five.' In the absence of focused attention on Cherokee verb paradigms that give children practice using a range of verb stem complexes (root + aspect/tense) and their requisite prefix, it is not surprising that the children supply these same command forms even when the context suggests that another form is obligatory. Specifically, children produced such imperatives rather than the present continuous forms required in response to the prompt 'What is s/he doing?' Additionally, children's substitution of nouns for verbs and their overuse of singular forms of verbs provide further important insight into the limited opportunities children have had to practice using different pronouns and a range of common, classroom action verbs in different stages of continuity (aspect) and in different time-frames (tense).

Based on the analysis of the C-KILA results combined with classroom observations, children's verb production suggests a need for teachers' further professional development in the areas of language teaching and linguistics.

Implications for Cherokee language teaching

Although classroom observations reveal that children use Cherokee with confidence in the classroom and communicate with one another at a functionally fluid level, the C-KILA allows insight into the grammatical limitations of their communication similar to those that Lyster (2004) discovered in his review of studies on immersion. Of the research findings, Lyster concludes (p. 322): 'Immersion education thus provides a clear example of an instructional context where focus on meaningful content leads to the development of overall communicative ability, but with linguistic gaps in terms of accuracy.'

It is important to consider student language production as evidence of what they have and have not acquired, and to develop classroom practices that respond to errors (Lapkin and Swain 2004). This is one of the primary

functions of the C-KILA: to provide documentation of second language learning of Cherokee and to use the results to improve immersion practice. The present C-KILA results point to the need for more focus on language form within the meaning-rich immersion context. For Cherokee kindergarten immersion teachers, this means building into the daily lesson plans targeted opportunities for children to practice a range of verb forms, including singular and plural forms, as well as a variety of tenses children can use in meaningful contexts.

This is not a recommendation for teachers to drill children on Cherokee verb paradigms. Rather, we advocate a proactive focus on form in which decisions about what to teach are based on the communicative needs of the learners (Doughty and Varela 1998) and both explicit and implicit instructional strategies are used to expose learners to the chosen forms while engaging them in communication. The challenge for Cherokee teachers and planners is to artfully and seamlessly integrate deliberate attempts to focus on language form within the natural, communicative context of an immersion classroom. An even greater challenge is to do this with a less commonly taught language like Cherokee, for which a ready supply of instructional materials is not available. Teachers currently feel constrained by the limited number and types of games, books, worksheets, videos, and other sources of authentic language experiences that exist in Cherokee. These limitations can be transformed into opportunities for them to create and incorporate a variety of teaching aids into their lessons, thus enhancing their ability to attune their learners to specific linguistic forms while engaging them in meaningful interactions. Professional development opportunities in instructional techniques and the preparation of Cherokee language materials should be an ongoing aspect of immersion planning.

Concomitant with providing opportunities for teachers to hone their immersion skills is the need to assess and potentially revise the existing kindergarten curriculum – a document that was designed prior to the inaugural year of the classroom. Although the curriculum offers teachers a glimpse of academic goals recommended in the Oklahoma State Department of Education Priority Academic Student Skills (OSDE 2003), these educational standards are not necessarily aligned with the expected linguistic outcomes for Cherokee immersion kindergarten completers. Understandably, the lack of established expectations and linguistic norms for children's second language learning of Cherokee, owing to the nascent nature of the immersion program, challenges teachers and curriculum developers to establish meaningful criteria or determine if the language is developing at an acceptable rate within an appropriate level of accuracy. Each discovery of patterns in Cherokee immersion children's language production leads to new understandings and to solutions leading to more appropriate curricular goals and more effective immersion teaching. Furthermore, we suggest that teachers' involvement in formative assessment, as well as in both administration of the C-KILA and analysis of the data, will serve to raise awareness of the effectiveness and

limitations of the kind of input they provide their students, and lead to possible solutions for treating errors in student output.

Training in Cherokee linguistics

Adopting a more language-focused approach to Cherokee immersion implies a certain level of knowledge of Cherokee linguistics, particularly Cherokee verb forms. All teachers in the program speak Cherokee as their first language, but talking *about* and analyzing their language is, for the most part, new to them. Cherokee Nation has teamed with university-trained linguists to provide basic linguistic training as a means to help teachers more effectively prepare materials and lessons that expose children to the unique features of the language; and this element of their professional development continues to play an important role in many Cherokee language initiatives. Most recently, a two-day workshop was conducted for immersion teachers and language planning staff entitled 'Cherokee Verbs and How to Teach Them.' Planned with the results of the C-KILA in mind, the purpose of this workshop was to guide participants in discovering the linguistic rules for Cherokee present continuous tense verbs and offer guidance in preparing materials that they could employ to encourage children to mark and use verbs in meaningful and appropriate ways. There is no presumption that this is easy work; as one participant commented:

I loved the linguistics and I think that kind of information is essential. However, I think most of the people were very confused on this. There was a great deal of uncertainty in terms of comprehending the jargon as well as the basic content. I'm not sure what to recommend on this other than to say keep it simple.

Such concerns offer an important perspective for those who work with the revitalization of Cherokee, and lead to the issue of *how* to guide teachers in unraveling the complexity of Cherokee verb morphology in straightforward, user-friendly ways.

An example of such an approach designed to help teachers understand linguistic ideas and also incorporate culturally relevant concepts is provided in *Nā Kai 'Ewalu: Beginning Hawaiian Lessons* (1996), in which authors Kamanā and Wilson present an analogy between the Hawaiian sentence system and an octopus. Through illustrations of octopuses bearing varying numbers and shapes of tentacles, Hawaiian language learners are taught the basic forms that constitute up to 80% of spoken and written Hawaiian (Cook 2000). Adopting a similar approach for training language teachers in the finer nuances of Cherokee morphology may hold promise for developing language teachers' understanding of their native language's linguistic structures while validating the rich linguistic abilities they possess.

Conclusion

Our analysis of the kindergartners' productions of Cherokee third person singular and plural present continuous verbs points to the children's limited ability to accurately convey everyday actions of characters they find in their stories and of the people around them, even after as many as three years in immersion. Given that verbs constitute the core of the Cherokee language, this limited knowledge of the workings of Cherokee verb morphology hinders children's capacity to effectively communicate socially and academically. These findings, therefore, provide information for teachers, curriculum planners, and training consultants about possible areas to target for additional material development, linguistics workshops, and teaching skill enhancement.

This study constitutes a preliminary investigation into the interlanguage of children enrolled in the Cherokee immersion program. The analysis of present continuous verbs is based primarily on the partial results of a newly developed language assessment, C-KILA, one that continues to be refined. Furthermore, discussions of children's language samples among native speakers showed that there was not always agreement on the nature of children's errors, even though such sessions heightened the level of linguistic awareness of the finer nuances of Cherokee verbs. Examination of these and additional assessment data continues and richer analyses are forthcoming, as are more intensive observations of the sociolinguistic context in which teachers and children are interacting with an eye toward identifying activities that support – and those that are less efficacious in encouraging – the acquisition of the more complex features of Cherokee morphology.

It is significant that children in the CN first immersion kindergarten have achieved a higher level of fluency in the language than has ever been documented for children learning Cherokee as a second language; and this is worthy of much celebration given the critical state of the language. The CN staff have worked for the past eight years designing curriculum materials, finding and training speakers willing and able to teach young children, vying for resources, and developing necessary skills in Cherokee linguistics and immersion pedagogy. Finally they are realizing the fruits of their labors, as children can be heard communicating in a language that most of their parents never had the opportunity to learn.

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Notes

1. Cherokee Nation, headquartered in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, is the second largest federally recognized Indian tribe in the United States. There are more than 200,000 tribal members, almost 70,000 of whom reside in the 7,000-square mile jurisdictional area that includes all of eight counties and portions of six others in northeastern Oklahoma.
2. Throughout the paper, the symbol <v> represents a nasalized mid-central vowel. The symbols <o> and <u> are back vowels; both are rounded, though less so than their English counterparts.
3. The distributive was considered by the native speakers as optional on three C-KILA verbs—reading (singular), reading (plural) and painting (singular) – depending on the specific meaning one wished to convey. For example, *anigoliye* ‘They are reading [one thing]’ can also be *danigoliye* ‘They are reading [more than one thing].’ For those three verbs, the teachers and other native Cherokee speakers considered the response correct with or without the distributive.
4. Examples throughout the paper follow Montgomery-Anderson’s (2008) convention, starting with the word written in Syllabary, the Cherokee writing system, followed by a phonetic transcription, a morphological breakdown, a morpheme description, and an English translation. Although the Syllabary is not necessary for the reader to understand the linguistic examples that we provide, we hope that our use of Syllabary gives the reader a more thorough appreciation of the richness that characterizes the Cherokee language. And, because the children in the immersion program are taught to read and write *only* in Syllabary, our hope is that future investigations will examine the connection between children’s developing literacy skills and their oral language morphology.
5. Ellis and Barkhuizen’s discussion is with respect to morphemes; however, our analysis will consider ‘verb units’ rather than morphemes because in Cherokee the verb stem is a complex consisting of several morphemes.

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Appendix. Description of C-KILA verbs

Syllabary	Phonetic transcription	Morphemes	Morpheme description	English translation
LPWSS	dahltageda	dee-a-alihtadega	DST-3A.SG-jump:PRC	'S/he is jumping.'
SZAP	ganohili	ga-nohili	3A.SG-fly:PRC	'S/he is flying'
OCIC	uwotla	u-otla	3B.SG-sit:PRC	'S/he is in a sitting position'
DHAP	atlohiha	a-atlohiha	3A.SG-cry:PRC	'S/he is crying'
DLCD	adawo'a	a-adawo'a	3A.SG-swim:PRC	'S/he is swimming'
EZHAS	gvnosasga	ga-vnosasga	3A.SG-sweep:PRC	'S/he is sweeping'
DPWOD	altawo'a	a-alitawo'a	3A.SG-comb hair:PRC	'S/he is combing her/his hair'
SACPD	degohweli'a	de-ga-ohweli'a	DST-3A.SG-write:PRC	'S/he is writing'
DLCHV	adansinido	a-adansinido	3A.SG-crawl:PRC	'S/he is crawling'
LCHV	danadansinido	dee-ani-adansinido	DST-3A.PL-crawl:PRC	'They are crawling'
DJWAS	aditasga	a-aditasga	3A.SG-drink:PRC	'S/he is drinking'
LJWAS	danaditasga	dee-ani-aditasga	DST-3A.PL-drink:PRC	'They are drinking'
DPAYD	alsgi'a	a-alisgi'a	3A.SG-dance:PRC	'S/he is dancing'
DOPAYD	analsgi'a	ani-alisgi'a	3A.PL-dance:PRC	'They are dancing'
SCt	gatliha	ga-tliha	3A.SG-sleep:PRC	'S/he is sleeping'
LHCt	danitliha	dee-ani-tliha	DST-3A.PL-sleep:PRC	'They are sleeping'
DYt	agiha	a-giha	3A.SG-eat:PRC	'S/he is eating something solid'
DHYt	anigiha	ani-giha	3A.PL-eat:PRC	'They are eating something solid'
SZYD	dekanogi'a	de-ga-hnogi'-a	DST-3A.SG-sing:PRC	'She is singing.'
LhZYD	danihnogi'a	dee-ani-hnogi'a	DST-3A.PL-sing:PRC	'They are singing.'
DAPBD*	agoliye'a	a-goliye'a	3A.SG-read:PRC	'S/he is reading'
DhAPBD*	anigoliye'a	ani-goliye'a	3A.PL-read:PRC	'They are reading'
DCHAS*	asuwisga	a-suwisga	3A.SG-paint:PRC	'S/he is painting'
LhCHAS*	danisuhwisga	dee-ani-suhwisga	DST-3A.PL-paint:PRC	'They are painting'

*These verbs were considered correct by teachers and other native speakers whether expressed with a distributive pre-pronominal prefix or not.

Appendix 5

TRANSPORTATION SERVICE GUIDELINES

- The parent/student is required to make a written request for transportation services. Request forms are available in the transportation office.
- Transportation services provided by Sequoyah Schools are a privilege; therefore, if a parent/student signs up for services, the parent/student is responsible for the student being at the designated bus stop on time. The bus routes run according to schedule and cannot be late. The same rule applies after school. When classes are dismissed for the day, each student will be required to report to the front of the academic building (or other area designated by the administration) no later than 3:30 p.m. Buses will leave promptly at 3:30 p.m.
- When a student is picked up at a designated location by Sequoyah Schools, that student will also be dropped off at the same location. Variance from this standard will only occur with written documentation and verbal verification from the parent/guardian or by administration.
- If a student misses the afternoon bus, that student and his/her parent will be responsible for his/her ride home. Exceptions to this rule are as follows: v Student discipline – Sequoyah Schools will transport those students who are signed up for transportation services if a student is detained for disciplinary reasons by the administration. v Medical appointment/emergency. v Situations approved by the administration.
- If a student miss being picked up three consecutive days and notification has not been made to the Transportation Coordinator, his/her privileges may be temporarily suspended. A visit to the 12 transportation or administration office by the parent/guardian will enable these privileges to be reinstated.
- If a designated bus stop is at a business location, the parent/guardian is responsible for the student's conduct before pickup and after they have exited the bus.
- Only scheduled stops will be allowed.
- A contract for transportation services will be given to students requiring the following signatures: student, parent/guardian, and administration. Transportation guidelines will be included with this contract. Failure to adhere to the set guidelines will put the burden of transportation back on the student and parent/guardian. SCHOOL BUS BEHAVIOR/VEHICLE BEHAVIOR RULES Permission for any student to ride a bus is conditional on his/her compliance with the safety and behavior codes for bus riders. Any student who violates any of these regulations can be denied permission to ride the bus.
- Use of tobacco, drugs, and alcohol are strictly prohibited at all times.
- Use of profane language is strictly prohibited at all times.
- Students are to always keep hands and head inside the vehicle upon entering and until leaving the vehicle.

- Once a student is seated, no movement will be allowed unless instructed to do so by the driver.
- Snacks and soft drinks will be allowed contingent upon proper disposal of trash (No glass containers permitted).
- Do not throw anything out of the vehicle window.
- Keep backpacks, packages, coats, and all other objects out of the aisle.
- Rowdiness around or in the vehicle is prohibited.
- Refrain from loud talking and laughing or unnecessary confusion that may distract the driver and result in an accident.
- The radio is a privilege. The use of the radio and the choice of radio station are to be determined by the driver.
- Students should be quiet when approaching a railroad crossing.
- In case of a road emergency, students are to remain in their seats unless otherwise instructed by the driver.
- Students should be courteous to fellow passengers, the driver, and sponsors. The above-mentioned rules and regulations are for the safety and well-being of the students and will be strictly adhered to. These guidelines are listed on the transportation contract.

Appendix 6

Cultural Curriculum Program

□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□ *didehyododi duyugtv iyadvhndi* “We Use This to Teach Them the Right Way” Cultural Curriculum Program: The curriculum is culturally based, supported, and integrated. It uses stories and values on a cyclical ceremonial and subsistence calendar to teach project-based assignments through cultural activities that integrate cross sectional academic subject matter.

The historical Cherokee solar/lunar/celestial calendar and tied to our historical Cherokee festivals and holidays serves as the curricular framework for the original development of the process. It is punctuated with the appropriate times to plant, harvest, hunt, fish, and gather medicines and foods, all are primary subsistence events. The framework of the curriculum is woven between the functions of the major festivals situated by the calendar and important subsistence cycles. There are traditional stories and cultural activities tied to the changes of the year. The traditional stories, cultural protocols, and traditional community values set the standards, criteria, goals, and objectives are the theoretical foundation of our curriculum’s educational content. The cultural activities provide the context and processes for the delivery of academic content via project-based learning methodologies. The Cherokee language is the medium or vehicle for the transfer of all curricular knowledge. Tied to every cultural activity, traditional teaching, and group project are the academic disciplines integrated into the cultural content that meet multiple mainstream academic standards and delivered through the Cherokee language medium.

The cultural curriculum program team is a group of professional and experienced Cherokee employees that have extensive cultural and historical backgrounds from both an academic and traditional framework will continue the process of researching, refining, evaluating, and renewing the products of our current cultural curriculum development initiative. This team will also be responsible for the research and development of Cherokee grammar models, etymological understandings of roots and stems, as well as collecting the rare and complex lexical forms.

Seven Key Aspects of the Cultural Curriculum

The curriculum can be broken into seven key aspects, these specific parts of the curriculum are organized based on the functions of each aspect and how they correlate with implementation, engagement, and redevelopment to meet the growing and dynamic needs of our learners. Much of the development of these seven aspects especially necessitated a team approach, and a team approach is used to maintain the process of continual development and review.

1. The first aspect of the cultural curriculum is characterized by a collection of nearly 150 traditional Cherokee stories. The stories have been sorted and prioritized into orders of

significance based upon their association with their seasonal cycle, traditional values, and cultural protocols. There are four tiers of stories. The highest rotation will be in tiers one, two, and three with tier four stories only making one appearance. The stories have been ordered by grade level and are targeted for the appropriate seasons of the cyclical calendar.

2. The second aspect focuses on the cultural activities associated with the stories, values, and protocol, we are using as our educational criteria and objectives from a Cherokee philosophical foundation. These cultural activities have been collected to create a complete list that will be applied to the stories and are organized by both significance for subsistence, survival, social development, and regard for seasonal changes in nature and the cultural significance of those seasonal shifts. The cultural activities are incorporated into the procession of the cyclical timeline of the stories with targeted child developmental grade levels.
3. The third aspect of the cultural curriculum is a list of characters that will be in the stories from the first aspect. These stories and the characters within them are animated to bring the stories to life. A clear focus on character identity is needed to ensure that stories' characters are prominent and easily recognizable. The most popular characters in the stories have a template created to easily be incorporated into the animation of the stories. We have a well populated list of characters collected.
4. In the fourth aspect of the cultural curriculum, we collected a list of Cherokee values via interviews with Benny Smith □□□□ and other first language Cherokee speaking elders. This initial list was already functionally complete, with a few exceptional cultural teachings that were initially overlooked but integrated into the larger list. Under the original, foundational values we have organized the more narrowly contextual values into subsets within the broader value statements. There is a list of values applied to each story. These cultural values are focus of the curriculum's goals and objectives. The stories will illustrate underlining traditional Cherokee cultural values.
5. Aspect five is closely related to the foundational cultural values of the fourth aspect in the cultural curriculum framework. Its focus is less abstract and more concretely tied to the cultural activities, and academic content. Cultural protocols in the form of behavioral expectations and instructions related to traditional teachings in Cherokee families and communities have always been a part of our oral tradition and cultural identity. Applying protocols to the objectives and integration of academic content into the cultural activities provides a grounding to explore the more abstract cultural values. The creation of content using cultural identity and behavioral protocols and teachings associated with our oral tradition were provided by first language speaking Cherokee elders to ensure that our sayings, practices, behaviors, taboos, and expressed beliefs can lend us guidance in all endeavors and even a sense of belonging. The various protocols that our elders were given, and in turn were given to us, many still follow, and by exposing our learners to them many will elect to maintain them in practice or memory, they will be connected through the teachings of our elders to our ancestors. These protocols can be about hygiene, social expectations, substance, moral guidance, or demonstrations of spiritual expression. They provide guidance and a sense of belonging.

6. The sixth aspect is the most intensive and required a strong team of animators, translators, speakers, technological experts, and educators to provide the output associated with this aspect. Creating the animations of our traditional stories is the key product of the original project. The animations will be updated, and new ones will be created but the amazing bulk of the work was initiated in this past year. This was the most product heavy phase of the curriculum development process and required cooperation of expertise outside of the curriculum team. Characters needed to be drafted and then animated, then the backgrounds of the stories were animated as well. The stories were translated into Cherokee and recorded by highly proficient speakers. Some stories already existed in Cherokee, and these were prioritized in preference over translated stories. First language Cherokee stories have shown clear superiority in capturing natural native Cherokee tone, lexicon, and syntax over translated content. Detailed lesson plans are created to support the stories and digital content created in this aspect. These lesson plans integrate stories, values, and protocols through cultural activities. They also identify, cross reference, and enumerate the academic content already collected and translated into Cherokee replete with academic standards and teaching materials that were created by grade level for the immersion school by the curriculum team over the past two decades.
7. The seventh aspect was the final step in the initial curriculum creation process, but it is also the part that will now maintain the crux of continued development and reconstruction as the process is evaluated and refined in consistent cyclical redevelopment. This is a grammatical approach to language acquisition through context imbedded form focused instruction through conversational interaction. The curriculum team works to refine the language of the stories that have been animated to create a variety of educational examples with different levels of grammatical complexity and lexical depth. The initial stories will be in naturally spoken Cherokee but focusing on form approaches will engage each story as it is modified to demonstrate how words change through declensions and conjugations to illustrate the grammar of Cherokee in the context of the stories provided. Initial focus on form will account for simple subject and object pronoun changes commonly found in novice and intermediate level proficiency language patterns. The secondary form focus will expand the flexing of verb forms into commonly used tense patterns of novice and intermediate language proficiency targets. Thirdly, the focus on form will expand the pronoun declensions into greater ranges and complexity to provide targeted language for intermediate and advanced level of proficiency. Finally, the focus on forms will expand the complexity and variety of tense marking, syntax, and paragraph level discourse to meet the targeted language needs of intermediate and advanced Cherokee language learners. The stories altered will have lesson plans associated with each permutation that will lead teachers to teach the academic content and grammar forms in context without the need to explain Cherokee grammar using English.

School and Community Integration

As learners develop greater skill in abstract communication through the advancement of their language proficiency, overt explanations of this educational process will be a part of the

conversation in the learning sessions among teachers, academic content developers, and students. It will be made clear how and why cultural curriculum has been implemented in the school and honest discussions about how academic subject areas are the norm in mainstream education will be common knowledge and targeted topics of discussion. Cherokee students will not just know that the content, approach, and objectives of our Cherokee educational system are different but also why they are different. No child will be forced to engage in cultural activities and practices, that the family and child are opposed to, as a part of their learning. However, they will be taught about core Cherokee, activities, values, behaviors, and beliefs as lived and expressed in contemporary Cherokee families and communities throughout the Cherokee Nation. This process of exposure will also be the vehicle for the delivery of academic content and intellectual “western” academic knowledge as well as Indigenous knowledge and understanding of Cherokee values and cultural activities. Our learners will be overtly aware of Cherokee language, culture, and identity and they will also be aware of why we are teaching it and why we believe they should learn it.

Special Consideration to Cherokee Cultural Traditions

“Iroquoian relationships from a prehistoric view reveal one cultural characteristic relevant to Cherokee language maintenance. The Cherokee have long been an "incorporating" people, in the sense of adapting new culture traits to form an integrated, but innovative culture. Migration into the eastern historic area occurred by the end of the Archaic Period and by 1500 B.C. new traits such as ceramics and conical burial mounds were introduced during the Archaic to produce the Early Woodland culture. Agricultural introductions such as corn, beans, and squash were adapted into the traditional forest efficiency pattern, with little variation of the central core of values reflected by settlement pattern and material culture. In a comparison of Cherokee and Iroquoian development. Research emphasizes the adoption of corn, bean, and squash agriculture and certain pottery types by the Cherokee earlier than by Northeast Iroquois cultures. Although much diffusion of cultural traits took place among many prehistoric groups, the Cherokee seem to have been particularly receptive to the integration of new material culture adaptations with a traditional value system.” (Guyette, 1974, p. 15)

There are two kinds of traditions among Cherokee people. Values, behaviors, practices, and beliefs that have been passed on in families and communities that have been invented by Cherokees and adopted by Cherokees from outsiders and are still practiced that are called traditional are the most familiar. This kind of tradition is often referred to as tradition with a small ‘t’. Historical and cultural practices whether they are still extant or not but were and are foundational to Cherokee cultural identity are Traditional with a big ‘T’.

Some of the traditions that Cherokees have incorporated are a result of colonization or at least the result of a reaction to colonization. These adaptations could be positive or negative and aren’t inherently bad but are often incorporated for the goal of survival.

Starting with the treaty of Holston on July 2nd, 1791, Cherokee men were required to become farmers and women were to become domestic or go indoors and do colonial women's activities. They both were to abandon their traditions and 'civilize'. Over the next two centuries Cherokees did succumb to colonial hegemony to do as they were required.

When Cherokees adopted animal husbandry, initially they treated domesticated animals almost like wild animals or pets but over time Cherokees perfected the practices taught to us to become master gardeners, cowboys, ranchers, and cattlemen. These traditions were contemporary with early European colonial settlers in the same areas and rural whites have become compatriots with Cherokees in traditional Cherokee communities to the point of political syncretization. Most rural Cherokees are more in sociopolitical alignment with rural whites. This happened as early as the post removal reconstruction period of Cherokee Nation where in mixed blood Cherokees championed southern agrarian culture and slavery. This sociocultural blending is even more widespread today.

If the curriculum and cultural revitalization of the Cherokee Nation championed in the CN department of Cherokee Language is going to capture and champion Traditional Cherokee cultural practices, the traditions Cherokees have picked up and maintained must be critically examined. The curriculum team must carefully select what and why certain things are passed on and other things are allowed to pass away. The leaders of the language revitalization efforts must make themselves aware of the potentially distracting influences of non-Cherokee cultural values, behaviors and beliefs and become educated about how these influences may contradict, obfuscate, or undermine Traditional Cherokee cultural practices.

If the original design of the Cherokee people was provided by ☐☐☐☐☐ *unehlanvhi* then it is likely preserved in the most Traditional Cherokee iterations of cultural practices and though they may exist in the traditional culture that had developed among the Cherokee communities, it should be scrutinized to ensure it is in alignment with Traditional Cherokee culture. Innovation and adaptation is a part of Traditional cultural values for Cherokees from time immemorial and should be embraced, but Cherokee cultural revitalization requires a critical assessment of adopted traditions and innovations that are considered foundational to the lifeways of Cherokee elders and post-colonial Cherokees. If not, the CN may support practices that undermine the greater whole of Cherokee cultural traditions that should be used to guide and inform Cherokee language strategy and departmental initiatives.

In Defense of ACTFL Guidelines

The process of writing language curriculum has generally taken one of two paths for instructional focus. For many learning environments, curriculum is content based without any focus on developing materials that are targeted for a specific proficiency range or with a goal to reach any specific proficiency level. Also, it is usually targeted for age level, in that it meets a learners' development ability, this is often coordinated with age level or development. At other

times, language learning and acquisition are entirely focused on developing language proficiency and do not seek to meet academic or cultural standards. In that case it is only focused on increasing the ability to perform in the target language. This often happens in language arts-oriented environments like university classes for language learning.

The natural language approach in conjunction with a focus on academic content can lead to a limited ability for language learners to understand the target language used to teach the learning objectives. Without a concerted focus on growing the learners' language proficiency and their ability to understand the academic content that they are being provided. This process of limited comprehension impairs increasing proficiency, language acquisition, and interrupts the ability for learners perform accurately in the target language. Impaired development in the target language will also reduce the growth of intellectual skills like literacy, problem solving, and critical reasoning needed for scholarship and professional competency. The later, proficiency targeted approach can potentially create fluency in the target language, but it will often leave the learners bereft of the content knowledge and cultural competency that the target language could have imparted as a vehicle for intellectual development and cultural identity.

The cultural curriculum team seeks to marry the two approaches to curriculum development, to intentionally fuse those two dimensions into one framework. To simultaneously engage in educational content and targeting, not just the learners' age or mental development, but also incorporating a language proficiency focus is necessary. While learners are receiving educational content it will be scaffolded and looped to add depth to the information provided while increasing in language difficulty to push them into acquiring a higher proficiency level in their language performance. Scaffolding uses simple language and vocabulary to teach more abstract ideas and advanced lexicon. Further, scaffolding reviews previously introduced knowledge and cycles in new information and detail for increasingly detailed or difficult subject areas. This is a multidimensional approach that can use both academic content and language proficiency as guideposts to success.

American Council on Teaching Foreign Language, ACTFL guidelines are used to assess Cherokee language performance in an objective capacity. Even though they are not always considered ideal in evaluating native language acquisition, they have been found to be suitable for programmatic needs. Some native language programs do not prefer them because many native languages are polysynthetic, and this changes the language contexts making them hard to evaluate using the criteria provided by ACTFL. Also, ACTFL guidelines are partially reflective of literacy and literary performance in the target language being evaluated. Many native languages do not have the literacy focus that Cherokee language programs do. The Cherokee language has had its own writing orthography since 1825 and has a long history of literacy and scholastic achievement through its use. Despite the general critiques from other native language programs, Cherokee language teachers have found in their experience that the ACTFL guidelines to evaluate performance in the target language have been quite useful. As such it is proposed that Cherokee language programs use the ACTFL language performance guidelines to help target Curriculum development will be targeted to meet language learners at their proficiency level. Academic content will also be incorporated into Cherokee curriculum using a cultural framework

that allows the language to flex its unique attributes while framing educational content within the perspective and worldview of traditional Cherokee identity, culture and philosophy. This multidimensional approach allows Cherokee educators to develop content-based material that can be understood and discussed at the learners' language ability. Further Cherokee language programs hope to use the ACTFL guidelines to develop material that increases the language proficiency of learners as they explore academic content. It will lead them to a deeper understanding of language competency and performance ability simultaneously, while they master an increasingly advanced discourse in the very words of Cherokee elders and ancestors.

General Cherokee Language Curriculum Approach

Learning materials will focus on language acquisition, in general. However, most curriculum should be acquisition focused on the Cherokee language medium with some allowances for enrichment. Language enrichment is valuable to foster motivation to speak and learn Cherokee and intend to prepare the learner for conversational language acquisition in the Cherokee language medium. We should teach the language, but we should also teach the culture of the Cherokee people. The language environment should be safe and supportive for all learners and grounded in culturally supportive values, behaviors, and beliefs. Language instructors should meet professional requirements, including proficiency, and skill certifications. Language curriculum users should utilize current methodologies and best practices in the areas of classroom management, educational technology, and cognitive development.

Language Medium (Cherokee Immersion) Specific Curriculum Criteria

1. Does the material target subject matters associated with content from the perspective of Cherokee worldview?
2. Does the material target comprehension one increment above the level targeted for performance through associative process?
3. Does the material target proficiency growth expectations that align with the learners' amount of contact hours?
4. Does the material help learners initiate, develop, and maintain beginning conversations, writing, reading, and reading skills in Cherokee?

General Curriculum Criteria:

1. Are learning materials flexible and evolving regularly to allow creative teaching and meet the needs of the learners, teachers, as well as the Cherokee Nation?
2. Are learning materials age appropriate and do materials target specific proficiency levels?

3. Are learning materials motivational, engaging, and inspiring?
4. Are learning materials organized in a manner that allow learners of different proficiency levels to grow through collaborative learning?
5. Are the learning objectives clearly outlined for use with specific activities that result in meaningful discussion and dialogue in Cherokee?
6. Do the learning materials use scaffolding to solidify acquisition?
7. Are the learning materials repetitive, function focused, and conversationally based?
8. Do the learning materials and activities strongly connect learners to language through home and family contexts?
9. Are the learning materials presented in a logical sequence while incorporating Cherokee customs, lifeways, philosophy, and traditions?
10. Are the learning materials experimental, equipping learners to learn independently by use of experimentation, associative process, observation, and field studies?
11. Are the learning materials supporting the incorporation of knowledge from community language/history/culture experts?
12. Are learning materials using a diverse variety of assessments for variable learning methods? Ex: formative and summative: quizzes, tests, presentations, interviews, projects, etc.

Objectives for Cherokee Language Curriculum and Instruction

Characteristics of a good curriculum:

1. The curriculum is continuously evolving.
2. The curriculum is based on affective, social, and cultural needs of the people.
3. The curriculum is democratically conceived.
4. The curriculum is the result of long-term effort.
5. The curriculum is complex of details.
6. The curriculum provides for logical sequence of subject matter.
7. The curriculum complements and cooperates with other programs of the community.
8. The curriculum is culturally relevant and academically rigorous.
10. The curriculum has administrative, instructional, and pedagogical flexibility.
11. The curriculum arranges learning opportunities flexibility for adaptation to situations and individuals.
12. The curriculum makes maximum provision for the development of each learner's individual differences.
13. The curriculum is systematic and has objectives that depend, in part, on knowledge of the different approaches to learning.

General Cherokee Language Curriculum Framework

The following table displays the age specific curricula standards targeted for language proficiency developed and revised for the Cherokee Language Curriculum Framework for conversational language proficiency competency.

	Novice	Intermediate	Advanced
University	X	X	X
High School	X	X	X
Jr High	X	X	X
Elementary	X	X	-
Early Childhood	X	-	-

The following attributes will be used as benchmarks to ensure curriculum meets communicative and cultural competencies as well as proficiency standards throughout the developing and revision of Cherokee Language Curriculum. Primarily, the Cherokee language curriculum has been targeted for language arts and conversational proficiency, however, academic, and subject area content taught in the Cherokee language medium are targeted to meet the following competency attributes.

Communicative Competency Attributes:

1. Skills - Functional ability in the language, grammatical forms, accuracy, and volume.
2. Concepts - Subject matter: social, cultural, and academic.
3. Performance - Listening (input & intake), speaking, reading, and writing.
4. Styles - Register, specific lexical contexts, specialized subject area lexicon, length of discourse.

Cultural Competency Attributes:

1. Deference - Respect for individuals due to age, status, and achievement, and to sensitive ideas and subject areas.
2. Context - Situational linguistic and behavioral expectations: age, gender, location, time, event, and activity.
3. Non-verbal - Gesture, eye-contact, stance, physical interaction, personal space, and non-speech utterances.
4. Semantics - Differences in etymology, aesthetics, philosophical foundations, values, behaviors, and beliefs.

References

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Appendix 7

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tsidalehnhvi tsalagi sinvdohi disehisdi
Reconstituted Cherokee Ceremonial Calendar

In 2006, due to technological innovations and subsequent connectivity of the internet, the ability to track lunar phases made it possible to more easily document the dates associated with the phases of the moon. Research done at the Newberry Library in Chicago Illinois provided access to early ethnographic documentation on Cherokee cultural practices. These early documents gave detailed historical accounts of historical Cherokee holidays and festivals enabling a simple outline of important Cherokee cultural and ceremonial events based upon the seasonal descriptions of ancient Cherokee holidays. The descriptions included exact solar and lunar events allowing a general time frame for the outline of holidays coordinated with names and descriptions of the important observances at each festivity and their monthly names. These accounts were from different sources and did not always line up. Also, contemporary Cherokee cultural and ceremonial practices were often out of sync with the timeline deduced from historical documentation.

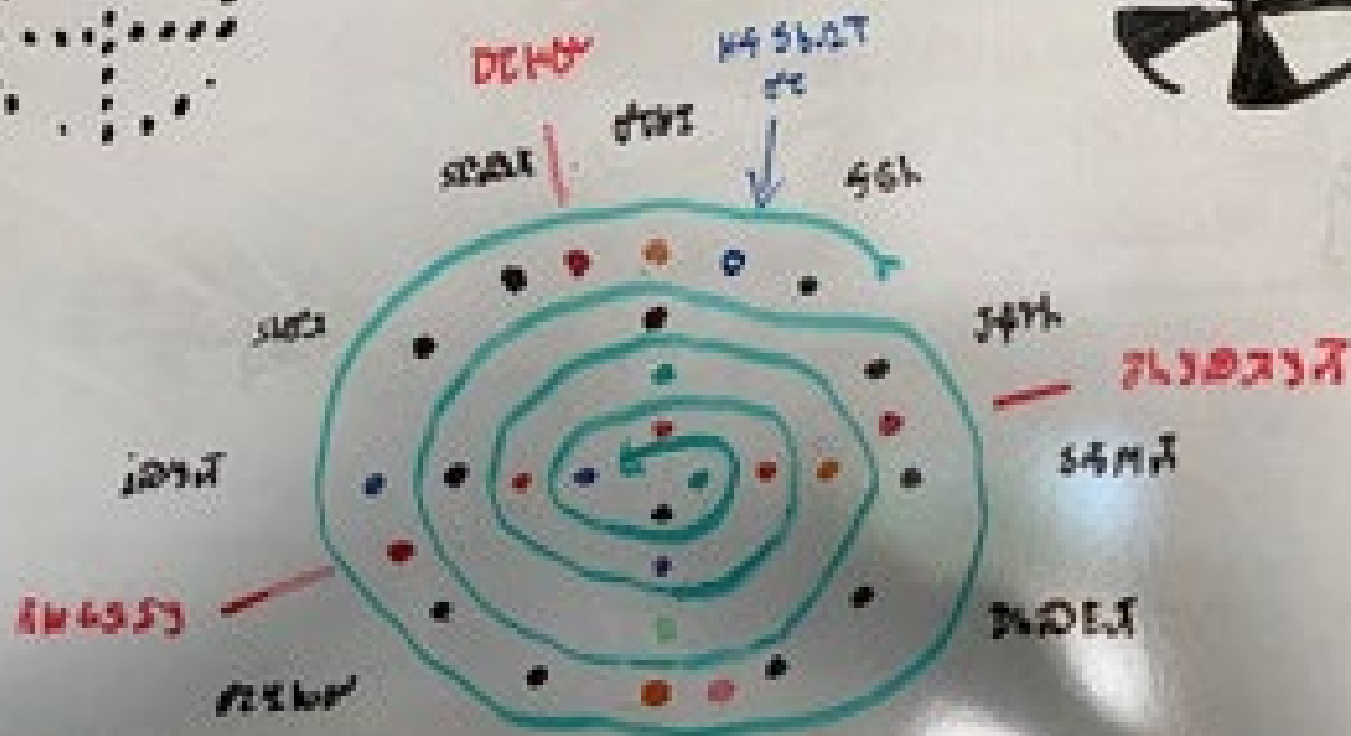
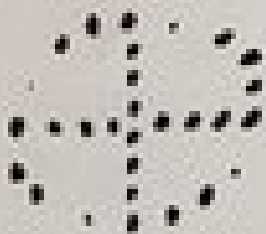
Modern ceremonial practices, even those tied to important oral traditions are tied to the Gregorian calendar and farmer's almanac, and though many Cherokees have grown accustomed to the use of contemporary knowledge and technology, these contemporary systems are not in alignment with the original calendar that was reliant upon accurate predictions of seasonal changes specific to Cherokee geographical climates, and subsistence needs. Both systems use the lunar cycle, equinoxes, solstices, and rural oral traditions, and meet individual family needs, but only one is specific to Cherokee paradigmatic needs and tied to the original Cherokee ceremonial cycle. The need to revive a best faith reconstruction of the original Cherokee ceremonial calendar was an opportunity to revive more than farming, hunting, and gathering practices, but would allow for an integrated system that was community focused and could be used to coordinate traditional Cherokee events and cultural activities.

The process was initiated through a series of monthly fasts, for sociocultural alignment between community leaders, to maintain traditional Cherokee protocol and seek spiritual guidance. This regime of monthly fasting often lasted for four (4) or seven (7) days and began to decrease in frequency after four seasons but was maintained at least quarterly for the next nine (9) years. No less than sixteen (16) individuals representing over a half dozen communities have engaged in this process of discussion and reflection allowing multiple perspectives to feed into the effort to restore the calendar. Some of the key informants were well know traditional and spiritual leaders as well as professional historians, and archivists. Not everyone fasted and participated in spiritually oriented meetings, but the majority that were most engaged in the deliberations around the calendar were invested participants. After more than ten (10) years this process began to fall on fewer and fewer individuals to refine and test the model, but by 2023, the final process for calculating most of the calendar was finalized. That is when the curriculum team begin to work with the calendar process to provide an outline or scaffolding to hang the seasonal cultural activities that guide the development of the teaching cycle for curriculum.

The historical documents all agree that the traditional Cherokee new year started in the fall, on the first new moon of Autumn. However, some contemporary cultural experts and ceremonial leaders have argued that the Cherokee new year is in the summer, like the Muscogee (Creek) *Posketv* calendar for fasting and ceremonial activities. Some Cherokees were in very close contact with Creek ceremonial communities. Even before removal in the southeast

Cherokees had diverse cultural practices and would occasionally have systems that were more like Creeks in the West, Shawnees in the East or Senecas in the North. Before and after the removal, some Cherokee communities took in other tribal peoples and made them family, and some traditions were adopted as well. Cherokees have always been adaptive and progressive. Old settlers, the first Cherokees to move into Indian Territory, brought the ceremonies from the southeast ahead of the immigrants on the Trail of Tears, and they maintained much of the ancestral Indigenous knowledge about traditional Cherokee practices and beliefs. They stayed true to traditional Cherokee foundations, however, they also incorporated some of the traditions of the peoples around them during that time. The Cherokee ceremonial communities multiplied after the removal in 1838, and in the following decades and after an influx of eastern immigrants integrated into ceremonial Cherokee communities, more ceremonial activities were revitalized by early Cherokee spiritual leaders. In time much of what older generations of Cherokees had though lost was revived. The ceremonial cycle was fitted to a consistent cycle and adopted the organization of the contemporary seven-day week to accommodate dances on Saturdays for the working people. The older lunar calculations of the original Cherokee ceremonial calendar were not revived. Most of the old documents recorded about Cherokees in the past agree with a fall new year, and some of the elders still say the same thing.

It seems that it was common for Cherokee communities to follow the phases of the moon to engage in most all cultural activities. They would fast from food in observance of the dark of the moon every month for four days. When the new crescent moon appeared in the western sky at nightfall the community would feast and dance in celebration. Specific ceremonies and dances were done in conjunction with specific seasonal changes punctuated by lunar cycles, and subsistence activities done in Cherokee communities. Particularly important events included the Fall new moon, as a new year's celebration, a renewal ceremony when the fall leaves inundated the rivers and creeks, a midwinters celebration, a planting dance for corn on the spring new moon, a bean planting dance a few weeks following that, a celebration of the new corn harvest in early summer, and a ripe corn festival for the fall harvest. Setting these festivals would have been simple if the Cherokee names for the months and seasons would have lined up between early documentation and contemporary Cherokee lexicon. The contemporary Cherokee calendar has twelve months aligned with the Gregorian calendar, and historically these did not always align with the Cherokee names now used. An example is that the month name for October in historical documents is now used for November in contemporary Cherokee lexicons. There was often a thirteenth month thrown in that would shift the months back every other year or two to accommodate a systematic observation of the planting moon to ensure that the annual corn crop was regular and stable. The need to provide succinct dates to the cultural activities for teaching instruction and curriculum alignment was aligned with the ceremonial calendar has been a long standing goal, and its completion was realized when the cultural curriculum project was initiated.



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Appendix 8

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Report on Language Education Self Governance;

Authorization to withdraw Language Immersion School
from State of Oklahoma



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Abstract

Our elders gave us our teachings and taught us we have a sacred relationship with the divine Creator/God and a sacred obligation to maintain our ways of life, and language. We must use everything in our power including education to maintain the covenant we have inherited. With this as a foundation and with further supporting evidence we have come to the conclusion that it is best for the Cherokee language to drop the Oklahoma state charter.

Accreditation will be the primary challenge to address in dropping the charter, however it can be argued that the Cherokee Nation in negotiation with the Federal Government can do a better job than the state by providing all aspects that are deemed necessary as previously supplied by the charter. Many accreditation items that will need to be addressed by the removal of the charter will be satisfied by the Cherokee Nation's own governmental functions. Accreditation Teacher certification, academic rigor, and curriculum support will be provided by Cherokee Nation's Language Department, Service programs, and internal agencies. Primarily accountability will be provided by the Cherokee Nation with Tribal Educational Agency status provided in cooperation with the Federal Government. As a part of a commitment to accountability, an external board of Indigenous language visionaries and leaders will be provided for an independent level of oversight. Ultimately, there are 29 Oklahoma State Department of Accreditation items within the charter that should be eliminated as the charter is exited. 48 additional items should be repurposed or corrected to meet the specific needs of our Cherokee Language Immersion School System.

Cherokee Language Department Recommendation

Our elders have said, *DhSSGY anigaduhwagi* (the original name for the Cherokee people) became a distinct people long ago. There were four original clans. Which eventually became corrupted through conflict and left the island they originated. All but the brown clan were washed away. In time the brown clan split itself up and even the brown clan became corrupted through conflict and were told to leave by *ᎠᎵᎠᎵᎠᎵ unetlanvhi* (The Provider of All Things, God) from turtle island. A few segments of that brown clan stayed behind as others left. After a period, those segments of the brown clan became corrupt as well, only this time *ᎠᎵᎠᎵᎠᎵ unetlanvhi* separated the *DhSSGY anigaduhwagi* from the rest of the brown clan. We were told to leave the island with a list of items that were paramount for the continued existence of being Cherokee. *DhSSGY anigaduhwagi* are a people that have an individual covenant with the creator. Our sovereignty as a Nation and People is intertwined with this obligation. Sovereignty can mean a lot of things from the ability to manage our own lands, raise our own children, and self-govern as well as many other significant powers and responsibilities, but all of this hinges on the sovereign right to maintain our identity, the sovereign right to educate our own children. If a people are not over their children's education, then they are not over their own philosophies, beliefs, and the language they speak - the vehicle for our highest ideals and moral righteousness. Without the Cherokee language being reintroduced to our people we will be a people that will always remain in mental bondage, because our young will be bound in mind and tongue by the teachings of those other than our own.

In the past we have been in physical and mental bondage but have always been able to remain as *SSGY gaduhwagi* because our spirits remain Cherokee through our original ways of being. When those ways were threatened of being lost, we would always gather, began to *ᎠᎵᎠᎵᎠᎵ disosisodi* (to deliberate/to make things good), and doing so were able to regulate ourselves. We always renewed ourselves as *DhSSGY anigaduhwagi*.

Accreditation, by definition, acknowledges a particular status or evaluates qualifications to perform certain activities. The definition implies that the accrediting body would serve as an authority, or expert, in the area being examined for accreditation status. It is clear that the Oklahoma State Department of Education (OKSDE) is not qualified to evaluate the effectiveness of the teaching of Cherokee language in our immersion schools. It is also clear that in order to maintain our charter school status and remain in good standing with OKSDE, we must subject our students to mandates that promote the English language while undeniably impeding our ability to teach the Cherokee language and countermining our foundational goal. 77-line items are included in the 2023-2024 Oklahoma State Department of Accreditation Charter School Checklist. There are no items promoting the learning of Indigenous languages. However, several policies designed to promote learning the English language are included. Maintaining our current charter school accreditation status with OKSDE does not promote the growth and revitalization of the Cherokee language and culture. While charter school accreditation is not beneficial to the Cherokee language, it does institute a thorough system of accountability, monitoring, and standards-based academic programming. With this understanding the administrative team from the Department of Cherokee Language must evaluate the accreditation process established by the state of Oklahoma. Voluntarily relinquishing charter status will require Cherokee Nation to develop a new form of governance for the school.

While considering this, it is important to point out these fundamental truths: As Cherokee people we are accountable to our language and our children. Monitorship only reports on quality; it does not guarantee it. Academic rigor is useless in an immersion setting if it prevents one from examining the living qualities, principles, and values of our language.

Accountability as it is demonstrated through the OKSDE accreditation process consists of school law and finance policies as defined by the Oklahoma State School Board, Oklahoma State Legislature legislative mandates (including 3 which promote English-only learning environments), and several human resource policies that overlap with Cherokee Nation Human Resources. In all there are 29 accreditation checklist line items regulated only by OKSDE that would be obsolete if the Cherokee Immersion School exits the charter. Cherokee Nation would have to examine options for repurposing the need for insurance bonds for some members of the school administrative team, which has been overseen by the Cherokee Nation Attorney General's Office, Treasurer, and Education Department. One other necessity addressed solely by OKSDE is an explanation of the academic curriculum adopted by the school board. In the absence of a charter agreement the task of maintaining a rigorous school curriculum would be addressed by the administrative team from the Department of Cherokee Language.

OKSDE currently monitors 33 accreditation line items which are necessary to ensure a safe learning environment and promote the health and wellbeing of the Immersion School students and staff. These items include oversight measures for facilities, buses, equipment, staff, and students. They also address seven federal policy mandates regarding Title IX, Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), Child Nutrition, and the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act of 1974 (FERPA) and other title programs as well as a policy on Tribal Regalia. Even though OKSDE monitors these policies through accreditation requirements it is important to note they do not contribute to their development or implementation. Implementation procedures are established by school administration in collaboration with a number of Cherokee Nation entities including the Marshal Service, EMS, Public Health, Human Resources, Indian Child Welfare, Risk Management, Facilities, The Department of Cherokee Language, Cherokee Nation Tribal Council and the Office of the Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation.

Academic rigor is addressed through the charter accreditation process by requiring schools to enroll students in at least "6 periods of rigorous instruction" throughout the school day, as stated in item 11 on the elementary school site checklist. Those six periods usually consist of language arts, reading, social studies, physical education, mathematics, and science as established in the Oklahoma Academic Standards. These courses are presented during stand-alone periods for each subject area and are graded independently. The expectation is that each grade level will teach academic content intended to prepare students for subsequent grade levels in an attempt to scaffold students from one grade to another until they ultimately reach graduation. This academic model follows a linear plane through progress checkpoints where students are graded daily, weekly, and quarterly in each subject area, eventually resulting in a semester grade. Besides monitoring academic standards and content, the final seven-line items on the accreditation checklist addresses teacher and staff credentialing, student admittance, parents rights and identifying students who excel or must work through disabilities. On the contrary, learning Cherokee in an immersion setting is best accomplished through a spatial approach where the language itself guides the curriculum and standards. Rather than presenting content in stand-alone subject areas, a cultural calendar would support a cross-curricular approach using seasonal tasks, ceremonies, cultural events, history, and aspirations of future progress to teach core subject areas.

Teacher and staff credentialing, student evaluation and admittance, as well as family expectations would be measured through a commitment to the Cherokee language.

While it is clear that exiting the charter with OKSDE would release the Cherokee Immersion School from some charter school policies and mandates, it does not excuse us from being accountable, or responsible, to our children and their families. We should not dismiss standards. Standards guide us as we continue to refine the Cherokee language teaching process. However, it is necessary to eliminate policies, standards, and mandates that harm the Cherokee language. In summary, there are 29 Oklahoma State Department of Accreditation items that should be eliminated. The 48 additional items should be re-purposed and embraced as guiding principles in maintaining a high performing educational environment.

When the state partners with the tribe and sponsors the school as an Indigenous language immersion school, the state dictates academic content to the sponsor through accreditation requirements. This requires guaranteed Cherokee focused language learning environment where students learn Cherokee during formative years, where otherwise is usually set aside for English instruction. If we do not insist on a high level of Cherokee proficiency at this point, the students will not have the linguistic ability to understand abstract academic content, and they will not be intellectually capable of academic success in the target language. The academic skills we expect to transfer to English cannot be developed. We then take Cherokee away in middle school to prepare students for an English language medium high school effectively producing a student who is both a mediocre Cherokee student and a mediocre English student who doesn't have a grasp of their own identity and is destined to struggle in high school, and potentially for the rest of their academic career.

We recommend that the Cherokee Language Department begin its self-certification process while working with the Department of Education to become a Tribal Education Agency (TEA). The Cherokee Language Department believes that the self-certification should be intact and operated concurrently and state charter should be dropped no later than the summer of 2026, in which should become the exclusive certification of the Immersion Schools of the Cherokee Nation. It is undoubtedly in the best interest of our people and our Language to drop the Oklahoma State Charter for the *CWY ᏍᏏᏁᏍᏏᏁᏍᏏ tsalagi tsudeloloquasdi* (The Cherokee Immersion School System). For us to have educational sovereignty over our children, this will allow us to renew and reinvent ourselves, we will deliberate in our language with our original ways as our elders have always done.

The recommendation from Cherokee Nation Education Services would be non-renewal of the charter at its expiration on June 30, 2026. This recommendation assumes Cherokee Immersion Charter School administration has agreed on a new accreditation process, established a curriculum at each grade level that ensures a student's successful transition to the next grade level, produced methods for evaluation of curriculum and staff, created new student assessments considering curriculum, and identified revenue to off-set loss of federal and state funding. Another consideration that needs attention prior to leaving the charter is student testing. In the absence of state testing, it is imperative progress can be tracked individually and collectively. These items are not the total considerations needed to ensure a successful transition from the state charter system to a system established by Cherokee Immersion Charter School. However, Cherokee Nation Education Services is confident the goals set within can be achieved by the expiration of the current charter.

Undoing the highly effective federal policies that were intentionally designed to undermine indigenous cultures by destroying our languages and worldviews requires a multi-faceted approach aimed at revitalization. Such lines of effort have in the past focused on documentation, preservation, academics, linguistics, immersion programs and schools, and many others, both synchronous and asynchronous in nature. The flagship initiative in true Cherokee language revitalization began over two decades ago with ᎠᎩᏍᎩᏱᎠᎩ the Cherokee Immersion school and it is now growing in efficacy on a daily basis with increased attention to linguistic and cultural competency, reinforcing our teaching resources, staffing skills, and strengthening the rigor and discipline of our programming and expectations. The school is both a focus for foundational priority outcomes, and a means to achieving success in all other Cherokee language endeavors. The need to increase the self-accountability and efficacy of the school is a top priority of the Cherokee Language Department. Overall revitalization and strengthening of the Cherokee language is the heart of Cherokee Nation's Language Department's efforts to expand its strategies in ways that will support the successes we have already achieved.

Studies have shown that one such line of effort aimed at bolstering generational bilingualism in the home has proven a highly effective catalyst in proliferating and thereby sustaining other efforts beyond the classroom (Lourdes, 2019). Although our efforts in the Cherokee Nation address this to a growing degree, we require continued focus on the Cherokee language within the school itself. English is a predator language, a language of cultural hegemony, and as soon as we create new speakers, they are released into the wild as children and adults without the stabilizing effects of in-home Cherokee language use and without a strong language focus as the foundation of our learning precedes in the school, our learners tend to gradually lose what they have learned. Only by achieving the highest levels of proficiency and ensuring consistent usage of the language can we ensure that our learners gain the cognitive and academic benefits of mastering the Cherokee language. These skills and multiple intelligences do carry over to all intellectual and academic endeavors including English medium educational processes.

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know the focus on Cherokee language advancement will increase not only the overall success of our learners in maintaining their Cherokee identity, advancing their communicative competency in Cherokee, and acquiring academic and intellectual skills, and transferring those skills into every aspect of their lives, it will give them the tools they need to be successful in any endeavor. Not despite their Cherokee language speaking abilities but because of them.

Auer, P., & Wei, L. (2007). Early bilingual and multilingual acquisition. In J. Paradis, Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication (pp. 15-44). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Heppell, S. S., Snover, M. L., & Crowder, L. B. (2002). Sea Turtle Population Ecology. In P. L. Lutz, J. A. Musick, & J. Wyneken, The Biology of Sea Turtles, vol II, 2 (pp. 275-99). CRC Press.

Lourdes, O. (2019). The Study of Heritage Language Development From a Bilingualism and Social Justice Perspective. Language Learning: A Journal of Research and Language Studies 70(1), 15-53.

Increasing Cherokee Instruction

Over the last year, recent assessments conducted at the Cherokee Language Immersion School (tsundehlquasdi) have shown that students were missing vocabulary in the same domains. The administration and curriculum team at ᏚᏚᏉᏗᏚᏉᏗ tsundehlquasdi realized that even though the students were advancing in academic studies and increasing their Cherokee language proficiency in the school, the learners had language gaps showing that they were not acquiring the language in setting for domains outside tsundehloquasdi. They were effectively only getting Cherokee language exposure while they were in the immersion school, and that very little language was being offered in the home. This means that we must not only implement support language programming for learners outside of the school, but we must strengthen the communicative competency of our learners while we have them under our roof in the language center at our school.

It is certain that if there were more language learning opportunities in the home setting and if parents of tsundehlquasdi students had a higher level of language proficiency to converse with their children, then students would have a larger base of vocabulary, and the lexical choices they would select would show much greater variation. However, historically we have only focused on the school as a learning environment and with limited focus on Cherokee language competency. We provided the equivalent of an English education in the Cherokee language. The reason this has fallen short is that through limiting our focus on only academic subject areas and only those language lexical found in mainstream classrooms we have not fully developed the proficiency of our students. We are implementing cultural curriculum to expand the real world, applied vocabulary at the school, and changing the learning environment to be more conversational (two way) and less instructional (one way), while engaging the learners and encouraging to engage one another in Cherokee language conversations. Through the natural diversity found between different Cherokee homes, families, and domains they choose to engage with, the lexical choices being used in a daily basis outside of school would naturally develop their own diversity and that diversity would be reflected in the students' communicative Cherokee vocabulary. The current lack of lexical diversity among tsundehlquasdi students broadcasts a limited access to language learning opportunities outside of the school, and a need to refocus our Cherokee school around Cherokee language communicative competency.

Over the last five years, ᏍᏏᏉᏩᏍᏔᏅ tsundehlquasdi has implemented a strategic process to focus on Cherokee language communicative competency. Previous iterations have been divided in focus. The desire for quality bilingual education diverted our interests from a Cherokee language focused approach to education. In an effort to appease the charter we have created two opposing goals. It is indeed possible to learn multiple languages simultaneously, however with the only salient opportunity to learn Cherokee in tsundehlquasdi, our children are not able to access and acquire conversational Cherokee language at the same rate that they do English. They live in an English world, with English using parents, families, and communities. Media alone accounts for an extremely high rate of English dominance. Although there are strategies being enacted to oppose this influence through robust language initiatives and programming, currently our Cherokee learners have limited opportunities to use Cherokee and acquire the language outside of school. The fear of English academic failure and a contrary division of focus between English proficiency and Cherokee proficiency has divided the efforts and momentum of the school for too long. Subservient accommodations to the state charter has put the immersion school at odds with ourselves by pushing two opposing goals. If tsundehlquasdi is the only place to build a Cherokee speaker, we must be certain to put all of our skills, energy, and goals towards that objective. The difficulties tsundehlquasdi has had with testing has been a symptom of this internal dissonance and exemplifies the results of this conflict.

Achievement Testing

At the Immersion School or tsundehlquasdi the target language is Cherokee, and the medium of educational communication is also Cherokee. In the past some English was used for academic efforts, but Cherokee literacy has always been the primary source of academic delivery. Academic and intellectual skills transfer from a person's target language to their home language with ease, however given that a few of the primary goals of the immersion school are Cherokee language literacy and academic competency, English literacy was introduced at higher grade levels. The state tests are in English, a language the students can speak well but have had little to no formal educational instruction about or with in tsundehlquasdi. The students do not read or write in English. When English tests are administered the few learners with private English tutoring or at the very highest levels do have some English literacy competency but the overwhelming majority of ᏍᏏᏉᏩᏍᏔᏅ students are unable to process the English language to demonstrate any academic skills as required. This divides the school in all coherent function. The opposing goals of instruction and testing are at the heart of these testing events, and they most likely affect the overall educational experiences of the learners and their families alike. Standardized testing is valuable when you test for competencies that the students are able to understand and communicate. Testing them in a language they are not literate in is counterproductive. The mandates of the state charter require compliance to English standardized testing and thus must stop.

We have been making preparations for multiple opportunities to replace English Standardized testing. Through the implementation of Cultural curriculum, academic content will be cross referenced to be contextualized through both narrative traditional Cherokee stories, and cultural activities orchestrated to a yearly seasonal calendar based on traditional Cherokee holidays. Group projects, team presentations, active formative and summative assessments based on graduated instruction. In lieu of English standardized testing a learning portfolio will be used as an alternative for formalized English instruction. Each student will have an individualized portfolio compiled in Cherokee and English to document and assess their Cherokee language proficiency, funds of knowledge cultural resources in the family, and their knowledge in the core academic content areas. Assessment of Cherokee Language competency through oral interviews and linguistic assessment will be a priority. We will be able to accurately describe, predict and

assess the development of Cherokee language competency and academic skill at each grade level. As a part of this plan, Curriculum will be developed for families and parents of immersion students to ensure that the learning process happens at home in conjunction with the classroom. The parents will have access to complimentary material, in the Cherokee language, that their children are concurrently learning at their grade level, culturally, academically, and conversationally. In addition, the tsundehlquasdi has implemented formative and summative oral proficiency assessments over the past year and a half and is working on content based written standardized testing in the Cherokee language medium.

When the proficiency of our target language Cherokee is the primary focus of instruction and assessment, the review of academic competencies will be accurate. Further, increasing the Cherokee language comprehension and overall communicative competency of students will enable them to best understand complex academic content and higher-level thinking required for academic competency. If they cannot understand the lessons, they will not gain the intellectual skills to be academically successful. By increasing Cherokee language proficiency, the academic subjects, they learn in their target language will transfer to any language they know, and when they do become literate in English their academic skills will be more robust and they will perform better across the board, in all areas of life.

Child Nutrition

One of the funding issues that we are working to address when the Charter is dropped is the Child Nutrition Program. This is a federally funded program monitored by the Oklahoma State Department of Education, but this funding source would still be available if the Cherokee Immersion School were recognized and funded on the federal level, rather than the state level. The Cherokee Immersion School ᏍᏊᏁᏍᏗ began the 2023-24 school with 75 students who qualified for free lunch and/or breakfast. Over this last year, eight students received reduced pricing and 38 students were paid in full by Cherokee Nation. ᏍᏊᏁᏍᏗ tsundehlquasdi food service is reimbursed monthly from August to May based on those student statistics. During the 2023-24 school year Cherokee Immersion School was reimbursed \$64,850.52. This averages out to be \$6,485 per month.

Federal Title Programs

Various Title Programs are federally-funded programs that have been monitored by the Oklahoma State Department of Education. These funding sources would still be available if the Cherokee Immersion School (CIS) were recognized and funded on the federal level, rather than the state level. CIS currently receives funding from a variety of sources including title program funds, which are based on student demographics; special education funds, which are based on students with disabilities; ESSER III American Rescue Plan, which applies to COVID-19 recovery; Impact Aid, which addresses the needs of students who live on or have families who work on tribal land. Also included is a one-time state-level grant addressing the need for a school resource officer. In total, funds from these sources amounted to \$362,761.27 during the 2024 fiscal year. However, it should be noted that the ESSER III funds (\$183,927.72), along with the School Resource Officer Grant (\$92,000) will expire by September 2024. The projected funding for the remaining annual formula grants would be approximately \$86,833.00.

Transportation Reimbursement

Cherokee Immersion School (ᎠᎵᏍᏗᎵᏍᏗ) has never before offered student transportation to or from the school site. This issue is not about a funding source that we would “lose”. However, it is the intention of the ᎠᎵᏍᏗᎵᏍᏗ school administration to offer student transportation in the future. Because transportation reimbursement funds are generated by the state, our school system would not have access to that existing funding source. The funding amount we would need is projected, based upon our research would fluctuate annually due to a slight shift geographical make-up of the student population. The most recent data from the Oklahoma State Department of Education shows that, on average, districts were reimbursed anywhere from \$75.00 to \$100.00 per eligible student, annually.

The calculation used to determine this amount includes the following three elements: First, the Transportation Factor of 1.39, which has been the same since 1983 (set in statute), second, the Average Daily Haul (ADH), which includes students eligible for transport divided by days taught. These students must live at least 1.5 miles from the school and must be in attendance to be “eligible”. Finally, the third element is the Density Figure which can be found by dividing the district total ADH by the area served (total square miles of the district). The Density Figure for an established school district can be found in the statutory sliding scale to determine the Per Capita Allowance. This information is valuable because it demonstrates that even an approximate dollar amount may be difficult to project at this time, however this is a salient issue, because without the charter we would not have access to this funding source to initiate a bus route for our students.

Self-Certification by 2026

The initial suggestion was to drop the charter as quickly and effectively as possible. However, periodically there is a formal process to renew charter status and our window opens up for this process in 2026. Due to the concerns listed above and uncertainties as to the exact outcome of the potential challenges of dropping the charter, we do not believe that it will be possible to do so within the next year. Therefore, two years from now, when the renewal window is available to us, we will have had two years to prepare for any processes that we need to undergo to self-certify and secure the proper protocols and ensure continued funding without a state charter.

Report Appendix

Cherokee Language Department Teacher Certification 04.03.2024

“Objective 3: Development and formalization of a Cherokee Nation Language Teacher Certification that is rigorous and detailed, specific to Cherokee language needs.” – 2021 NLCC Cherokee Language Strategic Document

Results & Benefits: Cherokee Language Committee and Cherokee Language Board members created a Cherokee Language Teacher certification process and criteria standards. The Cherokee Language Department uses developed standards to evaluate and certify Cherokee Nation’s Language teachers, certification is classified by Language learners’ proficiency levels and targets mastery of Cherokee medium teaching methodology and techniques. This language targeted approach to teacher certification focuses on language acquisition and pushes the designated outcome for growth in language proficiency and literacy in Cherokee language speakers, teachers, employees, and leaders.

Criteria for Evaluating: The Cherokee Language Committee created the criteria to select Cherokee language board members. The Cherokee Language Committee and selected Board members created criteria for Cherokee Nation’s Language Teacher Certification process and the Cherokee Language Department created a committee to evaluate and certify the new Cherokee Language Teachers based upon the criteria developed. The rigorous qualifications for certification ensure that Cherokee Language teachers have all the skills and training to successfully instruct and oversee Cherokee Language classes and revitalization efforts.

Teacher Certification Criteria for Curriculum and Instruction 10.12.21

Characteristics of good criteria for teacher certification:

1. The teacher certification criteria is continuously evolving.
2. The teacher certification criteria is based on the affective, social, and cultural needs of the people.
3. The teacher certification criteria is democratically conceived.
4. The teacher certification criteria is the result of a long-term effort.
5. The teacher certification criteria is a complex of details.
6. The teacher certification criteria complements and cooperates with other programs of the community.
7. The teacher certification criteria is culturally relevant and academically rigorous.
8. The teacher certification criteria allows flexibility for the professional needs of each teacher candidate.
9. The teacher certification criteria is systematic and has objectives that depend, in part, on knowledge of the different approaches to teaching.

Teacher Certification Approach

The Cherokee language Department’s Teacher certification criteria reflect the (Cherokee language) curriculum goals of language acquisition. Certification is now language acquisition focused for content or subject areas in the Cherokee language medium with allowances for language enrichment. As such, certified Cherokee Language Teachers demonstrate language proficiency and professional competencies grounded in culturally supportive Cherokee values,

behaviors, and beliefs. Cherokee Language Teacher Certification Criteria, and the process for certification was developed to address the following questions:

1. Do the teacher certification criteria target teacher competencies associated with values, behaviors, and beliefs from the perspective of Cherokee Worldview?
2. Do the teacher certification criteria target appropriate language proficiency and communicative competency necessary for learners' language acquisition?
3. Do the teacher certification criteria help support teachers initiating, developing, and maintaining conversations, writing, and reading skills in Cherokee?
4. Are the teacher certification criteria flexible and evolving regularly to meet the needs of the teachers, learners, as well as the Cherokee Nation and to allow creative teaching?
5. Are the teacher certification criteria motivational, engaging, and inspiring?
6. Are the teacher certification criteria presented in a logical sequence while incorporating Cherokee customs, life ways, philosophy, and traditions?
7. Do the teacher certification criteria recognize or acknowledge the different learning theories, approaches and/or activities?
8. Do the teacher certification criteria support teacher-student planning in defining instructional goals and determining how they will be implemented?
9. Do the teacher certification criteria support lessons relating to the society or community in which the criteria will be implemented, or the teaching will be done?
10. Do the teacher certification criteria support the individual learners and their needs, purposes, interests, and abilities?
11. Do the teacher certification criteria support the culture of the Cherokee people and support the inclusion of community, language, history, culture experts into instructional activities?
12. Do the teacher certification criteria support the connection of learners to language through home and family contexts?

Sample Teacher Certification Criteria for Competencies Class A.

Class A. Focus: Assisted Teaching with Cherokee language enrichment classes with a Class B Certified teacher in public school settings or independent teaching for Enrichment classes with Cherokee Literacy in the communities.

1) Language Proficiency Competency - *Intermediate low* Certification: Some conversational and conjugational abilities.

1. Can the teacher roughly produce simple everyday interactions in Cherokee?
2. Can the teacher identify and roughly describe objects and people in Cherokee?
3. Can the teacher roughly discuss on-going and daily activities in Cherokee?
4. Can the teacher roughly discuss general information about self and others in Cherokee?
5. Can the teacher follow simple Cherokee commands and statements?
6. Can the teacher roughly express feelings and ideas using the Cherokee language?
7. Can the teacher read in the Cherokee "Sequoyah Syllabary"?

2) Curriculum Development Competency - Certification and/or Experience: Some background with development of lesson sequencing, planning, standards, and teaching objectives.

Class A. Potential Certification Assessment:

- 1) Proficiency Interview: Oracy and Literacy evaluation, for Language Proficiency Certification
- 2) Audio/Video Teaching Sample: Audio or Video recording, 10:00-40:00 in length for review.
- 3) Curriculum/Lesson Sample – all of the following: Resume, a sample Lesson Plan, and Images of Classroom/Teacher Setting the candidate once used while teaching.
- 4) Competency Criteria Interview:
 - a) Can the teacher applicant describe a supportive and safe learning environment?
 - b) Can the teacher applicant describe lesson planning and teaching objectives?
 - c) Can the teacher applicant describe teaching practices and hands on classroom experiences?
 - d) Can the teacher applicant describe the association between language and culture?

Sample Teacher Certification Criteria for Competencies Class B.

Class B. Focus: Assisted Teaching with Cherokee language arts immersion classes with a Class C Certified teacher in immersion settings or independent teaching for Cherokee language arts enrichment classes with Cherokee Literacy in the public schools.

- 1) Language Proficiency Competency - *Intermediate high* Certification: Demonstrates conversational and conjugational skills; Literate in Cherokee Language.
 1. Can the teacher communicate about functional, everyday interactions in Cherokee?
 2. Can the teacher functionally describe situations, objects, and people in Cherokee?
 3. Can the teacher functionally discuss common and daily activities in Cherokee?
 4. Can the teacher functionally discuss information about self and others in Cherokee?
 5. Can the teacher give functional Cherokee statements in different social contexts?
 6. Can the teacher functionally express feelings and ideas using the Cherokee language?
 7. Can the teacher read and write in the Cherokee “Sequoyah Syllabary”?
- 2) Curriculum Development Competency - Certification and/or Experience: Demonstrates development of lesson sequencing, planning, standards, and teaching objectives.
- 3) Child Development Competency - Certification and/or Experience: Demonstrates understanding of age-appropriate pedagogical strategies and child psychology, as well as adverse childhood trauma, and generational trauma in families and communities.
- 4) Classroom Management Competency - Experience: Demonstrates understanding of preventative strategies, correctional strategies, classroom organization, time management strategies, and scheduling.

Class B. Potential Certification Assessment:

- 1) Proficiency Interview: Oracy and Literacy evaluation, for Language Proficiency Certification. *Intermediate high* Certification: Demonstrates conversational and conjugational skills.
- 2) Audio/Video Teaching Sample: Audio or Video recording, 10:00-40:00 in length for review.
- 3) Curriculum/Lesson Portfolio: A) Bio, B) CV or Resume, C) Academic Samples, one week of Lesson Plans and a sample of candidate’s Cherokee writing in Cherokee syllabary, and D) Images of Classroom/Teacher Setting the candidate once used while teaching.
- 4) Competency Criteria Interview:
 - a) Can the teacher applicant describe a supportive and safe learning environment?
 - b) Can the teacher applicant describe lesson planning and teaching objectives?
 - c) Can the teacher applicant describe teaching practices and hands on classroom experiences?

- d) Can the teacher applicant describe the association between language and culture?
- e) Can the teacher applicant describe childhood & Intergenerational trauma, its causes & effects?
- f) Can the teacher applicant describe child psychology in a classroom context?
- g) Can the teacher applicant describe age-appropriate behavior in childhood development?

Sample Teacher Certification Criteria for Competencies Class C.

Class C. Focus: Assisted Teaching with academic subjects in Cherokee language immersion classes with a Class D. Certified teacher in immersion settings or independent teaching for Cherokee language arts immersion classes in a language medium (immersion) setting.

1) Language Proficiency Competency - *Advanced low* Certification: Adept at conversational and conjugational skills; Literate in Cherokee Language.

- 1. Can the teacher functionally communicate using all time frames in Cherokee?
- 2. Can the teacher functionally describe, in detail, situations and people in Cherokee?
- 3. Can the teacher functionally discuss, in detail, common & reoccurring activities in Cherokee?
- 4. Can the teacher functionally discuss, in detail, information about themselves/others in Cherokee?
- 5. Can the teacher give functional explanations of different social contexts using Cherokee?
- 6. Can the teacher explain feelings and ideas, in detail, using the Cherokee language?
- 7. Can the teacher read and write in the Cherokee "Sequoyah Syllabary"?

2) Curriculum Development Competency - Certification and/or Experience: Adept at development of lesson sequencing, planning, standards, and teaching objectives.

3) Child Development Competency - Certification and/or Experience: Adept understanding of age-appropriate pedagogical strategies and child psychology, as well as adverse childhood trauma, and generational trauma in families and communities.

4) Classroom Management Competency - Experience: Adept understanding of preventative strategies, correctional strategies, classroom organization, time management strategies, and scheduling.

Class C. Potential Certification Assessment:

1) Proficiency Interview: Oracy and Literacy evaluation, for Language Proficiency Certification. - *Advanced low* Certification: Adept at conversational and conjugational skills.

2) Audio/Video Teaching Sample: Audio or Video recording, 10:00-40:00 in length for review.

3) Curriculum/Lesson Portfolio: A) Bio, B) CV or Resume, C) Academic Samples from the candidate, one unit of Lesson Plans and a one-page sample essay in Cherokee, and D) Images of Classroom/Teacher Setting the candidate used while teaching.

4) Competency Criteria Interview:

- a) Can the teacher applicant describe a supportive and safe learning environment?
- b) Can the teacher applicant describe lesson planning and teaching objectives?
- c) Can the teacher applicant describe teaching practices and hands on classroom experiences?
- d) Can the teacher applicant describe the association between language and culture?

- e) Can the teacher applicant describe childhood & Intergenerational trauma, its causes & effects?
- f) Can the teacher applicant describe child psychology in a classroom context?
- g) Can the teacher applicant describe age-appropriate behavior in childhood development?

Sample Teacher Certification Criteria for Competencies Class D.

Class D. Focus: Independent, Cherokee Language Medium for Subject Area Academic Content in Cherokee Language medium (immersion) settings.

1) Language Proficiency Competency - *Advanced high* Certification: Mastery of conversational and conjugational skills; Literate in Cherokee Language.

- 1. Can the teacher communicate accurately in all time frames in Cherokee?
- 2. Can the teacher explain, in accurate detail, situations and people in Cherokee?
- 3. Can the teacher accurately discuss detailed and diverse activities in Cherokee?
- 4. Can the teacher accurately discuss, details about themselves and others in Cherokee?
- 5. Can the teacher give functional & accurate explanations in different Cherokee social contexts?
- 6. Can the teacher accurately explain detailed feelings and ideas using the Cherokee language?
- 7. Can the teacher read and write in the Cherokee “Sequoyah Syllabary”?

2) Curriculum Development Competency - Certification and/or Experience: Professional level development of lesson sequencing, planning, standards, and teaching objectives.

3) Child Development Competency - Certification and/or Experience: Professional understanding of age-appropriate pedagogical strategies and child psychology, as well as adverse childhood trauma, and generational trauma in families and communities.

4) Classroom Management Competency - Experience: Professional understanding of preventative strategies, correctional strategies, classroom organization, time management strategies, and scheduling.

Class D. Potential Certification Assessment:

1) Proficiency Interview: Oracy and Literacy evaluation, for Language Proficiency Certification. - *Advanced high* Certification: Mastery of conversational and conjugational skills; Native speaker, or near Native speaker level Cherokee language competency.

2) Audio/Video Academic Subject Teaching Medium Sample: Audio or Video recording, 10:00-40:00 in length for review.

3) Curriculum/Lesson Portfolio: A) Bio, B) CV or Resume, C) Academic Samples in the Subject Area Academic Content area of expertise from the candidate, one unit of Lesson Plans in the Academic Content area and a one-page sample essay in Cherokee about the Academic Content area, and D) Images of Classroom/Teacher Setting the candidate used while teaching.

4) Competency Criteria Interview:

- a) Can the teacher applicant describe a supportive and safe learning environment?
- b) Can the teacher applicant describe lesson planning and teaching objectives?
- c) Can the teacher applicant describe teaching practices and hands on classroom experiences?
- d) Can the teacher applicant describe the association between language and culture?

- e) Can the teacher applicant describe childhood & Intergenerational trauma, its causes & effects?
- f) Can the teacher applicant describe child psychology in a classroom context?
- g) Can the teacher applicant describe age-appropriate behavior in childhood development?

ᏍᏏᏅᏍᏗ ᏌᏍᏗ ᏅᏍᏗ ᏅᏍᏗ **Cultural Curriculum Approach**

ᏍᏏᏅᏍᏗ ᏌᏍᏗ ᏅᏍᏗ ᏅᏍᏗ *didehyododi duyugtv iyadvhndi* “We Use This to Teach Them the Right Way” Curriculum Program: The curriculum is culturally based, supported, and integrated. It uses stories and values on a cyclical ceremonial and subsistence calendar to teach project-based assignments through cultural activities that integrate cross sectional academic subject matter.

The historical Cherokee solar/lunar/celestial calendar and tied to our historical Cherokee festivals and holidays serves as the curricular framework for the original development of the process. It is punctuated with the appropriate times to plant, harvest, hunt, fish, and gather medicines and foods, all are primary subsistence events. The framework of the curriculum is woven between the functions of the major festivals situated by the calendar and important subsistence cycles. There are traditional stories and cultural activities tied to the changes of the year. The traditional stories, cultural protocols, and traditional community values set the standards, criteria, goals, and objectives are the theoretical foundation of our curriculum’s educational content. The cultural activities provide the context and processes for the delivery of academic content via project-based learning methodologies. The Cherokee language is the medium or vehicle for the transfer of all curricular knowledge. Tied to every cultural activity, traditional teaching, and group project are the academic disciplines integrated into the cultural content that meet multiple mainstream academic standards and delivered through the Cherokee language medium.

The cultural curriculum program team is a group of professional and experienced Cherokee employees that have extensive cultural and historical backgrounds from both an academic and traditional framework will continue the process of researching, refining, evaluating, and renewing the products of our current cultural curriculum development initiative. This team will also be responsible for the research and development of Cherokee grammar models, etymological understandings of roots and stems, as well as collecting the rare and complex lexical forms.

The curriculum can be broken into seven key aspects, these specific parts of the curriculum are organized based on the functions of each aspect and how they correlate with implementation, engagement, and redevelopment to meet the growing and dynamic needs of our learners. Much of the development of these seven aspects especially necessitated a team approach, and a team approach is used to maintain the process of continual development and review.

1. The first aspect of the cultural curriculum is characterized by a collection nearly 150 traditional Cherokee stories. The stories have been sorted them and prioritized them into orders of significance based upon their association with their seasonal cycle, traditional values, and cultural protocols. The highest rotation will be in tiers one, two, and three and tier four stories may only make one appearance. The stories have been ordered by grade level and are targeted for the appropriate seasons of the cyclical calendar.

2. The second aspect focuses on the cultural activities associated with the stories, values, and protocol, we are using as our educational criteria and objectives from a Cherokee philosophical foundation. These cultural activities have been collected to create a complete a list that will be applied to the stories and are organized by both significance for subsistence, survival, social development, and regard for seasonal changes in nature and the cultural significance of those seasonal shifts. The cultural activities are incorporated into the procession of the cyclical timeline of the stories with targeted child developmental grade levels.
3. The third aspect of the cultural curriculum is a list of characters that will be in the stories from the first aspect. These stories and the characters within them are animated to bring the stories to life. A clear focus on character identity is needed to ensure that stories' characters are prominent and easily recognizable. The most popular characters in the stories have a template created to easily be incorporated into the animation of the stories. We have a well populated list of characters collected.
4. In the fourth aspect of the cultural curriculum, we collected a list of Cherokee values via interviews with Benny Smith ᏊᏊᏂᏂ and other first language Cherokee speaking elders. This initial list was already functionally complete, with a few exceptional cultural teachings that were initially overlooked but integrated into the larger list. Under the original, foundational values we have organized the more narrowly contextual values into subsets within the broader value statements. There is a list of values applied to each story. These cultural values are focus of the curriculum's goals and objectives. The stories will illustrate underlining traditional Cherokee cultural values.
5. Aspect five is closely related to the foundational cultural values of the fourth aspect in the cultural curriculum framework. Its focus is less abstract and more concretely tied to the cultural activities, and academic content. Cultural protocols in the form of behavioral expectations and instructions related to traditional teachings in Cherokee families and communities have always been a part of our oral tradition and cultural identity. Applying protocols to the objectives and integration of academic content into the cultural activities provides a grounding to explore the more abstract cultural values. The creation of content using cultural identity and behavioral protocols and teachings associated with our oral tradition were provided by first language speaking Cherokee elders to ensure that our sayings, practices, behaviors, taboos, and expressed beliefs can lend us guidance in all endeavors and even a sense of belonging. The various protocols that our elders were given, and in turn were given to us, many still follow, and by exposing our learners to them many will elect to maintain them in practice or memory, they will be connected through the teachings of our elders to our ancestors. These protocols can be about hygiene, social expectations, substance, moral guidance, or demonstrations of spiritual expression. They provide guidance and a sense of belonging.
6. The sixth aspect is the most intensive and required a strong team of animators, translators, speakers, technological experts, and educators to provide the output associated with this aspect. Creating the animations of our traditional stories is the key product of the original project. The animations will be updated, and new ones will be

created but the amazing bulk of the work was initiated in this past year. This was the most product heavy phase of the curriculum development process and required cooperation of expertise outside of the curriculum team. Characters needed to be drafted and then animated, then the backgrounds of the stories were animated as well. The stories were translated into Cherokee and recorded by highly proficient speakers. Some stories already existed in Cherokee, and these were prioritized in preference over translated stories. First language Cherokee stories have shown clear superiority in capturing natural native Cherokee tone, lexicon, and syntax over translated content. Detailed lesson plans are created to support the stories and digital content created in this aspect. These lesson plans integrate stories, values, and protocols through cultural activities. They also identify, cross reference, and enumerate the academic content already collected and translated into Cherokee replete with academic standards and teaching materials that were created by grade level for the immersion school by the curriculum team over the past two decades.

7. The seventh aspect was the final step in the initial curriculum creation process, but it is also the part that will now maintain the crux of continued development and reconstruction as the process is evaluated and refined in consistent cyclical redevelopment. This is a grammatical approach to language acquisition through context imbedded form focused instruction through conversational interaction. The curriculum team works to refine the language of the stories that have been animated to create a variety of educational examples with different levels of grammatical complexity and lexical depth. The initial stories will be in naturally spoken Cherokee but focusing on form approaches will engage each story as it is modified to demonstrate how words change through declensions and conjugations to illustrate the grammar of Cherokee in the context of the stories provided. Initial focus on form will account for simple subject and object pronoun changes commonly found in novice and intermediate level proficiency language patterns. The secondary form focus will expand the flexing of verb forms into commonly used tense patterns of novice and intermediate language proficiency targets. Thirdly, the focus on form will expand the pronoun declensions into greater ranges and complexity to provide targeted language for intermediate and advanced level of proficiency. Finally, the focus on forms will expand the complexity and variety of tense marking, syntax, and paragraph level discourse to meet the targeted language needs of intermediate and advanced Cherokee language learners. The stories altered will have lesson plans associated with each permutation that will lead teachers to teach the academic content and grammar forms in context without the need to explain Cherokee grammar using English.

As learners develop greater skill in abstract communication through the advancement of their language proficiency, overt explanations of this educational process will be a part of the conversation in the learning sessions among teachers, academic content developers, and students. It will be made clear how and why cultural curriculum has been implemented in the school and honest discussions about how academic subject areas are the norm in mainstream education will be common knowledge and targeted topics of discussion. Cherokee students will not just know that the content, approach, and objectives of our Cherokee educational system are different but also why they are different. No child will be forced to engage in cultural activities and practices,

that the family and child are opposed to, as a part of their learning. However, they will be taught about core Cherokee, activities, values, behaviors, and beliefs as lived and expressed in contemporary Cherokee families and communities throughout the Cherokee Nation. This process of exposure will also be the vehicle for the delivery of academic content and intellectual “western” academic knowledge as well as Indigenous knowledge and understanding of Cherokee values and cultural activities. Our learners will be overtly aware of Cherokee language, culture, and identity and they will also be aware of why we are teaching it and why we believe they should learn it.

General Cherokee Language Curriculum Approach

Learning materials will focus on language acquisition, in general. However, most curriculum should be acquisition focused on the Cherokee language medium with some allowances for enrichment. Language enrichment is valuable to foster motivation to speak and learn Cherokee and intend to prepare the learner for conversational language acquisition in the Cherokee language medium. We should teach the language, but we should also teach the culture of the Cherokee people. The language environment should be safe and supportive for all learners and grounded in culturally supportive values, behaviors, and beliefs. Language instructors should meet professional requirements, including proficiency, and skill certifications. Language curriculum users should utilize current methodologies and best practices in the areas of classroom management, educational technology, and cognitive development.

Language Medium (Cherokee Immersion) Specific Curriculum Criteria

1. Does the material target subject matters associated with content from the perspective of Cherokee worldview?
2. Does the material target comprehension one increment above the level targeted for performance through associative process?
3. Does the material target proficiency growth expectations that align with the learners’ amount of contact hours?
4. Does the material help learners initiate, develop, and maintain beginning conversations, writing, reading, and reading skills in Cherokee?

General Curriculum Criteria:

1. Are learning materials flexible and evolving regularly to allow creative teaching and meet the needs of the learners, teachers, as well as the Cherokee Nation?
2. Are learning materials age appropriate and do materials target specific proficiency levels?
3. Are learning materials motivational, engaging, and inspiring?
4. Are learning materials organized in a manner that allow learners of different proficiency levels to grow through collaborative learning?

5. Are the learning objectives clearly outlined for use with specific activities that result in meaningful discussion and dialogue in Cherokee?
6. Do the learning materials use scaffolding to solidify acquisition?
7. Are the learning materials repetitive function focused and conversationally based?
8. Do the learning materials and activities strongly connect learners to language through home and family contexts?
9. Are the learning materials presented in a logical sequence while incorporating Cherokee customs, lifeways, philosophy, and traditions?
10. Are the learning materials experimental, equipping learners to learn independently by use of experimentation, associative process, observation, and field studies?
11. Are the learning materials supporting the incorporation of knowledge from community language/history/culture experts?
12. Are learning materials using a diverse variety of assessments for variable learning methods? Ex: formative and summative: quizzes, tests, presentations, interviews, projects, etc.

Objectives for Cherokee Language Curriculum and Instruction

Characteristics of a good curriculum:

1. The curriculum is continuously evolving.
2. The curriculum is based on affective, social, and cultural needs of the people.
3. The curriculum is democratically conceived.
4. The curriculum is the result of long-term effort.
5. The curriculum is complex of details.
6. The curriculum provides for logical sequence of subject matter.
7. The curriculum complements and cooperates with other programs of the community.
8. The curriculum is culturally relevant and academically rigorous.
10. The curriculum has administrative, instructional, and pedagogical flexibility.
11. The curriculum arranges learning opportunities flexibility for adaptation to situations and individuals.
12. The curriculum makes maximum provision for the development of each learner's individual differences.
13. The curriculum is systematic and has objectives that depend, in part, on knowledge of the different approaches to learning.

General Cherokee Language Curriculum Framework

The following table displays the age specific curricula standards targeted for language proficiency developed and revised for the Cherokee Language Curriculum Framework for conversational language proficiency competency.

	Novice	Intermediate	Advanced
University	X	X	X
High School	X	X	X

Jr High	X	X	X
Elementary	X	X	-
Early Childhood	X	-	-

The following attributes will be used as benchmarks to ensure curriculum meets communicative and cultural competencies as well as proficiency standards throughout the developing and revision of Cherokee Language Curriculum. Primarily, the Cherokee language curriculum has been targeted for language arts and conversational proficiency, however, academic, and subject area content taught in the Cherokee language medium are targeted to meet the following competency attributes.

Communicative Competency Attributes:

1. Skills - Functional ability in the language, grammatical forms, accuracy, and volume.
2. Concepts - Subject matter: social, cultural, and academic.
3. Performance - Listening (input & intake), speaking, reading, and writing.
4. Styles - Register, specific lexical contexts, specialized subject area lexicon, length of discourse.

Cultural Competency Attributes:

1. Deference - Respect for individuals due to age, status, and achievement, and to sensitive ideas and subject areas.
2. Context - Situational linguistic and behavioral expectations: age, gender, location, time, event, and activity.
3. Non-verbal - Gesture, eye-contact, stance, physical interaction, personal space, and non-speech utterances.
4. Semantics - Differences in etymology, aesthetics, philosophical foundations, values, behaviors, and beliefs.

Accreditation

The checklist is color-coded as follows: **Red** = Not applicable to school without charter;
Green = School will maintain item for self-certification purposes; **Yellow** = School will be working on repurposing item to fit self-certification purposes.

- _____ 1. Does the district provide educational services at a residential care, treatment facility, or day treatment program and make available the service agreements/ contracts for review? *OAC 210:35-3-107; 70 O.S. § 1210.160; 70 O.S. § 6-194*
Documentation: Provide a contract with specific agency and certificates of teachers
- _____ 2. Are all mandated reports submitted in a timely manner and certified with accurate data with the exception of standalone department items # 53-61 under the District Reporting and Monitoring for Compliance section, for example, OCAS reporting? *70 O.S. § 3-104*
Documentation: Notices from other departments will be provided to RAO's. i.e. Accreditation, State Aid, Assessments, Data/Information, Instruction, TLE...
- _____ 3. Are all necessary data reported to the Office of Educational Quality and Accountability? *70 OS § 3-136 A (4)*
Documentation: current year principal survey print-out
- _____ 4. Has the school met all required financial reporting & paid financial obligations relative to all offices within Oklahoma State Department of Education, as well as all outside agencies? *OAC 210:25-5-4; OAC 210:10-1-5*
If no, provide details: _____
Documentation: RAO will receive notifications from other Departments
- _____ 5. Are the Superintendent, Treasurer, Board Minute Clerk, Activity Clerk, and all Encumbrance Clerks bonded? *70 O.S. § 5-116a, OAC 210:40-87-6*
Documentation to upload: copies of bonding for each position confirming 1) amount 2) effective date 3) name/position
- _____ 6. Have the district treasurers and **all** encumbrance clerks received the minimum of 12 hours of training on school finance laws, accounting, ethics & duties, and a minimum of 12 hours of continuing education every 3 years?
70 O.S. § 5-190
Documentation to upload: Certificates & documents with OCAS approval stamp showing 12 hours within 3-year period
- _____ 7. Does the district comply with Oklahoma Open Meeting Act and the Oklahoma Open Records Act? *25 O.S. § 301; 51 O.S. § 24A; 70 O.S. § 3-136 A (16)* ? If no, provide details:

Documentation to Upload: Provide Assurance Letter signed by Superintendent verifying all agendas/ minutes are true & accurate & stamped copy of all calendar year board meetings sent to County Clerk
Additional Documentation made available for RAO onsite review: schedule of meetings posted on website, procedures for posting agendas, posted board agendas on district's main building's front entrance at least 24 hours prior to scheduled meeting, meetings open to public at convenient time & place, guest sign in sheets,

agendas state type of meeting, ALL discussion topics listed on agenda, clearly written agenda items, properly conducted & citing of Executive Session info., etc....

- _____ 8. Does the board have at least one complete and comprehensive set of written policies in printed form, which is made available at the administrative office, to the staff, students & community? A faculty or student handbook does not meet the board policy book requirement. OAC 210:10-1-7; OAC 210:35-3-48

Documentation: Assurance letter signed by Superintendent verifying where the Board Policy book is kept and that it is made available for review by the school community AND provide Policy Book for RAO review

- _____ 9. Is each person on the governing board of the charter school in compliance with the conflict-of-interest requirements? 70 O.S. § 3-136 A (I7)

Documentation: signed disclosure statements, board policies, defined limitations, board trainings, violation procedures, etc.

- _____ 10. Has each of the governing board members for a virtual charter school met their required training according to Oklahoma Law? 70 O.S. § 5-110; 70 O.S. § 5-110.1; 70 O.S. § 3-145.3

Documentation: provide documentation of points earned

- _____ 11. Is the charter school in compliance with the Employment Security Act? 40 O.S. § 1-101

Documentation: policy and/or OCAS expenditure report showing compliance

- _____ 12. Is the charter school in compliance with the State & Education Employees Group Insurance Act and the requirements for Procedure of Payment (health insurance)? 74 O.S. § 1301; 74 O.S. § 1310.1

Documentation: Flex Benefit Audit & any policy and/or documents showing compliance

- _____ 13. Is the charter school in compliance with the requirements for a Health Insurance Plan & Payment of Additional Salary in Lieu of Employee Insurance? 70 O.S. § 5-117.5 & 70 O.S. § 5-140

Documentation: Flex Benefit Audit & any policy and/or documents showing compliance

- _____ 14. Does the district have a policy on felony record searches **and** confirms background checks have been conducted on all new employees? 70 O.S. § 5-142 Last Date policy was adopted or revised:

Documentation to Upload: Assurance Letter signed by Superintendent verifying felony/background searches have been conducted on all new employees, copy of adopted policy & list of all new employees' names

- _____ 15. **Do all newly hired or reassigned support staff meet required Paraprofessionals ESSA criteria and have obtained Oklahoma credentials? OAC 210: 20-9-102*

_____ Tier 1 Paraprofessionals in Title I Schools _____ Tier 2 Paraprofessionals in special education services

Documentation: Data will be taken from SPR - RAO Para District Report. All paras should have either a TNO or Certificate Code

- _____ 16. Are all students provided a free education without tuition or fees? 70 O.S. § 3-136 A (10)

Documentation: copy of enrollment application, handbook page, web page, enrollment policies, procedures, etc.

- _____ 17. Is the school compliant with all requirements of HB 1775? 70 O.S. § 24-157; 70 O.S. § 11-103.6

Documentation to upload: Assurance Letter signed by Superintendent verifying procedures are in place regarding HB 1775

_____ 18. Are procedures in place to ensure the observance of a minute of silence? 70 O.S. § 11-101.2
Documentation to Upload: Assurance Letter signed by Superintendent verifying minute of silence is being observed

_____ 19. Does the school have an adopted curriculum that integrates the Oklahoma Academic Standards for all subjects taught? 70 O.S. § 11-103.6a; 70 O.S. § 11-103.6o; OAC 210:35-3-66
Documentation: Provide Assurance Letter signed by Superintendent verifying Oklahoma Academic Standards are embedded throughout the adopted school curriculum.

_____ 20. Is a plan in place stating specific procedures to be followed for the reporting of child abuse, neglect, and recognition of child sexual abuse **AND** a program is offered annually to all new certified teachers & administrators including components of training on recognition and reporting of child abuse, child neglect & child sexual abuse? OAC 210:35-3-107; 70 O.S. § 1210.160; 70 O.S. § 1210.163; 70 O.S. § 6-194
Documentation: Written plan and procedures for reporting child abuse/neglect & copy of the dated sign-in sheet or certificates of attendance with the agenda or training presentation printout Certified _____
All Staff _____

_____ 21. Is a program offered annually to train staff in identifying characteristics of dyslexia and dysgraphia in students, provide methods for effective classroom instruction to meet the needs of students with dyslexia and dysgraphia & provide resources for teachers, students, and parents? 70 O.S. § 6-194 (F)
Documentation: Provide a copy of the dated sign-in sheet or certificates of attendance documenting attendance with the agenda or training presentation printout and a list or screen shot of resources available.

_____ 22. Does the district implement an Emergency Response App (including staff training), that will ensure immediate notification to & timely response by law enforcement? Name of App _____
Documentation: Provide Assurance Letter signed by Superintendent verifying which Emergency Response App the district has implemented & confirmation staff training has occurred

_____ 23. Does the district have a written plan with procedures in place to protect students, faculty, administration, and visitors from natural and man-made disasters? Is the plan on file in each school AND with the local emergency management organization within the district? 63 O.S. § 681
Documentation to upload: Assurance Letter signed by Superintendent verifying a current Emergency Management Plan is in effect and letter / e-mail from local emergency organization verifying receipt of current emergency plan

_____ 24. Does the school district have specific procedures to be followed regarding administration of medicines, medical accidents & medical emergencies, health outbreaks and information regarding immunizations & meningococcal meningitis are made available on the school website? OAC 210:35-3-107; 70 O.S. § 1210.189; 70 O.S. § 1210.190; 70 O.S. § 1210.191; 70 O.S. § 1210.195; 70 O.S. § 3243
Documentation to upload: Assurance Letter signed by Superintendent verifying procedures are in place regarding SB 658, written plan and procedures for medication policies, medical emergency & accident policies, health

disasters and screen shot of school webpage showing links to immunization and meningococcal meningitis (grades 6th -12th grade) are made available to parents.

<https://oklahoma.gov/content/dam/ok/en/health/health2/aem-documents/prevention-and-preparedness/immunizations/GuideToImmRequirements-English%2023-24.pdf>

<https://oklahoma.gov/content/dam/ok/en/health/health2/aem-documents/prevention-and-preparedness/immunizations/updated%20certificate-of-exemption%20English.pdf>

<https://oklahoma.gov/content/dam/ok/en/health/health2/documents/meningococcal-2008-final.pdf>

_____ 25. Does the district have a plan for emergency medical services including specific procedures to be followed at all extracurricular activities & athletic events held at school facilities? Is the plan on file with the local emergency medical services provider within the district? 70 O.S. § 27-104
Documentation to upload: written plan/procedures and letter/e-mail from local emergency organization verifying receipt of current Riley Rule

_____ 26. Are board minutes available reflecting the mathematics and science courses approved annually by school boards when taken in the 10th - 12th grades for high school credit from a Career Technology Centers? 70 O.S. § 11-103.6
Documentation to Upload: board minutes reflecting approved mathematics and science courses taken at Career Tech Centres

_____ 27. Has the Annual Student College Remediation & Annual 7-12 Dropout Report been presented to the local board? OAC 210:35-25-3; OAC 210:35-25-4
Documentation to Upload: current year board minutes reflecting presentation of most recent College Remediation & Dropout Info.

_____ 28. Is a current Home Language Survey Form on file for each Bilingual student counted in the WAVE student data reporting? 70 O.S. § 3-104(a)
*Documentation: copy of qualifying HLS, sorted by ethnicity and gender for the Bilingual Audit. (May **NOT** use HLS older than 16-17 school year & **ALL** new enrollments are mandated to have **NEW** HLS on file for current school year.)*

_____ 29. Does the district have an approve Gifted and Talented plan documenting student identification processes and evidence showing appropriate implementation of services being provided to identified students? 70 O.S. § 1210.307
Documentation: printout from SSO GT link showing current year G/T plan status as complete & copy of GT plan

Transportation

All items will be checked in the Fall & again in the Spring visit **IF** you've hired new bus drivers or have new bus info.

_____ 30. Do all bus drivers have the required items as required by OAC 210:30-5-8?
_____ Valid CDL License, w/S, P endorsements _____ Current OK bus driving certificate
are updated online
_____ Current health examination form _____ Current Motor Vehicle Record from the
DMV

- _____ 31. Are all in-service forms for the current year on file for all bus drivers? OAC 210:30-5-8
<https://sde.ok.gov/sites/ok.gov.sde/files/Inservicesubjects2013.pdf>
Documentation: dated in-service forms from link above-one form for each bus driver
- _____ 32. Is the district in compliance with the federal requirements for drug testing of all bus drivers **AND** has the designated supervisor over bus drivers completed the required 2-hour training for drug recognition? 49 CFR § 382; 49 CFR § 382.603
Documentation: Provide written plan stating random selection procedures, current contract with drug testing facility, and the name of the supervisor & documentation of training completion. Name _____
- _____ 33. Are all route & activity buses inspected annually by a certified inspector? OAC 210:30-5-6
Documentation: bus inspections & Oklahoma inspector certification
Inspector Name _____ Inspector No. _____
Inspector Name _____ Inspector No. _____
- _____ 34. Are two bus emergency evacuation drills performed on all buses? It is recommended that one is conducted within the first two weeks of each semester. OAC 210:30-5-6
<https://sde.ok.gov/sites/ok.gov.sde/files/Revised%20Aug%202016%20EmergencyEvacuation.pdf>
Documentation: provide drill memos or similar documentation _____ Fall _____ Spring
Do not put bus drills on the OK School Security Institute Website
- _____ 35. Are daily pre-trip inspections performed on all buses & kept on file for no fewer than 90 days? OAC 210:30-5-6
<https://sde.ok.gov/sites/ok.gov.sde/files/pretrip.pdf>
Documentation: provide dated pre-trip bus inspections _____ Fall _____ Spring

Plans and Policies

- _____ 36. Does the school have a Title IX Policy **and** operates under the Title IX Act by providing education that is free from discrimination under any educational program or activity? 34 CFR § 106.1; Title IX Last Date policy was adopted or revised: _____
Documentation to Upload & include on school website: Title IX policy which identifies district coordinator, investigator & decision makers, complaint form as well as contact information and screen shot of school webpage showing link to Title IX info.
- _____ 37. Does the school have a policy on reasonable restroom/changing area designations and is compliant with all requirements of their policy? 70 O.S. § 1-125 Last Date policy was adopted or revised: _____
Documentation to upload: Policy for Reasonable Restroom/Changing Area Designations
- _____ 38. Does the school have a policy on student pronoun usage? B.O. 2023-SR-04
Documentation to upload: Policy or procedures regarding student pronouns in the school, include any informal guidance or other communications from the district

- _____ 39. Does the school have a Discipline Policy that includes bullying & harassment **AND** the policy is posted on the school website? 70 O.S. § 24-100.4 Last Date policy was adopted or revised: _____
Documentation to upload: Disciple Policy including bullying discipline procedures
- _____ 40. Does the school have a Parental Bill of Rights policy regarding information rights and sex education rights, including advance written notice & access to material for inspection? 70 O.S. § 11-105.1
Last Date policy was adopted or revised: _____
Documentation: Provide a copy of the Policy on Parental Bill of Rights
- _____ 41. Does the school have a policy on Tribal Regalia, which also outlines any excluded items, and is compliant with all requirements of their policy? 70 O.S. § 24-160 Last Date policy was adopted or revised: _____
Documentation: Provide a copy of the Policy on Tribal Regalia
- _____ 42. Are educational services provided to suspended/expelled students? 70 O.S. § 3-136A (12), 70 O.S. § 24-101.3
Documentation: policies, procedures, handbooks, etc. regarding suspension and expulsion
- _____ 43. Does the school have a policy and operate under the requirements for the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act of 1974 (FERPA)? 20 U.S.C. 1232 (g)
Documentation: policy and/or documents showing compliance
- _____ 44. Does the school (if over **25** employees) operate in compliance with the requirements for the Oklahoma Hazard Communication Standard, including Safe Workplace & Safety Training of Employees Act? 40 O.S. § 401-424
Documentation: name of safety coordinator, employee safety training(s) agendas & information designed to communicate the hazardous chemicals to which they are exposed-including detection, chemicals in the work area, protective measures, & safety sheets
- _____ 45. Is the school in compliance with the requirements for the Asbestos Hazardous Emergency Response Act? 15 U.S.C. 2641, CFR 763
Documentation: documents showing asbestos inspections as well as corrective-action activities, copy of notice or parent letter(s) or website printout documenting communication to school community regarding presence of hazardous substances in school facility
- _____ 46. Is an approved AIDS prevention education program offered to students and is in compliance with state law and regulations **AND** does the district have a plan stating administration & implementation of educational program for an AIDS diagnosed student that is in compliance with state law & regulations, including the requirements for a Confidentiality of AIDS Infected Student Multidisciplinary Team? 63 OS § 1-502.2; 70 OS § 11-103.3
Documentation: current educational student program with provider information and the written plan of execution
- _____ 47. Does the charter school have a policy covering requirements for Student Smoking Bans and the Drug-Free Schools Act? 63 O.S. § 1-1523, 20 U.S.C. 608; 20 U.S.C. § 710
Documentation: policies, handbooks, documents related to, etc.
- _____ 48. Does the district have a board approved written policy addressing:

- _____ 1) the criteria to be used in the evaluation and selection of materials for the media program;
- _____ 2) procedures to review the educational suitability & age-appropriate nature of any material in a library in the district;
- _____ 3) procedures for receiving & responding to complaints regarding materials in a library in the district?

OAC 210:35-3-126(a)(1); OAC 210:35-3-126(a)(12) Last Date policy was adopted or revised: _____

Documentation to Upload: Copy of media policy, including procedures for material review & complaint process

- _____ 49. The Superintendent has submitted an Attestation that the school has provided a complete & accurate record of any books and other materials available in any school library in the district **AND** has transmitted to the SDE either:
- 1) a complete listing of all books & other materials available in **ANY** library in the district **OR**
- 2) a link containing the online school library catalog(s) of all books & other materials available in **ANY** library in the district

OAC 210:35-3-126(a)(10)

*Documentation to Upload: Superintendent Signed Attestation of compliance with a complete listing of all books **AND** either a list to their complete listing of all books & materials **OR** a link to a complete listing of all books & materials*

- _____ 50. Does the charter school have a description of the personnel policies & personnel qualifications?

70 O.S. § 3-136 B

Documentation: staff handbook showing personnel policies, hiring procedures, staff qualifications, evaluation process.....

- _____ 51. Does the charter school have a description of the methods of governance? 70 O.S. § 3-136 B

Documentation: board selection & position processes, board's responsibilities, meeting schedule, organizational structure....

- _____ 52. Does the charter school have a description of the duties performed by the sponsor and communication feedback from the sponsor of the charter school? 70 O.S. § 3-136 B

Documentation: sponsor framework tool, dashboard printouts, meeting/discussion processes...

DISTRICT REPORTING & MONITORING FOR COMPLIANCE

Below Accreditation Compliance Information will be provided to RAO's from various SDE Departments

- _____ 53. Accreditation: This Charter School follows the Oklahoma Charter Act & has a current application and up-to-date signed contract on file with OSDE. OAC 210:40-87-5; OAC 210:40-87-7
If no, provide details:

- _____ 54. *Special Education: This District is in compliance OR has completed all corrective action(s) required by the Office of Special Education in a timely manner as it pertains to the IDEA Act.
If no, provide details:

- _____ 55. *Child Nutrition: This District is in compliance OR has completed all corrective action(s) required by the Office of Child Nutrition Programs in a timely manner as it pertains to Federal regulations.
If no, provide details:

- _____ 56. *Federal Programs: This District is in compliance with all applicable requirements in a timely manner as it pertains to Federal Law.
If no, provide details:

- _____ 57. *Accountability: This District is in compliance with all applicable requirements in a timely manner as it pertains to the Office of Accountability.
If no, provide details:

- _____ 58. *OCAS: This District is in compliance with all applicable requirements in a timely manner as it pertains to Oklahoma Cost Accounting System (OCAS)? Mandated deadlines include
_____ Certification Sept. 1, Sept. 30, Dec. 1
_____ Estimate of Needs Oct. 1, Certification,
_____ Audit Submission to SDE March 31 OR April 30
_____ Exceeding Admin Cost
_____ Negative Ending Fund Balance
If no, provide details:

- _____ 59. *Alternative Education: This District is in compliance with all 16 criteria or on an approved Plan of Improvement in a timely manner as it pertains to Alternative Education.
If no, provide details:

- _____ 60. *Reading Sufficiency: This District is in compliance with all applicable requirements in a timely manner as it pertains to Reading Sufficiency Act. 70 O.S. § 1210.508

If no, provide details:

_____ 61. *School Personnel Records: This District is in compliance with all applicable requirements in a timely manner as it pertains to School Personnel Records.

If no, provide details:

CHARTER ELEMENTARY CHECKLIST

- _____ 1. Are handbooks provided to students, parents and teachers as required by SDE regulations? OAC 210:35-3-69
Documentation to upload: Copy of handbook cover & web address for each site's handbook posted online
- _____ 2. Does this site have a Safe School Committee who meet no less than once per year? 70 O.S. 24-100.5
Documentation to upload: minutes of meeting(s) & sign in sheet with names & titles of attendees. Be sure to include all 3 mandated topics of discussion (bullying, human trafficking & suicide)
- _____ 3. Does this site have a Healthy & Fit Committee who meet no less than once per year? 70 O.S. 24-100a
Documentation to upload: minutes of meeting(s) & sign in sheet with names & titles of attendees
- _____ 4. Is a minimum of one fire drill conducted each semester, in which all students and employees participate? Drills must be conducted within first 15 days of each semester & posted on the School Security webpage. 70 O.S. § 5-149
Documentation: Print email from school security verifying receipt of information
- _____ 5. Is a minimum of one tornado drills conducted in both September and March of the school year, in which all students & employees participate? Information must be posted on the School Security webpage. 70 O.S. § 5-149
Documentation: Print email from school security verifying receipt of information
- _____ 6. Is a minimum of four security drills conducted per school year, in which all students & employees participate? Two must be performed within the first 15 days of each semester & posted on the School Security webpage. 70 O.S. § 5-148
Documentation: Print email from school security verifying receipt of information
- _____ 7. Are two additional drills performed that are consistent with the risks assessed for the site & posted on the School Security webpage? 70 O.S. § 5-149
Documentation: Print email from school security verifying receipt of information
- _____ 8. Does the school have a diabetes medical management plan developed for each student with diabetes and written parent consent has been given for administration of Glucagon? Has a supervisor overseeing all plans completed mandated training? 70 O.S. § 1210.196.2 & 70 O.S. § 1210.196.9
Site Supervisor Name _____
Documentation to Upload: Copy of certificate of completion for supervising staff (renewed yearly) & a copy of waiver or medication form showing administration procedures for Glucagon.
- _____ 9. Do all students of all grade levels have a required immunizations record, or a state approved exemption form on file **prior** to their admission to school? 70 O.S. § 1210.191
Documentation: Signed assurance letter from principal & record of immunization for each student made available for review
- _____ 10. Do all kindergarten, first, and third-grade students receive a vision screening as required by state law and the school reports completion of vision screenings, including number of students receiving comprehensive eye exams? OAC 210:35-3-109

Documentation: printout from SSO Vision Screening link showing current year status as complete

-
11. Are all students are enrolled in a minimum of six periods of rigorous instruction? 70 O.S. § 1-111

Documentation: Copy of school schedule; access to student schedules and transcripts

-
12. Is the district compliant with the ten-day activity rule for grades 7th-12th and maintains adequate records of classes missed for school sponsored activities? OAC 210:35-17-2

Documentation: to be provided during FQSR and ASR visits

-
13. Do all full day Kindergarten thru 5th grade students receive no less than 120 minutes per week of physical activity, of which 60 minutes must be in P.E. class setting? 70 O.S. § 11-103.9

Documentation: Uploaded schedule indicating weekly physical education times

-
14. * Have all athletic coaches of any EL/MS competitive teams completed a course in Care and Prevention of Athletic Injuries prior to the first practice/game? OAC 210:35-5-45; OAC 210:35-7-44; OAC 210:35-9-44

Documentation: College Transcript or Certificate of Completion for all head, assistant, adjunct, lay & volunteer coaches

-
- 15a. *Have all athletic coaches (7th – 8th grade) completed training in Sudden Cardiac Arrest prior to the first practice/game? 70 O.S. § 24-156

Documentation: Sudden Cardiac Arrest certificate of completion for all head, assistant, adjunct, lay & volunteer coaches

-
- 15b. *All 7th – 8th grade students in an athletic activity and the student's parent/guardian, prior to participation in an athletic activity, signed and returned a Sudden Cardiac Arrest Acknowledgment sheet. 70 O.S. § 24-156

Documentation: software printouts or information sheets signed by both student & parent

-
16. Does this site have a minimum of one certified teacher & one noncertified staff member that is trained in CPR & the Heimlich manoeuvre? 70 O.S. § 1210.199

Documentation to upload: copy of current (not expired before spring accreditation) CPR Certification cards for designated staff-please label Cert. & NC

Certified Teacher trained in CPR & Heimlich

Noncertified Staff trained in CPR & Heimlich

TYOHAODI JHSJLB
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Our Language Keepers

Qualifications and Selection Criteria for TYBFA&DJ JhSJD:

GENERAL QUALIFICATIONS

Our Language Keepers will be expected to bring to the Board a broad range of knowledge and depth of experience from their chosen profession, as well as an understanding of the culture and values of the Cherokee Language and the Cherokee Community.

Directors should have a fundamental understanding of their role and responsibility to the Cherokee Language. A position as one of the Language Keepers is not a public office, and although the Board will be representative of the Cherokee Language, Community and Committee which it serves, the Director's primary responsibility is to act at all times in the best interests of the revitalization of the Cherokee Language. This duty is both a legal obligation and is a requirement of the Board By-Laws.

Directors should possess integrity, be willing to articulate his or her views frankly, be able to work productively with others, and have the ability and willingness to commit the time and effort required.

Directors should be fully informed regarding their responsibilities and liabilities as a Director prior to a commitment to serve.

Cherokee Language Board Appointees must be physically and emotionally able to serve, and possess the following attributes:

- [illegible]

4. **DSḐḐḐ ḐḐḐ ḐḐḐ , ḐḐḐḐḐḐḐḐ, ḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐḐḐ, ḐḐ ḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐ.**
Appointee must be reliable, discerning and tenacious in spirit and demeanor.
5. **DSḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐ, ḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐḐḐ, ḐḐḐḐḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐ ḐḐ ḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐ.**
Appointee must be humble, reasonable, cooperative and patient in social situations.
6. **DSḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐḐḐ**
Appointee must advocate for the Cherokee language to the point of being evangelistic.
7. **DSḐḐḐ ḐḐ ḐḐḐḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐḐḐ ḐḐ ḐḐḐḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐḐḐḐ ḐḐḐḐḐḐḐ.**
Appointee must be open-minded to new language revitalization methodologies and possess the ability to assess and modify strategic language plans.

History of Cherokee Immersion Charter School

On July 13, 1991, the Cherokee Nation Language and Cultural Preservation Act was signed, providing for the promotion and preservation of Cherokee language, history and culture. The Act formally recognized that the survival of a people is dependent upon their capacity to preserve and protect their culture and language.

In 2001, *CWY ᎠᎩᎦᎵᎠᎵ* tsalagi tsudelouquasdi known as the Cherokee Immersion School was started as a Cherokee language preservation program with 26 students and four staff members.

In 2011, the OKSDE approved the charter between Cherokee Nation and *CWY ᎠᎩᎦᎵᎠᎵ* tsalagi tsudelouquasdi creating first tribally sponsored charter school now known as the Cherokee Immersion Charter School. Today, the school has grown to about 110 students in grades pre-K through 8th grade. The curriculum is Oklahoma Department of Education grade level standards but the instruction is taught exclusively in the Cherokee language, both written and spoken. The Sequoyah syllabary is used for all print materials.

The Immersion School continues to graduate second language Cherokee Speakers. Since 2012, 244 students have graduated 8th grade from Cherokee Immersion Charter School in 2021, construction began for the new Durbin Feeling Language Center which will be a state-of-the-art school for Immersion students in Tahlequah. Construction was completed, with students moving in in January 2024. In August 2023, the immersion school expanded to opening a second school in Stilwell, now known as the Greasy Immersion Charter School.

CHEROKEE IMMERSION CHARTER SCHOOL DATA

2023-2024 Demographics

<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Native</u>	<u>Non Native</u>	<u>County residenc</u>	<u>Parents CN employee</u>	<u>Parents not CN employee</u>
<u>60</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>98</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>Adair 7</u> <u>Cherokee 98</u> <u>Mayes 3</u> <u>Muskogee 2</u> <u>Sequoyah 5</u>	<u>*</u> <u>-</u>	<u>*</u> <u>-</u>

*Will have the missing parts in this chart after looking at the Impact Aid surveys

ATTENDANCE RATE:

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>RATE</u>
2011-2012	94.3
2012-2013	93
2013-2014	94.5
2014-2015	94
2015-2016	93.5
2016-2017	94
2017-2018	96
2018-2019	93.2
2019-2020	94.7
2020-2021	94.7
2021-2022	92.7
2021-2023	92.5
2023-2024	93.4

* Information taken from the Student Information System - Infinite Campus - Statistical Summary Report

SCHOOL REPORT CARD DATA:

Indicators for the school report card are:

Academic Achievement - How prepared are students for the next grade, course or level? Points possible 35

Academic Growth - How are students growing compared to their performance the previous year? Points possible 30

English Language Proficiency - How well are English Learners meeting their language - acquisition targets? Points possible 10

Chronic Absenteeism - What percentage of students is in good attendance? Points possible 10

*For the school years 2019-2020 and 2020-2021 accountability related aspects were suspended through a waiver granted by the U.S. Department of Education; therefore, data for waived indicators are not available for these school years

Year	Perf Multiplier	Growth Multiplier	Bottom growth	Total Bonus Points	Overall Grade	Letter grade
2010-2011	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
2011-2012	No data	No Data	No data	No data	No data	No data
2012-2013	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
2013-2014	50	25	25	10	57	F
2014-2015	50	25	25	8	56	F
2015-2016	Reading F (69/42)	Math F (69/35)	Science F (30/23)	Soc Stu F (48/52)	39	F
2016-2017	50	25	25	8	65	D

Year	Academic Achievement	Academic Growth	Eng Lang Proficiency	Chronic Absenteeism	Overall
2017-2018	16% - D	49% - C	No data	92.47% - B	37% - D
2018-2019	21% - D	36% - D	No data	79.8% - F	28% - D
*2019-2020	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
*2020-2021	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
2021-2022	29% - D	50% - C	13% - C	76.74% - F	34% - D
2022-2023	15% - D	72% - B	17% - C	77.53% - F	37% - D
2023-2024					

*Information for school report card taken from the OSDE website - Accountability

CWY K – 2 Immersion Oral Language Assessment

Child's name (CWY): _____ Child's name (ᐱᐅᐅ): _____

Date: _____ Testers: _____ Grade: _____

1. Vocabulary
 - A. Nouns

Receptive: Tester says the word: child points to the item on the page.

Tester says:

ᐱᐅᐅᐅ ᐱᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅ.

Ha-tv-da-s-da ni-tsi-we-s-gv, wi-da-tse-tlv da-tli-lo-s-tv wa-se-ga.

(Listen to what I say and point to (it) the best one.)

Practice Page: ᐱᐅᐅᐅ tsi s qwa; ᐅᐅᐅ ka ma ma			
Page One Tester says: ᐅᐅᐅᐅ da u s di...	1 or -	Page Two	1 or -
1. ᐱᐅᐅᐅ ga s gi lo (Chair)		6. ᐅᐅᐅᐅ tsu la s gi (alligator)	
2. ᐅᐅᐅ u ga ta (seed)		7. ᐅᐅᐅᐅ di li s do di scissors)	
3. EC kv tli (raccoon)		8. ᐅᐅᐅ a tsi na (cedar tree)	
4. KWh tso la ni (window)		9. ᐅᐅᐅᐅ u da tv nv (fruit)	
5. ᐅᐅᐅ tsu do tlv (shapes)		10. ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ga nit la di s di (bed)	

Score: ____/10

Productive: (Tester points to a picture: child offers Cherokee word.)

Tester says:

SV ᎠᎩᎠ ᎠᎩ ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩ?

Ga-do u-s-di hi-a tsi-da-tli-lo-s-di?

(what is this picture?)

NOTE TO TESTER: If a child is uncertain which part of the picture they are to name, the tester may help direct the child to name the item being highlighted by the picture.

(If a child cannot name any of the first six move on to the next portion of the test.)

Practice Page: ᎠᎩ (bear); ᎠᎩ (pig)					
Page One Tester says: ᎠᎩᎩ ᎠᎩ Ꭹ di...	Response 1 or -		Page two, cont.	Response 1 or -	
1. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩᎩ (oval) Ga nv hi da ga so qua lv			Page Three		
2. ᎠᎩᎩ (road) Nv no hi			7. ᎠᎩᎩᎩ (spider) Ka a ne s gi		
3. ᎠᎩᎩᎩ (tooth) Ga nv do gv			8. ᎠᎩᎩᎩ (pillow) A qua s do		
Page Two			9. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩᎩ (bathroom) Do ya u na tsv s di		
4. ᎠᎩᎩᎩ (spoon) A di do di					
5. ᎠᎩᎩ (star) No q(ui) si					
6. ᎠᎩᎩᎩ (rope) S de yi da					

NOTE TO SCORER: Student can receive ½ point for any item they say in the plural rather than singular form. Student can receive ½ point for item 4 if they say *da tli I li sv*.

B. Adjective

Receptive: (Tester makes a statement; child points to the appropriate picture among three choices.)

Tester says:

ᎠᎩᎠᎩᎠᎩ ᎠᎩ ᎠᎩᎩ

(Pick the one I ask you to point to.)

Item	Choice 1	Choice 2	Choice 3
SV ᎠᎩᎩ ᎠᎩᎩᎩ ga-du u-s-di da-tli-lo-s-da	RECORDER: Put a ✓ in the child's choice		
Practice: ᎠᎩᎩᎩ a li he li s di (Happy)			
1. ᎠᎩᎩ wu ta nv (the biggest)			
2. ᎠᎩᎩ u di tle gi (the one that's hot)			
3. ᎠᎩᎩ wu ni go dv (the most)			
4. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩ u li tsi s qua ne (the one that is curly)			
5. ᎠᎩᎩ ᎠᎩᎩ (the loud one) Wa s da yv u no hyv gi			

Number of Items correct (count each ✓ in a bolden box): _____/5

II. Morphology

A. Pronouns on Verbs

Receptive: (Tester makes a statement; child points to the appropriate picture among three choices.)

Tester says:

ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏍᏗ ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏍᏗ, ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏍᏗ ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏍᏗ ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏍᏗ.

Ha-tv-da-s-da ni-tsi-we-s-gv, wi-da-tse-tlv di-tli-lo-s-ta-nv wa-se-ga.

(Listen to what I say and point to what I say.)

Practice: ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏍᏗ (He is jumping.)			
Sentence prompts		Choice 1	Choice 2
Tester says: ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏍᏗ da u s di...		Recorder: put a ✓ in the child's choice	
1. ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏍᏗ (They are crawling) Da na da si ni do a			
2. ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏍᏗ (They are painting) Da ni lo ni ge			
3. ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏍᏗ (He is reading) A go li ye a			
4. ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏍᏗ (They are writing) Da no we li a			
5. ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏍᏗ (It is singing.) De ka no gi a			

Number of Items Correct (count each ✓ in a shaded box): _____/5

B. Verbs – Singular and Plural

Productive (Tester points to a picture, child offers the Cherokee Word.)

Tester says: SV Dᵒᵒᵒᵒ? SV Dᵒᵒᵒᵒ?

Ga-do a-dv-ne-ha? Ga-do a-na-dv-ne?

SCORER: Write exactly what you hear the child say. Put (1) in each part of the verb that is correct and (-) in each part that is incorrect.		Prefix (person marker)	Root (word meaning)	Stem (tense)	Prefix (person marker)	Root (word meaning)	Stem (tense)
Practice: Dᵒᵒᵒᵒ/Dᵒᵒᵒᵒ	Child's Response						
1. ᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒ (She is jumping)							
2. ᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒ (He is listening)							
3. ᵒᵒᵒᵒ (She is sitting)							
4. ᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒ (He is talking)							
5. Dᵒᵒᵒᵒ (She is swimming)							
6. ᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒ (She is watching)							
7. ᵒᵒᵒᵒ (He is throwing)							
8. Dᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒ (He is reading)							
9. ᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒ (He is singing)							
10. ᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒ (She is writing)							
		Singular Totals		Plural Totals			

Total number of Correct Morphemes: ____/30

Part III Locatives

Receptive: (Use car and penny props from test kit. Tester gives a command; child responds non-verbally by placing the object where instructed.)

NOTE TO TESTER: While giving the below instructions, demonstrate with the penny that the child will move the penny, not the car.

ᐱᐞᐞ ᐱᐞᐞᐞᐞᐞᐞ ᐱᐞᐞᐞᐞ. hi-a-na sa-quu-ya-da-na-te-di hv-di-he-s-di.

(Tester holds up the penny.)

ᐱᐞᐞᐞᐞᐞ ᐱᐞᐞᐞᐞᐞ. ni-tsi-we-s-gv hna-dv-ne-he-s-di.

(Tester holds up car.)

ᐱᐞᐞᐞᐞ ᐱᐞᐞᐞ ᐱᐞᐞᐞᐞᐞ. Ha-tv-d-a-s-da hna-dv-ga ni-tsi-we-s-gv-i.

(This is a penny. This is a car. Listen and do what I say.)

Give the Penny to the child.

Practice Item; ᐱᐞᐞᐞᐞ ᐱᐞᐞᐞᐞᐞ ᐱᐞᐞ. Di-gi-tu-le-ni u-hna-gv-no-se-li hi-li-ga.

(Put it in the car.)

Item:	1 or -
1. ᐱᐞᐞᐞ ᐞᐞᐞ ᐱᐞᐞᐞ. Diktuleni gadudidlv hitlahvga. (Put it on top of the car.)	
2. ᐱᐞᐞᐞ ᐱᐞᐞᐞ ᐱᐞᐞᐞ. Diktuleni hawiniditlv hihvga. (Put it under the car.)	
3. ᐱᐞᐞᐞ ᐞᐞᐞ ᐱᐞᐞᐞ. Diktuleni navditlv hihvga. (Put it beside the car.)	
4. ᐱᐞᐞᐞ ᐞᐞᐞᐞ ᐱᐞᐞᐞ. Diktuleni onididla hihvga. (Put it behind the car)	
5. ᐱᐞᐞᐞ ᐞᐞᐞᐞ ᐱᐞᐞᐞ. Diktuleni agvyadidlv hihvga. (Put it in front of the car.)	

Number of Items Correct: ____/5

Productive: Tester asks child where the penny object is (in relation to the car). Child responds by starting where the object is. Tester/Recorder writes down exactly what the child says.

Tester says:

ᏊᏎᏍᏔ, ᏱᏱ ᏗᏐᏐᏐᏐᏐ, ᏎᏐ ᏃᏊ.

Kama, nihi sginohisi, hatlv ahv.

(Now, you tell me where the penny is.)

Item:	Correct Locative?
1. (Tester places penny on top of the car.) {gadu atlaha} Child's Response:	Y/N
2. (Tester places penny in the car.) {Digituleno Hitlvga} Child's Response:	Y/N
3. (Tester places penny under the car.) {hawiniditlv hihvga} Child's Response:	Y/N
4. (Tester places penny beside the car.) {Navhni gesdi; uliditlv hihvga} Child's Response:	Y/N
5. (Tester places penny behind the car.) {ohnididla hihvga} Child's Response:	Y/N
6. (Tester places penny in front of the car.) {agvyaditlv hihvga} Child's Response:	Y/N

Number of Items Correct: ____/6

IV. Story Retelling:

Productive: Tester tells child a three-part sequence story while pointing to the pictures. Child will re-tell the story as the tester points to the same pictures.)

Tester Says:

ᐃᐃᐸ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ. ᐃᐱᐱᐱ ᐸᐱᐱᐱ, ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ, ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ.

Listen to this story and look closely at the pictures. When I finish, you will have to tell me what I said.

Story:

ᐱᐱ ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐃᐱᐱᐱ. ᐃᐱᐱ, ᐸᐸ ᐃᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐃᐱᐱ. ᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱ ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ. ᐸᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ. ᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ. ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱ ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ.

Sami atsilvsfi awisga. Agvyi, gada osda nuwanele gado nowi utalese ayetli. Ugata utlane atatlesvi. Gada gvdi uwutlvnei. Ama usdudle. Nigohilvnawu uwodu atsilvsfi utvse. Noquu sginohisi nulistanidolvi.

Sam is planting the flower. First, he fixed the dirt and made a hole. He put the seed in the hole. He covered it with dirt. He watered it. Before long a pretty flower grew. Now, you tell me what happened.

Record child's response here:

Rating:

1

2

3

4

(Circle one) (isolated Cherokee words only). (one complete sentence) (several complete, isolated sentences). (complete sentences that tell a story)

CWY 3rd – 8th Immersion Oral Language Assessment

Child's name (CWY): _____ Child's name (RΘS): _____

Date: _____ Testers: _____ Grade: _____

1. Vocabulary
 - A. Nouns

Receptive: Tester says the word: child points to the item on the page.

Tester says:

ᏍᏏᏏᏏ ᏈᏈᏈᏈ ᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌᏌ.

Ha-tv-da-s-da ni-tsi-we-s-gv, wi-da-tse-tlv da-tli-lo-s-tv wa-se-ga.

(Listen to what I say and point to (it) the best one.)

Practice Page: ᏈᏈᏈᏈ ᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌᏌ; ᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌᏌ			
Page One Tester says: ᏌᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌᏌ...	1 or -	Page Two	1 or -
1. ᏈᏈᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ (Chair)		10. ᏌᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ (alligator)	
2. ᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ (seed)		11. ᏌᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ (scissors)	
3. ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ (raccoon)		12. ᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ (cedar tree)	
4. ᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ (window)		13. ᏌᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ (fruit)	
5. ᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ (shapes)		14. ᏌᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ (bed)	
6. ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ (boat)		15. ᏌᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ (train)	
7. ᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ (door)		16. ᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ (river)	
8. ᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ (clouds)		17. ᏌᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ (telephone)	
9. ᏌᏌᏌᏌᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ (refrigerator)		18. ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ ᏌᏌ (ear)	

Score: ____/18

Productive: (Tester points to a picture: child offers Cherokee word.)

Tester says:

SV ᎠᎩᎠ ᎠᎩ ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩ?

Ga-do u-s-di hi-a tsi-da-tli-lo-s-di?

(what is this picture?)

NOTE TO TESTER: If a child is uncertain which part of the picture they are to name, the tester may help direct the child to name the item being highlighted by the picture.

(If a child cannot name any of the first six move on to the next portion of the test.)

Practice Page: ᎠᎩ (bear); ᎠᎩ (pig)					
Page One Tester says: ᎠᎩᎩᎩ ᎠᎩ Ꭹ di...	Response 1 or -		Page two, cont.	Response 1 or -	
1. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩᎩ (oval) Ga nv hi da ga so qua lv			10. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩ (sun) Nv do I ga e hi		
2. ᎠᎩᎩ (road) Nv no hi			11. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩ (table) A li s da yi di		
3. ᎠᎩᎩᎩ (tooth) Ga nv do gv			12. ᎠᎩᎩᎩ (rabbit) Tsi s du		
4. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩᎩ (calendar) Nv do di se s di			Page Three		
5. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩ (flower) A tsi lv s gi			13. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩ (spider) Ka na ne s gi		
6. ᎠᎩᎩᎩ (toad) Wa lo si			14. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩ (pillow) A qua s do		
Page Two			15. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩᎩᎩ (bathroom) Do ya u na tsv s di		
7. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩ (spoon) A di do di			16. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩ (mountain) o-da-lv		
8. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩ (star) No q(ui) si			17. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩ (egg) U we tsi		
9. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩᎩ (rope) S de yi da			18. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩᎩᎩ (light) A tsv yi s di		

NOTE TO SCORER: Student can receive ½ point for any item they say in the plural rather than singular form. Student can receive ½ point for item 4 if they say *da tli I li sv*.

B. Adjective

Receptive: (Tester makes a statement; child points to the appropriate picture among three choices.)

Tester says:

ᎠᎩᎠᎩᎠᎩ ᎠᎩ ᎠᎩᎩ

(Pick the one I ask you to point to.)

Item	Choice 1	Choice 2	Choice 3
SV ᎠᎩᎩ ᎠᎩᎩᎩ ga-du u-s-di da-tli-lo-s-da	RECORDER: Put a ✓ in the child's choice		
Practice: ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩ a li he li s di (Happy)			
1. ᎠᎩᎩᎩ wu ta nv (the biggest)			
2. ᎠᎩᎩᎩ u di tle gi (the one that's hot)			
3. ᎠᎩᎩᎩ wu ni go dv (the most)			
4. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩᎩ u li tsi s qua ne (the one that is curly)			
5. ᎠᎩᎩᎩ ᎠᎩᎩᎩ (the loud one) Wa s da yv u no hyv gi			
6. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩᎩ (the highest one) Wa ga lv la di yv			
7. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩ (the open one) A s du I da			
8. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩ (the one that's sharp) Go s da yi			
9. ᎠᎩ ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩ (the one that's full) Ka li a dli s dv			
10. ᎠᎩᎩᎩᎩᎩ (the one that's slow) U s go no li			

Number of Items correct (count each ✓ in a bolden box): _____/10

II. Morphology

A. Pronouns on Verbs

Receptive: (Tester makes a statement; child points to the appropriate picture among three choices.)

Tester says:

ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏗ ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏗ, ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏗ ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏗ ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏗ.

Ha-tv-da-s-da ni-tsi-we-s-gv, wi-da-tse-tlv di-tli-lo-s-ta-nv wa-se-ga.

(Listen to what I say and point to what I say.)

Practice: ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏗ (He is jumping.)			
Sentence prompts		Choice 1	Choice 2
Tester says: ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏗ da u s di...		Recorder: put a ✓ in the child's choice	
1. ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏗᏗ (They are crawling) Da na da si ni do a			
2. ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏗᏗ (They are painting) Da ni lo ni ge			
3. ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏗᏗ (He is reading) A go li ye a			
4. ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏗᏗ (They are writing) Da no we li a			
5. ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏗᏗ (It is singing.) De ka no gi a			
6. ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏗᏗ (They are running) A na (da) tla I			
7. ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏗᏗ (They are sitting.) A ni na			
8. ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏗᏗ (She is dancing.) A li s gi a			
9. ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏗᏗ (They are drinking.) Da na di ta s ga			
10. ᏅᏍᏗᏗᏗᏗᏗᏗ (She is cooking.) A d as da yv hv s ga			

Number of Items Correct (count each ✓ I a shaded box): _____/10

Part III Locatives

Receptive: (Use car and penny props from test kit. Tester gives a command; child responds non-verbally by placing the object where instructed.)

NOTE TO TESTER: While giving the below instructions, demonstrate with the penny that the child will move the penny, not the car.

ᏈᏊ ᏍᏗᏗᏱᏊ ᏍᏗᏗᏱ. hi-a-na sa-quu-ya-da-na-te-di hv-di-he-s-di.

(Tester holds up the penny.)

ᏈᏊ ᏍᏗᏗᏱ ᏍᏗᏗᏱ. ni-tsi-we-s-gv hna-dv-ne-he-s-di.

(Tester holds up car.)

ᏈᏊ ᏍᏗᏗᏱ ᏍᏗᏗᏱ. Ha-tv-d-a-s-da hna-dv-ga ni-tsi-we-s-gv-i.

(This is a penny. This is a car. Listen and do what I say.)

Give the Penny to the child.

Practice Item; ᏈᏊ ᏍᏗᏗᏱ ᏍᏗᏗᏱ. Di-gi-tu-le-ni u-hna-gv-no-se-li hi-li-ga.

(Put it in the car.)

Item:	1 or -
1. ᏈᏊ ᏍᏗᏗᏱ ᏍᏗᏗᏱ. Diktuleni gadudidlv hitlahvga. (Put it on top of the car.)	
2. ᏈᏊ ᏍᏗᏗᏱ ᏍᏗᏗᏱ ᏍᏗᏗᏱ. Diktuleni hawiniditlv hihvga. (Put it under the car.)	
3. ᏈᏊ ᏍᏗᏗᏱ ᏍᏗᏗᏱ ᏍᏗᏗᏱ. Diktuleni navditlv hihvga. (Put it beside the car.)	
4. ᏈᏊ ᏍᏗᏗᏱ ᏍᏗᏗᏱ ᏍᏗᏗᏱ. Diktuleni onididla hihvga. (Put it behind the car)	
5. ᏈᏊ ᏍᏗᏗᏱ ᏍᏗᏗᏱ ᏍᏗᏗᏱ. Diktuleni agvyadidlv hihvga. (Put it in front of the car.)	

Number of Items Correct: ____/5

Productive: Tester asks child where the penny object is (in relation to the car). Child responds by starting where the object is. Tester/Recorder writes down exactly what the child says.

Tester says:

ᏊᏎᏍᏔ, ᏱᏱ ᏗᏐᏐᏗᏍᏔ, ᏎᏓ ᏈᏊ.

Kama, nihi sginohisi, hatlv ahv.

(Now, you tell me where the penny is.)

Item:	Correct Locative?
1. (Tester places penny on top of the car.) {gadu atlahā} Child's Response:	Y/N
2. (Tester places penny in the car.) {Digituleno Hitlvga} Child's Response:	Y/N
3. (Tester places penny under the car.) {hawiniditlv hihvga} Child's Response:	Y/N
4. (Tester places penny beside the car.) {Navhni gesdi; uliditlv hihvga} Child's Response:	Y/N
5. (Tester places penny behind the car.) {ohnididla hihvga} Child's Response:	Y/N
6. (Tester places penny in front of the car.) {agvyaditlv hihvga} Child's Response:	Y/N

Number of Items Correct: ____/6

IV. Story Retelling:

Productive: Tester tells child a three-part sequence story while pointing to the pictures. Child will re-tell the story as the tester points to the same pictures.)

Tester Says:

ᐃᐃᐸ ᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ. ᐃᐱᐱ ᐸᐱᐱ, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ.

Listen to this story and look closely at the pictures. When I finish, you will have to tell me what I said.

Story:

ᐱᐱ ᐃᐱᐱᐱ ᐃᐱᐱᐱ. ᐃᐱᐱ, ᐸᐸ ᐃᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐃᐱᐱ. ᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱ ᐃᐱᐱᐱ. ᐸᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ. ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱ. ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱ ᐃᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ.

Sami atsilvsfi awisga. Agvyi, gada osda nuwanele gado nowi utalese ayetli. Ugata utlane atatlesvi. Gada gvdi uwutlvnei. Ama usdudle. Nigohilvnawu uwodu atsilvsfi utvse. Noquu sginohisi nulistanidolvi.

Sam is planting the flower. First, he fixed the dirt and made a hole. He put the seed in the hole. He covered it with dirt. He watered it. Before long a pretty flower grew. Now, you tell me what happened.

Record child's response here:

Rating:	1	2	3	4
	(Circle one) (isolated Cherokee words only).	(one complete sentence)	(several complete, isolated sentences).	(complete sentences that tell a story)

Highlights from the Oklahoma Charter School Act

Charter schools are public schools that are allowed greater flexibility for greater accountability. For example, charter schools are not required to adhere to the Teacher and Leader Effectiveness standards set by the state of Oklahoma, but charters that do not meet performance standards may be closed by their sponsors. A charter school maintains its own board of governance in addition to being accountable to their sponsor (authorizer) that should advise and closely monitor charter school leadership. The Oklahoma Charter School Act lists seven (7) purposes for charter schools:

1. Improve student learning;
2. Increase learning opportunities for students;
3. Encourage the use of different and innovative teaching methods;
4. Provide additional academic choices for parents and students;
5. Require the measurement of student learning and create different and innovative forms of measuring student learning;
6. Establish new forms of accountability for schools; and
7. Create new professional opportunities for teachers and administrators including the opportunity to be responsible for the learning program at the school site.

Charters are accountable to their sponsors (authorizers). Charter school contracts can be approved for no longer than five years at a time, and must include criteria by which effectiveness of the school will be measured. Sponsors must give written notice and explanation of their intent to deny requests for renewal at least 8 months prior to expiration of contracts. However, if a charter school fails to meet the standards outlined in its contract, its sponsor may give only 90 days written notice of intent to terminate.

Charters are accountable to their boards. When charters are run well, their advisory or governance boards maintain high performance standards and take corrective action when needed. Every charter operation falls under their purview, from finances to teacher evaluation. Advisory boards must follow the Open Meetings Act.

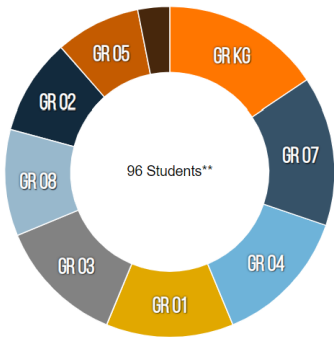
Charters are accountable to the SDE. Like any other public school, charters must go through an accreditation process which is run through the Office of Accreditation at the SDE. This is to ensure that charters are compliant with all federal and state laws. Additionally, charters are graded on the A-F Report Card.

Unless it is provided in the Oklahoma Charter Schools Act and the charter of a charter school, a charter school is exempt from all statutes and rules relating to schools, boards of education and school districts. With these additional flexibilities and de-regulations afforded to charter schools, a charter school is not required to employ an individual who holds a valid Oklahoma teaching certificate. While most charter schools do employ Oklahoma certified teachers, they are not required to do so. This applies to all Oklahoma charter schools, including those sponsored by a federally recognized Indian tribe, a charter school focusing on a language immersion program, virtual charter schools and/or brick and mortar charter schools. The statutory compliance requirements for charter schools can be generally located at [this link](#). Tribally operated charter schools and other charter schools may choose to operate their own certification process unique to the qualifications appropriate for a teacher at their school; provided, except as provided in 70 O.S. § 5-142(E), all individuals must satisfactorily undergo and clear a national criminal history record check prior to employment in a public school (charter or non-charter).

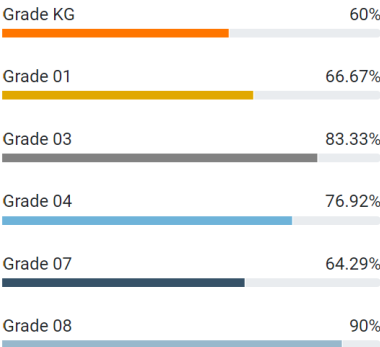
From 2022-23 School Report Card
Grade Levels

The data in this section compares the performance of students at each grade level.

Population

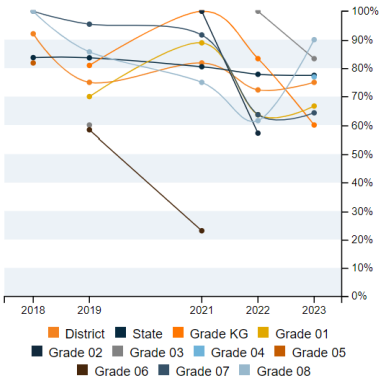


Rate By Grade Level



Rate for the following student groups with fewer than 10 students are not displayed: Grade 02, Grade 05, Grade 06

Performance Over Time



CHRONIC ABSENTEEISM



This indicator shows the percentage of students in good attendance.

Points Earned: 1.76 of 10

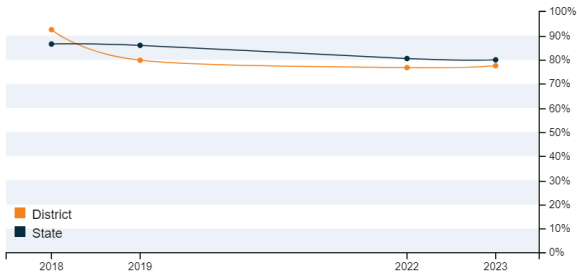
View the bottom graph to see how the district performance compares to other Oklahoma schools.

Chronic Absenteeism



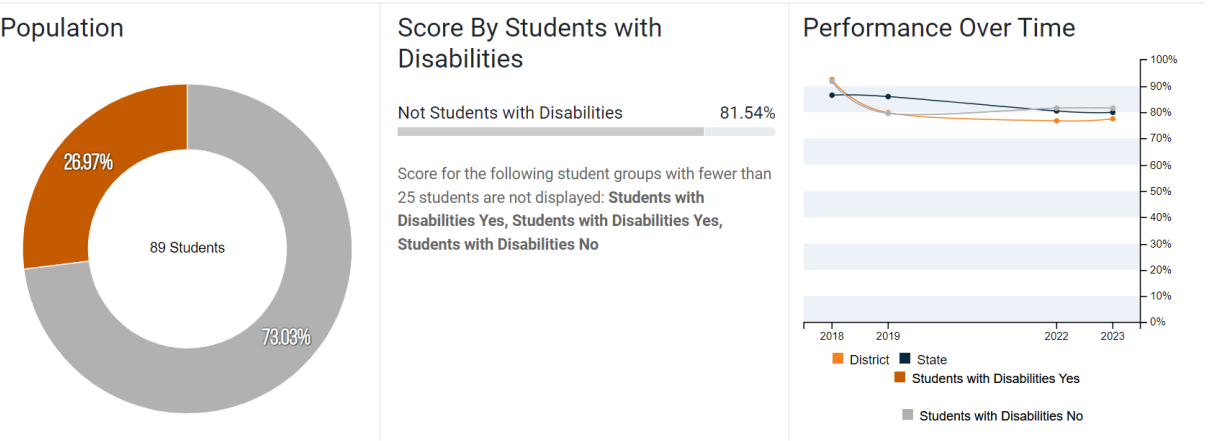
Race/Ethnicity Select Subgroup

Performance Over Time



Students with Disabilities

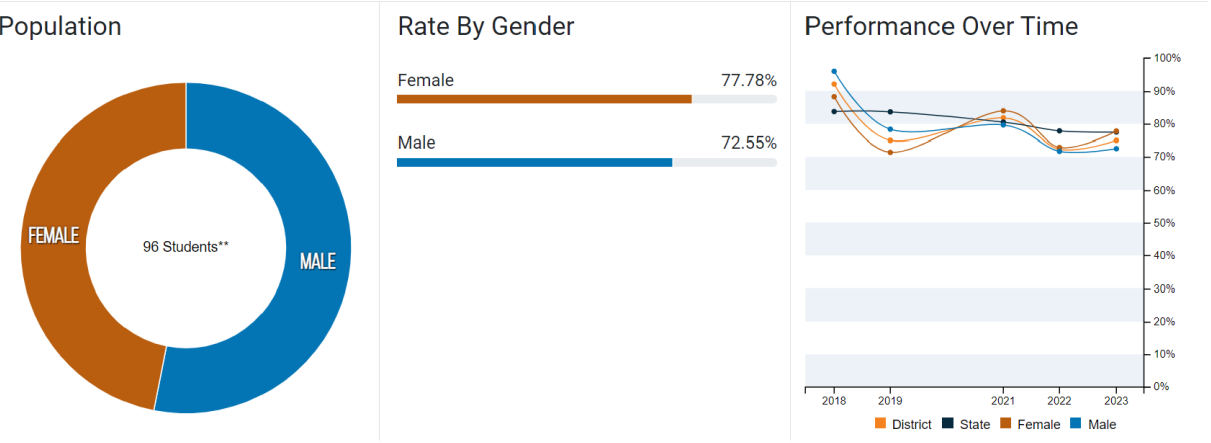
Data displayed in the pie chart show the percentage of students with a disability (SWD) in the total population. Data displayed in the bar chart compares the percentage of SWDs in good attendance with their peers who do not have a disability.



STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES

Gender

The data in this section display the population and compare the performance of students identified by gender. This comparison helps gauge how well the school's programs are working to support all learners.



ASSESSMENT PERFORMANCE

All English Math Science



Why do we measure this?

Oklahoma is committed to ensuring that all students graduate ready for life after high school. Student performance on state tests is one measure of that readiness. Student performance on Oklahoma's statewide tests in English language arts, mathematics, and science is reported at one of four performance levels.

What was measured?

Data displayed here show the percentage of students meeting or exceeding grade-level standards by scoring at or above the proficient level on their state test.

View the bottom graph to see how the district performance compares to other Oklahoma schools.

Assessment Performance



All English Math Science

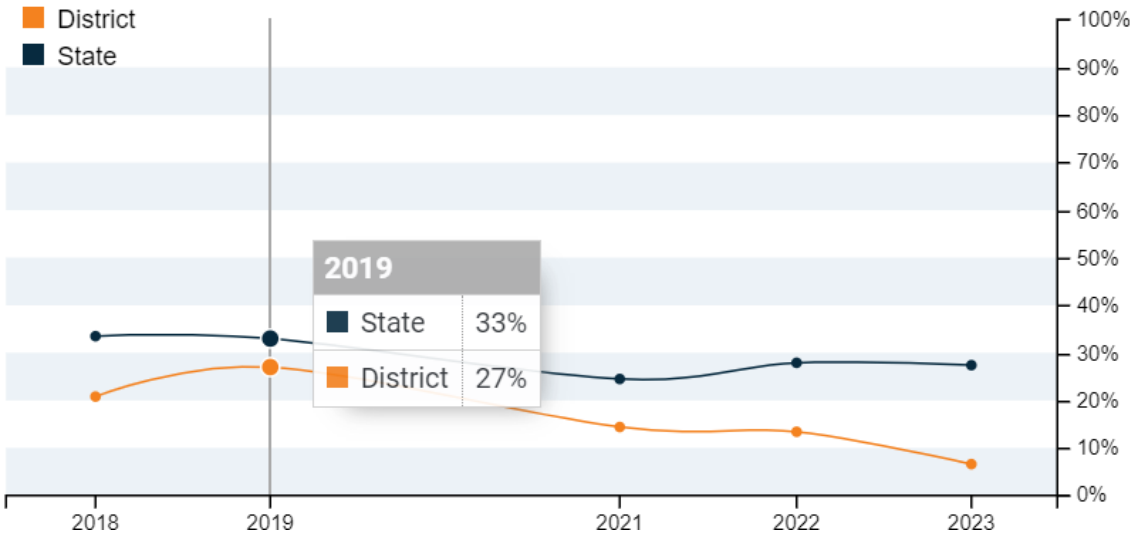


Assessment Performance



Select Student Group

Performance Over Time



All English Math Science

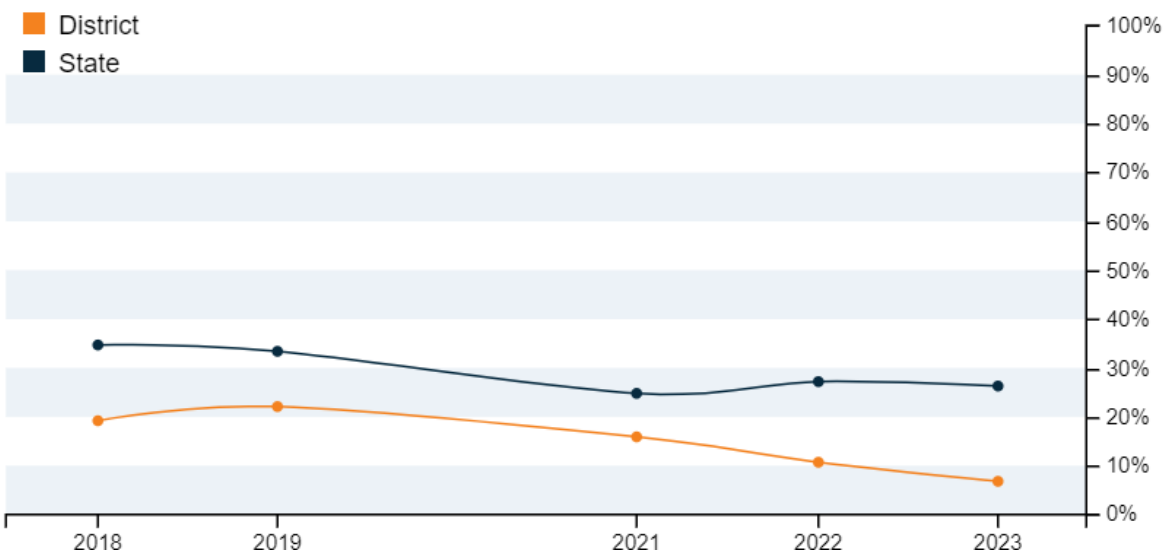


Assessment Performance



Select Student Group ▾

Performance Over Time



ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

How prepared are students for the next grade, course or level?

Points Possible: 35

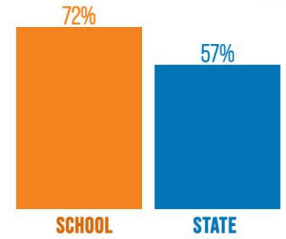


[MORE DETAILS >](#)

ACADEMIC GROWTH

How are students growing compared to their performance the previous year?

Points Possible: 30

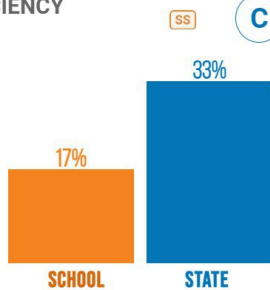


[MORE DETAILS >](#)

ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY PROGRESS

How well are English learners meeting their language-acquisition targets?

Points Possible: 10

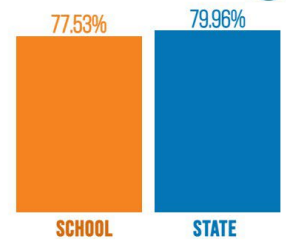


[MORE DETAILS >](#)

CHRONIC ABSENTEEISM

What percentage of students is in good attendance?

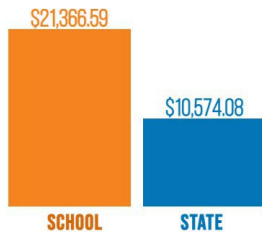
Points Possible: 10



[MORE DETAILS >](#)

FINANCIALS

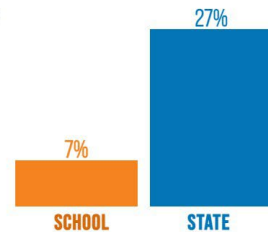
What is the expenditure per pupil for the day-to-day operation of schools and local educational agencies (LEAs)?



[MORE DETAILS >](#)

ASSESSMENT PERFORMANCE

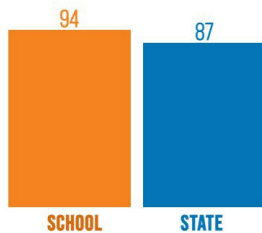
What percentage of students met or exceeded grade-level standards by scoring at or above the proficient level on the state test?



[MORE DETAILS >](#)

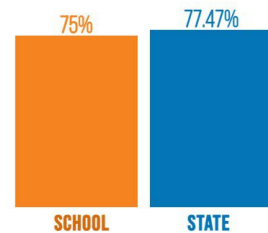
STUDENT PROGRESS

What is the average value earned across all students?



ATTENDANCE

What percentage of students were in good attendance?



All English **Math** Science

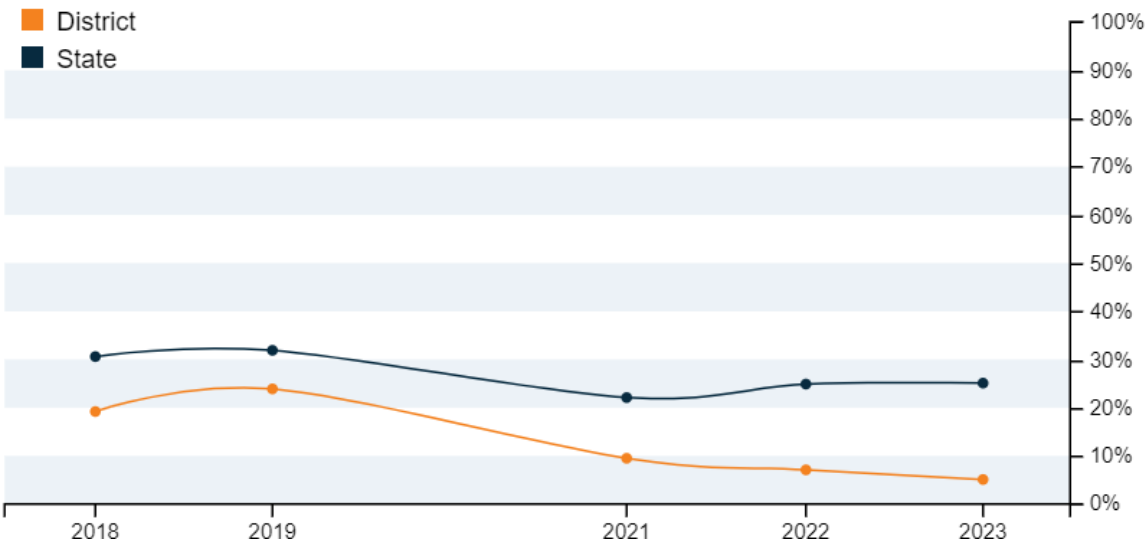


Assessment Performance



Select Student Group ▾

Performance Over Time



All English Math **Science**

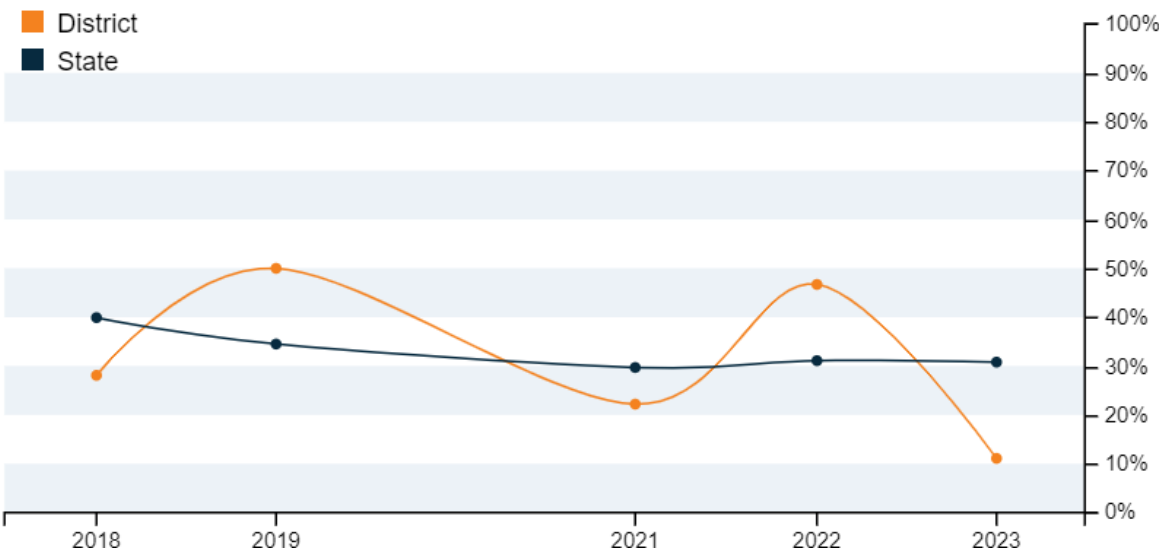


Assessment Performance



Select Student Group ▾

Performance Over Time



Appendix 9

- TEETER, KARL V.
1967 Preliminary report on Malecite-Passamaquoddy. *Contributions to Anthropology: Linguistics I*. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 214.
- TUREEN, T. N.
1971 "Remembering eastern Indians," in *Inequality in education*. Symposium on Indian education, Center for Law and Education, Harvard University 10. Cambridge.
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1967 "Indians of the Eastern Seaboard." Bureau of Indian Affairs. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
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1866 *The Abenakis and their history*. New York: James B. Kirken. *Vista Magazine*
- 1969 "In the state of reservation." (Passamaquoddy Indians.)
- WEINBERG, PAUL
1973 "The Indians of Maine in the first half of the nineteenth century." Unpublished term paper prepared for Bowdoin College, Brunswick. (Prepared by Department of Indian Affairs, Augusta, Maine.)
- WIESENTHOL, M.
1969 "Quoddies tell their side on TV tonight." *Maine Sunday Telegram*, July 13, 1969.
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1832 *The history of the state of Maine; from its first discovery, A.D. 1602, to the separation, A.D. 1820, inclusive*, volumes one and two. Hallowell, Maine: Glazier, Masters.
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1967 "Maine's Indians: once they owned the entire State." (Series of 5 articles on: Struggle for tribal identity; dispute with Indian agent; beginnings of the land case; Vistas workers experiences; and budgetary problems with the state.) *Maine Sunday Telegram*, February 22, 1967.
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1921- The Maine Indians, and their relations with the white settlers.
1922 *Sprague's Journal of Maine History*, volumes nine and ten.
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1898 "New England's prospect." (1634). Boston: E. M. Boynton.
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Making Do with the Dark Meat: A Report on the Cherokee Indians in Oklahoma

ALBERT L. WAHRHAFTIG

INTRODUCTION

The general consul of the Cherokee nation is recognized as a Cherokee by United States law. This is because his name appears on the "Too-Late Roll," a supplementary listing of infants attached to the final roll of Cherokee citizens, which was closed for all time in 1907. In all other respects, however, the general consul is the image of a rural white Southern politician—a florid, portly, verbose lawyer who can be, when the occasion demands it, courtly. One day not long ago, he sat behind the expanse of desk in his office in Fort Gibson, Oklahoma, suspiciously interrogating a young white man who, with his wife, had come to do research for a dissertation on the history of contemporary "full bloods" in the Cherokee nation. On one side of the lawyer sat his elderly legal secretary and on the other side sat his chauffeur/generai

Data for this report have been gathered since 1963. While an associate of the Carnegie Corporation Cross-Cultural Education Project of the University of Chicago (directed by Sol Tax and Robert K. Thomas from 1963 to 1966), I made demographic and socioeconomic surveys of tribal Cherokee settlements, collected data in depth at two settlements, and closely observed political and ceremonial events among the most traditional Cherokee; these observations were extended during the summer of 1967. I returned to the Cherokee nation in January 1972 to collect additional information specifically for this report, joined by Janet Jordan, who contributed cultural anthropological data; Bonnie Chism, who interviewed several tribal officials and observed the Cherokee community representatives' meeting; Donald Paquin, who prepared an analysis of the Cherokee housing program; Richard Hughes, who constructed a chronology of recent events as reported in the *Cherokee Nation News*; and Robert Buchanan, who journeyed to Tahlequah as a consultant.

From the first days of my fieldwork, Robert K. Thomas has unfailingly given of himself as a friend, teacher, and colleague. I am expressing my appreciation to the many Cherokees who have been friends and generous informants by preserving their anonymity.

1978 AMERICAN INDIAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. Ed. by Sam Stanley.
The Hague, Paris: Mouton. Pp. 409-510.

assistant. The lawyer calls these men "full bloods," and, indeed, both are dark skinned and of unmistakably Indian physiognomy. At noon the lawyer sent the assistant to bring in a lunch, and he soon returned with a bucket of fried chicken. Tucking a napkin under his chin, the lawyer turned to the young white couple and said, with expansive gallantry, "Now you-all take the white meat you want. These boys can make do with the dark."

This vignette stands as a metaphor for life in the Cherokee nation today and as an abstract of this report. The Cherokee Indians are a people who live on leftovers. Moreover, even the leftovers are dealt to them by a locally powerful group of people who are white in culture, loyalty, life-style, and appearance — yet are legally Cherokee. Therefore, although this report is concerned with the economic situation of Cherokee Indians in Oklahoma, it must commence, as all discussions of the modern Cherokee must, with the question of who is and who is not a Cherokee.

As described in the body of this report, there is a relatively small group of people in eastern Oklahoma who pursue, in modern form, traditional Cherokee ways of life; most of them can speak the Cherokee language. People living outside their way of life call them "full bloods." There is a larger population in eastern Oklahoma (and elsewhere) whose members also identify themselves as Cherokees; many of these people are legally Cherokee, although some are not. There also is at present a legal entity known as the Cherokee nation of Oklahoma, or, as it is called locally, "the tribe." Although these groups of people — each Cherokee by different criteria — overlap, they do not correspond. Eastern Oklahoma is an ethnically and culturally complex region. Within it, the group that lives a Cherokee way of life is not the same as the group whose members call themselves Cherokees, nor does either population coincide with the legal membership of the Cherokee nation. Indeed, as this report demonstrates, as often as not these categories of people are adversaries.

To understand events among the contemporary Cherokee, the situation must be considered from three points of view: (1) that of an outside observer — preferably trained to recognize cultural, social, and cognitive boundary lines — who can conceptualize a complex social system containing distinctive populations, all acting in terms of their own unique perceptions of themselves and of other populations in their environment; (2) that of "Indians," that is, the culturally conservative Cherokees who are here called "tribal Cherokees"; and (3) that of the personnel, both technically Cherokee and white, who administer Cherokee affairs. In addition, one must become habituated to the fact that the different populations involved disagree irreconcilably on the issue of who is and who is not a Cherokee. In fact, a conclusion to be

drawn from the final section of this report is that *in this regional social system, those who control regional systems of cultural definition thereby control the allocation of political and economic power.*

In earlier descriptions of the Cherokee (Wahrhaftig 1966a, 1968), I commenced with an explanation of the various populations that are called "Cherokees" before proceeding to other subjects, but this approach is tedious for the reader and does not communicate effectively. In this report, the issue of cultural definition has been deferred for another approach. In the first three sections words such as "Cherokee" and "white" have been used exactly as the tribal Cherokee use them, drawing the reader into one gestalt so that he will be able to perceive the Cherokee situation as tribal Cherokees themselves perceive it. To the extent that this approach has been successful, the reader will have internalized one set of cultural definitions when he arrives at the section entitled "The Cherokee establishment," and this will provide a holistic background for the formal discussion of the various criteria for determining Cherokee membership that are presented in that section.

In organizing this report, I have attempted (1) to describe the Cherokee situation both from the viewpoint of an analytic observer and also as it is seen and experienced by Cherokee participants and (2) to keep description of the Cherokees in context, so that they are understood as participants grappling with existence in a complex and rapidly changing social system. The first two sections of the report establish the context. First of all, the Cherokees are at the bottom of the heap in a regional economy; they are the poorest and most isolated population and are excluded from present currents of economic development. This aspect of the situation is described in the first section. Cherokees are poor because their assets have been stolen through processes described in the next section, which is followed by a section dealing with the ways in which tribal Cherokees keep their settlements together and survive. It includes a description of the internal economy in traditional, culturally conservative Cherokee communities, an economy that is efficient and flexible, within the limits of the scanty resources upon which it operates. Description of that economy is related to a more inclusive description of traditional Cherokee life in order to identify processes through which the Cherokee ceremonial and ritual ideas are the core of the adaptive process — a proposition that I think may well be true of many other American Indian peoples. These ideas provide an orientation that causes Cherokees to remain attentive to changes in their environment; hence, the ideas define a sort of feedback mechanism, which causes Cherokees to reconsider and refashion their way of life whenever they perceive that their adaptation is breaking down. The social system in which Cherokees are enmeshed is dealt with as a whole in the final section, which documents

the emergence of a regional center of power—the “Cherokee establishment”—created by entrepreneurs who have made an asset of their legal designation as Cherokees and who have devised techniques for exploiting Cherokee poverty in itself as a resource. In closing this section, the effect of these economic endeavors on tribal Cherokee settlements and the response to it are described.

THE CHEROKEE SCENE

Of all the tribes of American Indians, none has so distinguished a reputation for accomplishment as the Cherokees. Once corn-gardening villagers in the mountains of America's Southeast, the Cherokee evolved an autonomous and self-sufficient republic. While continuing to be an Indian nation, they not only learned from but often surpassed their white neighbors. To their basic subsistence pattern of hunting, foraging, and gardening, they added plantation agriculture, animal domestication, crafts, and trade, which extended the dimensions of their native prosperity. Cherokees of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries created for themselves a written form of their own language, a written constitution and code of laws, a bicameral legislature, a national supreme court, a national police force, a national book press, and a newspaper with international circulation. When Cherokees became interested in Christian thought, they were able to read an edition of the Scriptures that a Cherokee had translated directly from the original Greek into his own language. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the Cherokees decided to add to their national school system seminaries (the equivalent of modern colleges), they selected a faculty from the finest academies of the eastern United States. After the Civil War, Cherokees were near universal literacy in their own language, and their degree of literacy in English exceeded that of whites in states bordering the Cherokee nation. Both in the “old country” before the forced removal that followed the 1835 Treaty of New Echota and in the Cherokee nation in the West thereafter, the most affluent Cherokees built handsomely furnished mansions that set the standard for frontier elegance. These houses embody a principle that Cherokees applied generally: when they built, they built first class. Having developed this advanced way of life, the Cherokees thought of themselves as civilized. Admiring intellectuals in the United States and throughout Europe concurred, calling the Cherokees a “civilized tribe.”

Less celebration has been made of the fact that no tribe of Indians has had more taken away from them than the Cherokees. No tribe now lives in greater poverty, nor suffers greater indignity. The Cherokees,

who were only a century ago an internationally renowned people, now scramble for simple survival as a community, for mere subsistence as individuals. They now live in a rural part of the United States that is poor even without taking into consideration its Indians. In this impoverished environment, the Cherokees are the poorest among the poor, a minority population enclaved and exploited within its own homeland in the Ozark hills of eastern Oklahoma.

Reliable statistical information about Cherokees is scant. From 1907, when Oklahoma became a state, until about 1960, the Cherokee-country “Establishment” systematically maintained the fiction that the Cherokees had “progressed” to the extent of complete assimilation into the general population (Wahrhaftig and Thomas 1968). The Cherokees as a tribe and as a nation were spoken of glowingly, in the past tense. They were one's distinguished ancestry. Scholars were deflected toward studying tribal history, or toward lamenting a priori a dying culture. As historian Angie Debo points out:

The agency [as the Bureau of Indian Affairs was called in earlier days] maintained contact only with those [Indians] still owning restricted land A whole generation born too late to receive allotments was growing up in illiteracy and squalor with no land and no tribal relations. Even their names were unknown to the Indian service (Debo 1970: 281).

In the 1960's, the myth of Cherokee assimilation was dispelled, partly through the dissemination of the first comprehensive studies of traditional Cherokee communities in modern times, made between 1963 and 1966 by the Carnegie Corporation Cross-Cultural Education Project of the University of Chicago. These studies coincided with the inception of the Office of Economic Opportunity, which made program funds available for distribution wherever it could be proved that needy Indians existed.

But the establishment in eastern Oklahoma continued its hostility to research, for, while it was expedient to document the presence of impoverished Indians, the outrageous poverty of the Cherokees itself was an indictment of past leadership. There has been no effort to update the demographic, social, and economic data gathered in 1963–1964 nor, as the present head of the Cherokee tribe's community development program said with a shudder, is there any probability that there will be.

The Cherokees are miserably poor. In the four Cherokee settlements surveyed in 1963, median per capita income ranged from \$450 to \$650 a year (Wahrhaftig 1970: 45). In the counties where these Cherokee settlements are located, a substantial number of white families fall below the poverty index accepted at that time, an annual income of \$3,000 per family. Adair County (in which the largest and

most concentrated population of Cherokees resides) was featured in a *Newsweek* article on the War on Poverty as one of the hundred poorest in the nation. Yet in eastern Oklahoma, where there are large populations of Cherokees, there is not one county in which Cherokee income is even half the income of whites. The per capita income of Cherokees as compared with the per capita income of whites in 1963 was 43 percent in Adair County, 47 percent in Cherokee, 42 percent in Delaware, and 41 percent in Sequoyah (Wahrhaftig 1970: 47).

Among Cherokees the degree of poverty, deprivation, and cultural isolation is uniform from county to county and from settlement to settlement. In 1963, I selected for study four Cherokee settlements, in four different counties of eastern Oklahoma, that represented extremes in the existing range of geographic isolation, cohesiveness, and traditionality. When the results were tabulated, the data varied surprisingly little from one settlement to the next. Marked differences in native culture and social structure had no effect on the level of material well-being (Wahrhaftig 1970: 1-7).

Cherokee income, such as it is, comes from the stingiest and most precarious sources. Principal among these are short-term, seasonal menial labor and welfare, the latter administered by capricious and vindictive local officials (Wax 1971: 103-105). In the settlements I surveyed, from 42 percent to 66 percent of the heads of households were not in the labor force at all; many were prematurely disabled by the combination of a life of heavy physical labor and employers who provide no workmen's compensation. From 22 percent to 46 percent of the employed men were working seasonally, for short terms, or at odd jobs. Further, the amount of unemployment among Cherokees was obscured by their desperation.

To avoid falling into the hands of welfare officials, whom they fear, Cherokees will accept jobs from which they can profit but little. For example, men were traveling at their own expense from Adair County to Lincoln, Arkansas, each night in hope that a chicken processing plant there would need them as "chicken grabbers." Two or three times a week they would be hired to work all night at \$1.00 per hour. Elsewhere, Cherokees worked at farms, commercial nurseries, and canneries, sometimes for as little as 85 cents per hour and often for lower wages than whites were paid for comparable jobs. Hardly a third of Cherokee households are able to support themselves by their own earnings, and more than half of all Cherokee households are dependent in whole or in part on welfare. As telling as these figures from a survey of households are, it is more realistic to talk about whole Cherokee communities as the relevant economic unit. In this case, the source of total income for Cherokee communities in 1963 was as follows: wages, 57 percent; welfare, 29 percent; social security and pensions, 12 percent; other, 2 percent (Wahrhaftig 1970: 45-52).

Not long ago the Cherokees were a nation of subsistence farmers, plantation owners, ranchers, and tradesmen. Today Cherokee self-sufficiency is entirely destroyed. The Cherokees are at the mercy of currents in the larger economy of the Ozarks.

The Cherokees are a social and cultural isolate within the larger society that has invaded their homeland. The most dramatic index of this estrangement is that, although in 1963 a total of 10,450 Cherokee-speakers were participating in Cherokee society—and there is every reason to believe that the population of Cherokee-speakers has grown since then—not one full-time, well trained Cherokee-English interpreter could be found anywhere, employed or unemployed. Nor is there one today. Whites maintain the fiction that Cherokees merely pretend they don't understand English whenever it serves their interests to "act dumb," and Cherokees long ago gave up any hope for recognition of the reality of a bilingual society that interpretation implies. For generations, whites have been saying that the present generation of Cherokee-speakers will be the last, for the young are speaking English. They do not realize that the Cherokee community, closed and isolated itself, is withdrawing from whites. It is not at all uncommon for Cherokees to forget much of their English, as, in middle age, they become increasingly immersed in the affairs of their own community. Hence, the bilinguality of the young is deceptive. In the four Cherokee communities sampled, I found that 14, 24, 40, and 42 percent of the heads of households were unable to speak any but the most rudimentary English (Wahrhaftig 1970: 12).

At the end of the 1880's, it became clear that the United States would not tolerate an autonomous Cherokee nation. Cherokees had educated themselves, both in the narrow sense of "schooling" and in the broader sense of mastering the English language and the mechanics of Anglo-American legal proceedings, in an effort to fend off white men and to survive as a nation. Those efforts proved fruitless. As a Cherokee elder warned an Indian ecumenical conference in Canada last year: "We had Christian preachers, and we had educated men, but that didn't do us no good when the white man come after our land." In a family of Cherokee, the older brothers—now men in their nineties—speak fluent English; their father drove them to school with a whip, they say, for he was convinced of the necessity of education. The younger brothers, born after 1890 when it was clear that Americans would dissolve the Cherokee nation no matter what Cherokees did, cannot speak English. Cherokee alienation from American institutions became complete in that decade. A tribe internationally known for its school system and the educational attainments of its citizenry was plunged into a state of unscholarliness (Thomas and Wahrhaftig 1971).

At present the Cherokees are an uneducated and an illiterate

people. In 1963, Cherokees had completed a median of 5.5 years of school, one of the lowest levels of attainment in the United States. Forty percent of the population was functionally illiterate, and only 39 percent of the population had completed the eighth grade or beyond (Wahrhaftig 1970: 28–30). What must be understood is that these figures do not indicate ignorance. They are an index of the thoroughness with which Cherokees have rejected the role demanded of them in American society.

The result of sixty years of disinvolvement from American society is a crippling lack of sophistication, which renders Cherokees evermore easily victimized. That Cherokees are victimized outright is a matter for discussion later. It is worth mentioning here that the more severe cases of theft, brutality, and negligence occur in an everyday atmosphere of fear, contempt, and barely veiled discrimination. In Tahlequah, the former capital of the Cherokee nation, Indian children are bussed out to rural schools on the peripheries of the city by covert agreement, while the children of suburban white professionals are bussed in to town. When "the law" (as they call the sheriff) walks into the Tomahawk Bar in Stilwell, Indian drinkers fall silent, hunch their shoulders, stare down into their beer, and silently wait for the hand of authority to drag them away. An informant in Cherokee County said: "One time several Indians came to the construction job looking for work. The boss told them to start next morning. Next morning they drove up in time for work, but they were shy, so they stayed in their cars. After a while the boss asked me, 'What happened to those guys I told to come to work today?' I told him they were waiting around in their cars, but the boss said he didn't have time to go around to each car and get those guys. So they gave up on waiting and left."

The Cherokees are not, as much of the foregoing discussion has implied, simply a population category, a mass of individuals bearing certain characteristics. For as far back as history and archaeology can trace them, the Cherokee were a people who lived in many cohesive, small, fluidly linked settlements. This is still true today. At present, sixty-nine identifiable, named Cherokee settlements are distributed throughout six counties of northeastern Oklahoma (Map 1). The core of the Cherokee population resides permanently in these settlements. In addition, there are Cherokees who work in other locations and come home to participate in the definitive social events of Cherokee community life on weekends or during vacations. There are also individuals who were raised in these settlements, were socialized and enculturated as Cherokees, but have divorced themselves from participation in Cherokee community life. Some of these people live in northeastern Oklahoma but not among Cherokees; others have moved away. In 1963, I attempted to estimate the Cherokee population in

each of these categories. The estimates were conservative; the actual population in each category was probably no lower than estimated and might well be from 10 to 20 percent higher (see Table 1).

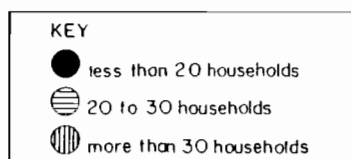
Table 1. Residence and social participation

<i>Population participating in Cherokee life</i>	
Residing in Cherokee settlements	9,500
Participating in Cherokee life, regardless of place of residence	11,500
<i>Population reared as Cherokees</i>	
Reared in Cherokee settlements and residing in northeastern Oklahoma	10,500
Reared in Cherokee settlements but not necessarily still residing in northeastern Oklahoma	16,500

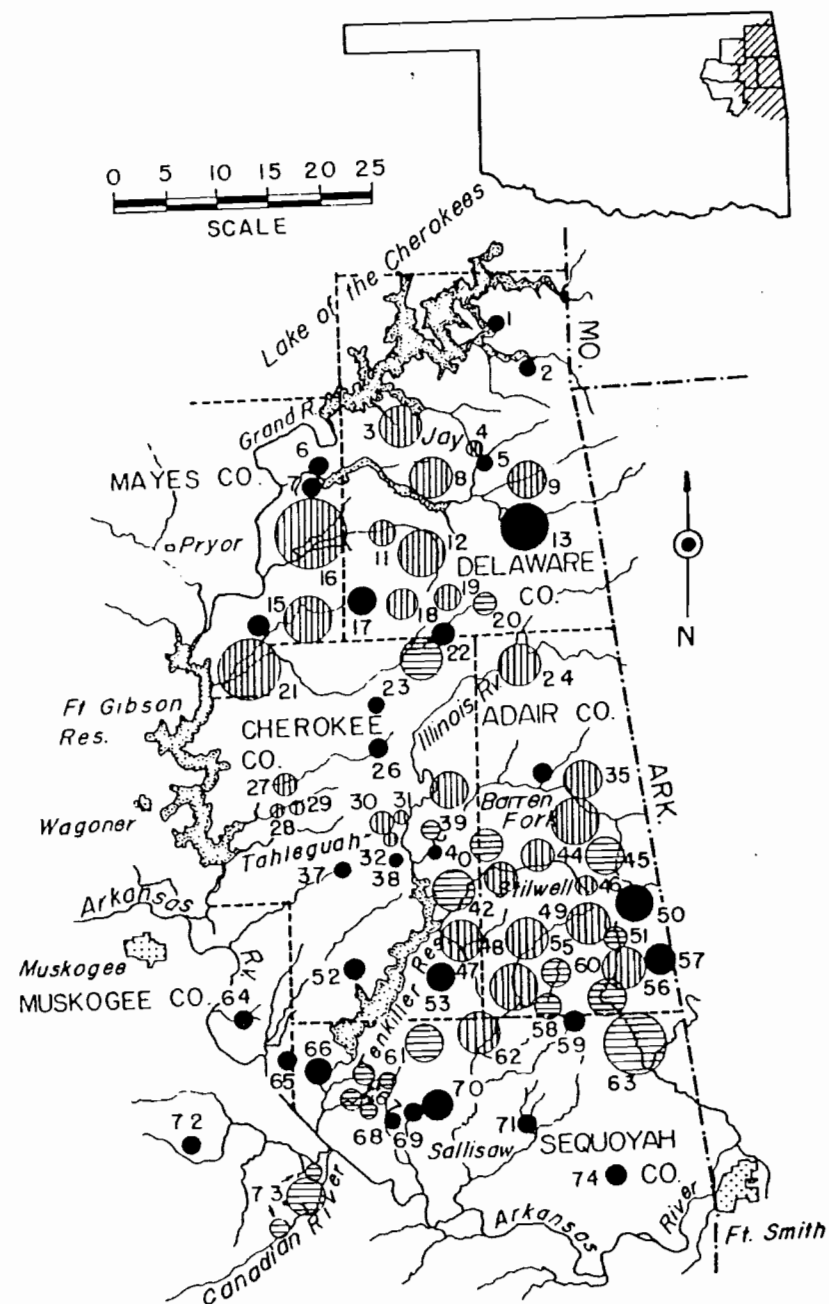
In 1902, an estimated 8,000 Cherokees lived in these Cherokee settlements. Since the destruction of the Cherokee nation — despite continuing statements that the Cherokees are "dying out" — the core Cherokee population has grown slightly, and the number of people participating in Cherokee community life has grown rapidly. In 1963, I predicted that the Cherokees were on the threshold of a population explosion, and my impression after visiting Cherokee settlements in 1972 is that this rapid population growth is now underway. Meanwhile, growth of the base Cherokee population has been so rapid (and pressures for assimilation so great and the carrying capacity of the Cherokee environment so limited) that as of 1963 a minimum of 4,500 Cherokees have "spun off" into the general society and, intentionally or not, are detached from the life of the Cherokee community. It is the presence of these individuals — living in the "white world" and therefore socially visible, while Cherokee settlements remain isolated and inconspicuous — that fuels the local establishment's certainty that the Cherokees have nearly all assimilated.

Cherokee life takes place in small, named communities of relatives. Cherokee settlements are the same old social units which were the basic units of Cherokee social structure in the "old country." When the Cherokees were forced to remove to Indian territory, entire towns resettled together under the direction of their own officials, in environments that their own scouts selected as being similar to the places they had been forced to leave.

Some Oklahoma Cherokee settlements bear the names of noted towns in the "old country" (Echota, for example), and "old country" dialects exist unscrambled in Oklahoma today. There are areas in which Cherokee communities have been destroyed, in most cases, through the creation of artificial lakes. Balancing the destruction of old



1. Grove	38. Park Hill
2. Honey Creek	39. Welling
3. Drowning Creek	40. Barren
4. Jay	41. Wauhatchie
5. Brush Creek	42. Sugar Mountain
6. Ribbon	43. Echota
7. Spavinaw	44. Mulberry Hollow
8. Eucha	45. Fairfield
9. Piney	46. Stilwell
10. Wycliffe Creek	47. Barber
New Jordan	48. Lyons Switch
11. Kenwood	49. Cherry Tree
12. Bull Hollow	50. Honey Hill
13. Cloud Creek	51. Salem
14. Salina	52. Qualls
15. Locust Grove	53. Burnt Cabin
16. Little Rock	53. Cookson
Snake Creek	54. Bunch
17. Rose	55. Greasy Creek
18. Leach	56. Bell
19. Twin Oaks	57. Oak Ridge
20. Bittle Kansas	58. South Greasy
21. Ballou	59. Rock Fence
22. Caks	60. Nicut
23. Rocky Ford	61. Vian Creek
24. Chewey	62. Marble City
25. Johnson Prairie	63. Bellefont
26. Moodys	64. Braggs
27. Fourteen Mile	65. Sourjohn
Creek	66. Notchietown
28. Hulbert	67. Blackgum
29. Spring Creek	Mountain
30. Tablequash	68. Vian
31. Red Oak	69. Sycamore
32. Elm Tree	70. McKey
33. Briggs	71. Frices Chaple
34. Christie	72. Warner
35. Old Green	73. Oak Grove
36. Peavine	74. Muldrow
37. New Greenleaf	



Map 1. Cherokee settlements, northeast Oklahoma

Cherokee settlements is the emergence of new, cohesive Cherokee communities, often within or on the outskirts of small towns. Of seventy-two identifiable Cherokee settlements in eastern Oklahoma, forty-eight are old and stable, fourteen are disintegrating, and ten are emerging. The basic framework of Cherokee settlement is intact and adaptive. A core of old settlements provides continuity while forced-out populations coalesce into new settlements located in more hospitable environments (Wahrhaftig 1968: 515-517). The Cherokees have maintained their population and have preserved the core of settlements from which their nation was built, although they have been reduced from an independent nation to an ethnic minority submerged within a culturally complex region.

Demographic changes within eastern Oklahoma are forcing the Cherokees into an increasingly disadvantaged position. They are concentrated in "hollows" through which flow creeks that lead to the Verdigris, Grand, and Arkansas river valleys, which do not coincide with Oklahoma township and county boundaries. Although Cherokees predominate in some geographic areas, they are a minority within existing administrative units.

From the Depression until the 1960's, poor white farmers fled eastern Oklahoma, while Cherokees left in lesser numbers. As a result, eastern Oklahoma populations dwindled, but the proportion of Cherokees relative to whites increased. From 1960 to 1970 the overall loss of population was arrested, but at the same time the numbers of Cherokees appear to have sharply increased, and the ratio of Cherokees to whites continued to increase (see Table 2) (Wahrhaftig 1968: 514-515; Jordan 1972a, 1972b).

Table 2. Cherokee population relative to white population

County	Percentage Cherokee 1940	Percentage Cherokee 1960	Percentage Cherokee 1970
Adair	19	23	27
Cherokee	10	13	20
Delaware	10	14	20
Sequoyah	5	6	9
Mayes	—	—	11

However, numbers do not tell the whole story. Generally, as rural white subsistence farmers have departed, their small farms have been consolidated into large ranches, often owned by Texans. New lakes built as part of the Army Corps of Engineers Arkansas River Flood Control Project have attracted vacationers, retired city folk, weekenders from nearby cities—and increasing numbers of small-town businessmen to service them. Population growth in eastern Oklahoma

has been in small towns and in urban areas. This means that Cherokees have been stranded. Rural whites, with whom Cherokees used to have neighborly relations, have been replaced by city folk. Cherokees now appear to have fewer personal relationships with whites than they did a generation ago, and a widening gulf in wealth and sophistication is separating them from whites.

Cherokee settlements, having survived in rocky crannies that did not tempt whites in an agrarian age, may yet be doomed to disintegration, as Oklahoman profiteers exploit their environment. Eastern Oklahomans have taken to calling this area "Green Country." This appellation—backed by the Phillips Petroleum Company, which detailed an employee to "serve virtually full time" as executive vice-president of Green Country, Incorporated—represents an adroit bit of identity managing. It evokes a new future for the region, as a paradise of woods, lakes, bass, legions of free-spending tourists and vacationers, second homes for Tulsans and Dallasites—the playground of Texas and Kansas. This image submerges the old realities: Indians, lawlessness, failed farms, poverty, cultural and economic backwash. The new image, and the national advertising that is merchandising it, has the timeless ring of God-created wilderness, revealing that Oklahomans are apparently oblivious to their impact on the environment. In less than a century it has been transformed, certainly to the disadvantage of the Cherokees and, perhaps, to that of everyone else. Cherokees say that, when they first came to the area, the Ozark forests had trees so big and so widely spaced that through them you could see a man on horseback a quarter-mile away. As whites gained control, forests were logged and bottom lands were planted to cotton. Hillsides were leased to cattlemen or in tiny tracts to thousands of tenants, to be subsistence farmed into exhaustion (McWilliams 1942: 189-190). Cherokees were enjoined from the annual burnings that had cleared underbrush from the woods. Game was hunted out of existence. And finally came the army engineers, with an orgy of dam building that has yet to reach its climax. In the 1940's, Cherokee settlements along Greenleaf and the Lake of the Cherokees. In the 1950's, a large Cherokee community at Yonkers was covered by the Fort Gibson Reservoir, Lake Tenkiller covered a Cherokee settlement at Linder Bend and another along the Illinois River bottom, and Lake Eucha covered a Cherokee community at Eucha. Dozens of additional lakes, which will inundate the areas most thickly populated by Cherokees, are on the Corps of Engineers drawing boards. The price the Cherokees have paid for Green Country is scrub-choked, tick-infested, second-growth forests; fishing lakes that have drowned former Indian settlements; and a displaced Cherokee population which is either on welfare or in California.

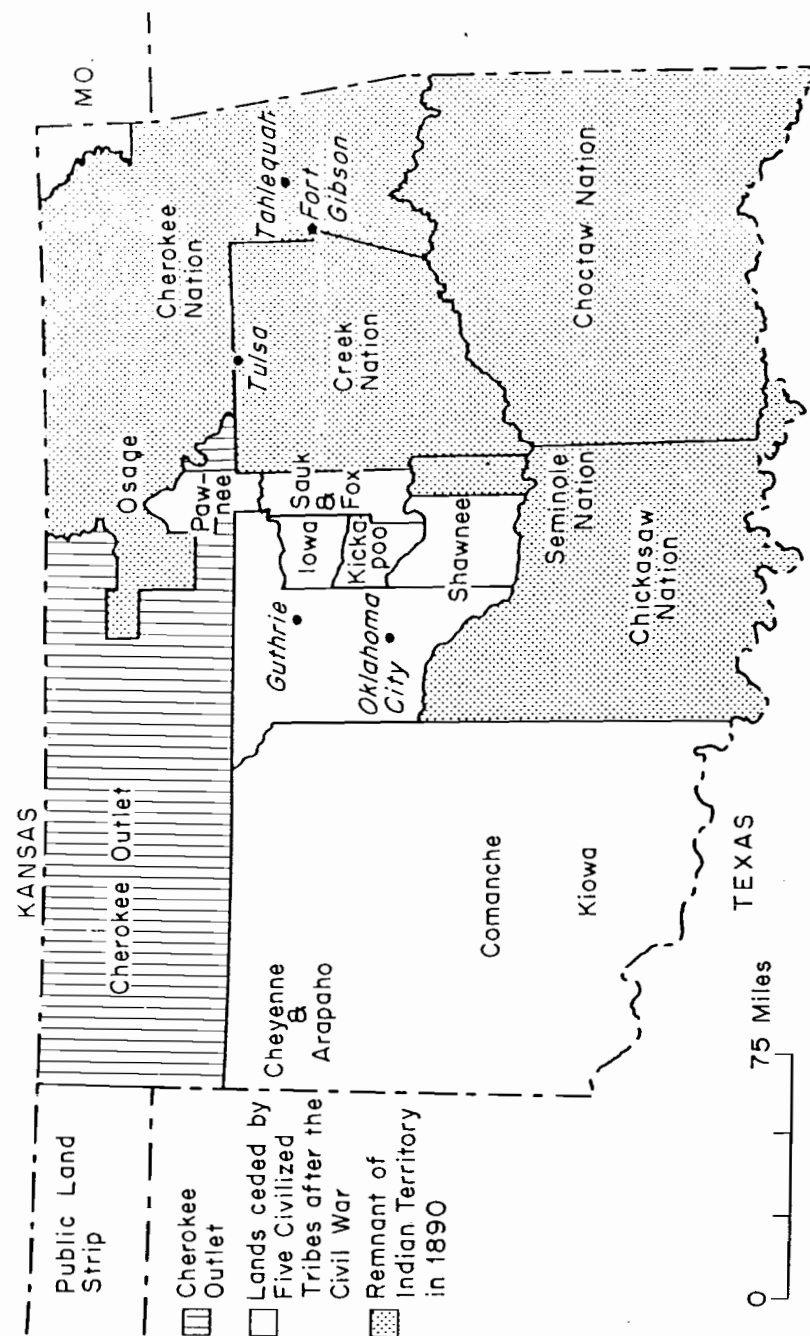
Where Cherokee settlements are intact, Cherokees survive, poor and frustrated, but not yet demoralized nor alcoholic. Unfortunately, the future survival of Cherokee settlements is not under Cherokee control.

HOW THE CHEROKEES GOT THAT WAY

To understand how the Cherokees came to be as poor as they are and, more importantly, to understand the premises guiding Cherokee conduct today, it is necessary to confront what the Cherokees regard as the blunt facts of their existence. First, they know that wealth was stolen from them. Second, they know that the most eminent institutions of Oklahoma society were the instruments of this theft: Angie Debo (1970: 277) flatly concluded that "the entire legal system of eastern Oklahoma was warped to strip [Indians] of their property." Third, they consider some of the most respected members of Oklahoma society (including many who are by genealogical and legalistic definitions "Cherokee") to be brazen criminals who gained their wealth and standing through profiteering from Cherokee affairs.

The theft of Cherokee assets reached its zenith in the twentieth century. Most of it occurred within the lifetime of the fathers of the men most influential in Cherokee settlements today. Cherokees are convinced that thievery continues, by the very processes that operated successfully in the past; therefore, they consider that lessons essential to their survival are to be found by reviewing history. Local whites try to prevent Cherokees from "dwelling on past history," for it is only by forgetting (or ignoring) the past that Oklahoma white people can justify the present. But for Cherokees to obligingly ignore their history would be suicidal.

In 1828, Cherokees who had voluntarily removed to lands in Arkansas were persuaded to vacate them in exchange for seven million acres of land in the Verdigris, Grand, and Arkansas river valleys. In 1835, Andrew Jackson forced the Cherokees still remaining in their Arkansas homeland to sign the Treaty of New Echota, which dictated their removal to lands already in possession of western Cherokees. Under terms of that same treaty, Cherokees purchased from the United States the "neutral lands," an additional 800,000 acres in Kansas, and also were assured of a "perpetual outlet west, and a free and unmolested use of all the country west of . . . said seven million acres." During Jackson's administration each of the "Five Civilized Tribes" (Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles) was similarly forced to abandon its homeland and relocate in Indian territory. These Indian nations owned all of what is now the state of Oklahoma except the panhandle (see Map 2). They had already lost the western



Map 2. Indian territory in Oklahoma, after Collier 1973: 107

portion by 1898, but they retained the east—19,500,000 acres of lands rich in timber, coal, oil, minerals, and pasture. “No other exploiters of Indian property in the history of the United States had ever been offered so rich a prize” (Debo 1970: 276).

It took white men scarcely fifty years to strip the Five Civilized Tribes of their remaining resources. Of the 19,500,000 acres held in 1891, there remained in 1956 only 316,902 acres of restricted land, and this was the most barren and isolated acreage. Before 1891, the Cherokee Outlet, Cherokee Strip, and neutral lands were totally lost to the tribe. Of the seven million acres still retained by the Cherokee nation in 1891, less than 146,598 acres of restricted land remain¹ (United States Department of the Interior, 1971). The “orgy of exploitation” has been described by Angie Debo (1940) in *And still the waters run*, a comprehensively documented account of the fate of the Five Civilized Tribes between 1898 and the 1930’s. Her investigation of the means by which Indian assets were stolen confirms that the contemporary Cherokees’ distrust of lawyers, judges, bankers, written documents, officials of the state of Oklahoma, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs is based on solid historical precedent.

The existence of an autonomous Cherokee nation was an impediment to white speculators, for there was no private ownership of land, no possibility of acquiring land from individuals, and both law and national sentiment forbade either sales or cessions of Cherokee national lands. But whites jumped the border after the Civil War and illegally settled in such quantity that Cherokees were outnumbered in their own nation. Whites, whether poor intruding settlers or influential businessmen, favored dissolution of the Cherokee government and the creation of a new state from territories held by the Indian nations.

Around 1880, the highest offices in the Cherokee nation were taken over by the least traditional of Cherokees. These men resisted incorporation of the Indian nations into a new American state, but when it became apparent that statehood was inevitable, they seized the opportunity to cut themselves slices of the pie. At that point, the interests of prominent Cherokee politicians were merged with the interests of others who scrambled for wealth.

In this period dealers in Indian land were called, and called themselves, “grafters.” The term implied no dishonor, for they viewed themselves as bringing progress, which all races would ultimately share, to an area that Indians had failed to develop. Grafters bankrol-

led newspapers all over the Indian territory as well as on the borders of Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas, to present the view that Indians were victims of their own dishonest and inefficient governments, that only by emancipating them from tribal despots could these victimized populations progress, and that each Indian would personally benefit from equality of individual opportunity in the society of a new state. Congressmen also propagandized this vision of reality and blasted all who cast doubt upon it. In the new state of Oklahoma, grafters became the backbone of the establishment.

In the 1880’s, and 1890’s, eastern Oklahoma commerce was built on speculation in Indian land, timber, coal, and railroad rights of way. (A decade later, oil boomed to the top of the list.) The Cherokee nation, dissolved when Oklahoma became a state, no longer controlled these resources; they remained in possession of the individuals among whom tribal lands had been allotted. Because many of these Cherokees did not speak English and were innocent of business procedure, they were restricted from selling their allotments. Title to their land was held in trust by the United States government, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs supervised their interests.

The grafters were consistently able to arrange for the appointment of cohorts to key BIA positions, and they had little trouble in disposing of the few Indian agents who attempted to make decisions contrary to the grafters’ interests. Grafters were among Oklahoma’s first congressmen and they could also count on cooperation from judges in Oklahoma courts, many of whom they had put into office. Some judges built their own political machines, by handing out guardianships over minor and “incompetent” Indians and by approving lavish attorney’s fees for even the most straightforward cases; others were perhaps honest, but they shared the grafters’ exploitative view of land, money, Indians, and progress.

When reformers attempted to direct attention to the swindles being perpetrated through the BIA and the courts, their allegations were refuted by a torrent of editorials and congressional oratory. To Cherokees, all lawyers, courts, politicians, Indian agents, the press, and even powerful individuals of Cherokee origin seemed to be solidly interlinked against them. An older Cherokee summed it all up with chilling understatement: “[The lawyers and the descendants of those opportunistic Cherokee politicians], they’ll be joined with the rich people. When they do that, it be pretty hard to get along with.”

For seventy years or more, Cherokee have lived amid ingeniously contrived schemes for divesting them of their property. Their survival as a people demands that somehow they both eat and hang on to their remaining possessions. The acreage that Cherokees have already lost represented land, timber, and oil that might have provided them with a

¹ This figure combines acreage under jurisdiction of the Tahlequah Agency of the BIA, which serves only Cherokees, and the Miami Agency, which serves Cherokees, eastern Shawnee, Seneca-Cayuga, and Quapaws. These two agencies also administer 21,987 acres of tribal land and 19,808 acres of government land, utilized primarily by Cherokees.

living—and a handsome one. That loss can be endured and even interpreted by Cherokees as a punishment from which they will one day emerge, chastened but pure and strong of will.

Present and future land losses are of a different order. The lands that are left are the sites of Cherokee homes and settlements, the pared-down territory to which the social fabric of Cherokee community is fastened. Cherokee survival skills, based on the support of an intact settlement, are of little use to the isolated individual. When Cherokees lose these lands, they are losing their physical place in the social order of the settlement into which they were born. These settlements are efficient social units, welded by time and geared to an effective sharing of resources and income that levels out the risks of survival, even on reduced and uncertain resources. However, Cherokee settlements are knit by continual person-to-person interaction, which is disrupted by the intrusion of whites or other strangers. In order to keep their settlements together under present conditions, and their person-to-person system of interaction closed, Cherokees must own the land to which their settlement is attached (Wahrhaftig 1966; 1970: 52–58).

Given this context, what adaptive survival techniques can a people develop in an environment of smiling swindlers? Cherokees have schooled themselves to sign nothing, to expect the worst from even the most seemingly friendly and innocent dealings with whites, and to anticipate that any promise of a project that will lead to future economic reward is the prelude to fraud.

In the contemporary Cherokee parable of "The pretty colored snake," a hunter returning home encountered a little snake. "It was a beautifully colored snake with all pretty colors all over it, and it looked friendly, too" (Spade and Walker 1966: 788–789). He fed it, and so did others as time went on. The snake grew bigger and hungrier until it was consuming a whole deer for a meal. One night the Cherokees were dancing around the fire,

... when the snake came and started going around too ... That snake was so big and long that he stretched all around the people and the people were penned up. The snake was covered all over with all pretty colors and he seemed friendly; but he looked hungry too, and the people began to be afraid. They told some boys to get their bows. They all shot together and they hit the snake all right. That snake was hurt. He thrashed his tail all around and killed a lot of the people. They say that snake was just like the white man (Spade and Walker 1966).

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the Cherokee experience teaches them that courts, the law, and the legally established authority are still the primary instruments of their distress. In 1956 and 1966, I was the English-language secretary for the Five County Northeast

Oklahoma Cherokees (later called the Original Cherokee Community Organization). Devoted originally to establishing the Cherokees' right under treaty to hunt and fish without restriction, the organization became a forum at which the Cherokee-speaking population met to define their current problems. At meeting after meeting in Cherokee communities people told what was happening to them, in an effort to define the pattern of their exploitation (Buchanan 1972; Wahrhaftig i.p.). By their own accounts, Cherokees are presently losing land and other assets through illegal removal of restrictions and consequent sale, through the machinations of court-appointed guardians, through disadvantageous leases, through illegal sale forced by welfare agencies, and through partition and adverse possession. Land losses are presently estimated to be 5,000 acres per year (Collier 1970).

At each meeting, there were families seeking to regain land recently lost through the fraudulent removal of tax exemption. In 1898, in preparation for statehood, the United States government began to survey Cherokee lands, which the tribe had owned communally, and to make allotments to Cherokee citizens. Those of one-half or more Cherokee blood were protected from grafters by restrictions on the sale of their allotments.² The Bureau of Indian Affairs now supervises the administration of these restrictions. Because allotted lands are held in trust by the United States government, they are tax exempt.

Cherokees insist that when modern grafters desire a tract of allotted land, they conspire with the county assessor's staff to place the tract on the county tax rolls. The Cherokee allottee is almost certain to remain ignorant of this "mistake"; consequently, he neither pays tax nor is he informed of the need to set matters straight. When taxes have gone unpaid for three years, the county auctions the land to recover unpaid taxes and the grafter buys it.

An exceptionally short statute of limitations—five years—applies to this category of transaction in Oklahoma. Eight years after the grafter has set his plan into motion, the land is irredeemably his. Characteristically, Cherokee allottees remain unaware of the transaction until the new owners arrive, backed by the sheriff, to dispossess them. This may not happen until after the statute of limitations has run out. The success of this basic scheme and its many variants depends on the interaction of five factors, in addition to the presence of greedy and unscrupulous land speculators. There must be county employees who are willing to illegally transfer land to county tax rolls; BIA officials

² The first United States census of the Indian territory, made in 1890, classed inhabitants according to physical appearance without regard to citizenship. The census categories do not correspond exactly to cultural categories of Indian and white, but they are a useful approximation. In 1890, the population of the Cherokee nation was 56,035 persons of whom 29,166 were white, 5,127 were Negro, and 22,015 were Indian. Indians were 39 percent of the population (Debo 1940: 13).

who consistently lack vigilance; a gap in language, culture, communications, and sophistication that prevents Cherokees from grappling with the complexities of the white man's ideas about land tenure; state laws such as the short statute of limitations, which promote fraud; and finally, a general suppression and intimidation of Cherokees, which fosters their conviction that resistance to even patently illegal transactions is sure to prove futile.

Historically, the removal of restrictions on the sale of Cherokee lands (on categories of land or on individual holdings, by act of Congress or by neighborhood bribery) has provided the grafter's greatest windfalls.³ To date no adequate defense has been developed. But then, no one has tried very hard. Neither the present Cherokee government, nor the Bureau of Indian Affairs, nor the Cherokees themselves have devised some simple system for monitoring county tax rolls and sending "land loss alerts" to threatened allottees. The newspaper printed by the tribal government faithfully lists the names of Indians admitted to local hospitals, but never the names of Indians whose homes are in jeopardy!

Cherokees also bitterly insist that property rightfully theirs is administered for the benefit of white men, through leases which operate to the disadvantage of existing Cherokee settlements. Populous settlements at Kenwood and Bull Hollow, for instance, are in the middle of a large area known as the Kenwood Indian reserve. Inside the Kenwood reserve there are Cherokee allotments, lands owned in fee simple by whites, and an extensive area—most of it in 40- and 80-acre tracts—that is locally called "Indian land" or "government land." Most of the acreage in this last category is submarginal agricultural land, which the United States government bought up during the Depression in order to take it off the market. Although the question of title is confused, in recent years these lands have been administered by the Cherokee government with consent of the BIA, following established bureau precedents. They are leased, sometimes complete with a "government house" and a well, to cattle raisers—many of whom are technically Cherokees, although they are culturally and socially white and live apart from local Indian settlements.

Cherokees in Kenwood and Bull Hollow are firm in their conviction

that any poor and homeless Cherokees ought to be permitted to settle freely on these "Indian lands." In allocating land, the first priority they recognize is that every Cherokee has a right to a home. Instead, they see it leased to people whom they regard as white men, who don't really need it, anyway. Indignation over the administration of these lands is ceaseless. Discussion of the subject sometimes ends with halfhearted inflammatory muttering about "getting together and cutting the throats of all them cattles." Fires do seem frequent in the area, and it is indicative of Cherokee sentiment that such fires are not attributed to accident. When the "government house" of a Cherokee family that was under threat of eviction burned, Cherokee opinion had it that "that's one house they won't put white people in, to let their cows wander around on the roads at night. If Cherokees can't have it, nobody's going to get it."

Historically, enforcement of unconscionable leases has been a longstanding practice. It is an old swindle, an example of which was provided by Robert L. Owen, an opportunistic Cherokee politician who entered the United States Senate at statehood. "An extensive dealer in the rich valley land of Cherokee and Creek allottees... [one] of his leases dated December 18, 1901, would run for ninety-nine years and the entire rental was discounted as follows: \$10 had been paid November 29, \$30 was paid when the lease was made, and \$320 would be paid upon execution of a deed" (Debo 1970: 277-78).

Another means of grabbing Indian assets has been to secure a court appointment as legal guardian of an Indian who has been adjudged incompetent. In a recent instance widely discussed among Cherokees, a county judge was said to have appointed his own secretary as guardian of a Cherokee man who, although elderly, was spry and sound of mind. Hearing of this, the Cherokee's brother and sister petitioned the court to appoint them as guardians of their own brother. The petition was denied, but, even before that, the court-appointed guardian had sold the Cherokee's land in order to pay for his burial expenses—although he was alive and in sound health.

Angie Debo writes that,

... a neglected field of exploitation was opened up by the discovery that Indian adults also needed guardians. It had always been recognized that mentally defective Indians like other defective adults could be placed under guardianship, but it was not until about 1913 that it began to be apparent that all Indians and freedmen who owned oil property were mentally defective.... Even those Indians whose wealth came from restricted allotments and who were therefore adequately protected by the Government were declared incompetent, and a horde of guardians and attorneys were richly compensated for services consisting mainly of cashing royalty checks from the Agency. Young allottees approaching their majority began to hide or to seek refuge in distant states to avoid being brought into court and declared incompetent (Debo 1940: 305-306).

³ The grafters... found ways of having restrictions removed from land they controlled. An allottee could apply to the agency and establish his competence to manage his land, but many applications were made without the knowledge of the Indian by dealers who held sales contracts or merchants who had extended extravagant credit. Another method was to have the restrictions removed by special acts of Congress by slipping the Indians' names into the Indian Appropriation Bill. A study of the individual victims named in this act in 1906 shows shocking spoliation in every instance. Some of them had given powers of attorney to a merchant to whom they owed money; then as soon as the bill was enacted, he gave deeds to a fellow conspirator. In another case a guardian sold his ward's valuable oil land without the knowledge of the child's father.

Cherokee dependence on welfare, inevitable in the poor and jobless region they inhabit, leaves them vulnerable to still further losses. Oklahoma welfare regulations contain exemptions relating to allotted land. Among other rights, a Cherokee may retain his last forty acres of allotted land and still receive Old Age Assistance. According to Cherokees, it is a common practice for welfare officials to deny knowledge of these exemptions and to force elderly Cherokees to sell their allotments. Following such a sale, they can insist that the Cherokees exhaust the proceeds on their own subsistence before they are considered eligible for further assistance.

Ever since "the state come in" (as they put it), Cherokees have lived fearfully and in expectation of being plundered. Their adaptation to being preyed upon can be witnessed in the layout of their homesites and in the etiquette for approaching them. From inside a house in any Cherokee settlement, the main road may clearly be seen; when strangers approach, those within the house become wary and silent. Women move into the rear rooms or peep nervously through the curtains. There is always one person who is depended upon to handle newcomers. The one who approaches is expected to get out of his car to unfasten a gate at the roadside, to proceed up the drive, but to stop short of the house and wait inside his car—honking the horn impatiently if necessary—until a member of the household emerges to invite him to "step down." The entire visit may be transacted with the visitor remaining in his car while his "host" leans against the car door. To walk up and knock on the door is an unacceptable intrusion. This etiquette creates a no-man's-land in which the household's specialist in English-speaking and "foreign relations" can negotiate, while less sophisticated members are sheltered. To be invited into the house is a gesture of considerable trust and acceptance; thereafter, the visitor may feel free to enter the house as though it were his own, without knocking. The Cherokee cannot afford to trust just anyone.

Cherokee material resources—the bottom lands, the minerals, the timber—have almost entirely passed into the hands of whites. Cherokee monetary resources—even their award from the Indian Claims Court, which was distributed early in the 1960's—have also circulated into the hands of white shopkeepers. The Cherokees are, as they put it, "pretty far down." Still, economic growth in eastern Oklahoma is based on exploitation of a final Cherokee resource—the Cherokee themselves. The establishment has only begun to exploit Cherokee labor, and it has barely commenced to grasp the possibility for capitalizing on the Cherokee as a presence.

As for the exploitation of Cherokee labor, overall economic development programs and economic base reports for eastern Oklahoma have in recent years been uniformly pessimistic about prospects for

future agricultural and industrial development in the counties that were formerly part of the Cherokee nation. Studies cite high transportation costs, distant markets, unsophisticated local government, and insufficient development of the social, cultural, and educational facilities that are necessary to attract and satisfy corporate executives and their families. Studies also emphasize the presence of cheap labor—primarily Indian—in an area with low prevailing wages, no state minimum wage laws, no right-to-work law, and few unions. Cherokee County, for example, pointedly noted that "many of these Indians subsist on minimum standards of living" (Oklahoma State Employment Service Research and Planning Division 1962: 31.) Although ethnic groups are becoming increasingly sensitive to patronizing and cant, W. W. Keeler, principal chief of the Cherokees, still advertises that patience and manual dexterity make his people suitable for employment in monotonous manual tasks.

A more recent trend has been to bank on the presence of Cherokees to draw tourists into the Ozark Hills. Adair County claims that "the cultural activities of the Cherokees and their assimilation in the population of Adair County [sic] offer some excellent opportunities to create new attractions within the County that can enhance its economic development" (Adair County Development Committee 1962: ii).

Essentially, such plans involve hiring Cherokees to "play Indian" in enterprises developed by local entrepreneurs (with as much state and federal investment as they can promote), for the benefit of the business community. The most ambitious of these schemes is a complex consisting of a reconstructed ancient Cherokee village, an amphitheater in which to present a pageant based on Cherokee history, a Cherokee museum, and a Cherokee archive, all to be located outside Tahlequah (the former Cherokee capital) in a neighborhood where high officials of the Cherokee nation once lived. It is always claimed on behalf of these projects that both their construction and their operation would create jobs for Indians who would otherwise be on welfare. "In addition to kindling pride in heritage [which the local establishment gratuitously assumes is lacking in Cherokees] the project is planned to be of substantial economic benefit through employment, both direct and indirect" (Cherokee National Historical Society n.d.). Initial estimates for the costs of the construction of the Indian village were \$150,000 and for the amphitheater \$300,000, in funds largely solicited from the EDA and other federal agencies. These projects gail Cherokees. Cherokees have contested the authenticity of the Indian village and protested the commercialization of their sacred dances within it. Employment return has been small: 50 to 75 jobs during the six months of the year when employment is least hard to find. Most of the jobs are for "villagers" who must wear wigs and imitation buckskins, and speak

Cherokee at all times on the job, while whooping, weaving baskets, and dancing. In the first (and only) such demonstration in Cherokee history, Cherokees picketed the inauguration of the village. Many of them refer to it as "the monkey house."

Of the pageant presenting Cherokee history after the Trail of Tears, an emeritus professor of Cherokee history wrote: "A stranger would never suspect it was a Cherokee performance, were it not for the fact that one or another of the actors yell out from time to time that 'the Cherokees are the greatest people on earth'" (Ballenger n.d.) A Cherokee reviewer said, "The drama concentrates mainly on the split within the Cherokee Nation and what a grand and glorious thing it was for the Cherokee when the Indian Territory became the state of Oklahoma.... The only point the drama makes is that tidy white minds with their neatly arranged myths about the Cherokees should not be disturbed" (Racoon [1969: 11] quoted in Fites n.d.)

Benefits to the Cherokees consisted of employment as construction laborers and in the nonspeaking, nondancing, walk-on parts of the performance. Of 85 persons that the drama employed during the summer months of 1971, only 47 were of Cherokee descent. Very few of these were culturally Indian. Compared to this small return to Cherokees in employment generated by investment of their own funds, the president of the Tahlequah Chamber of Commerce calculated that in 1971 the total impact of Tsa La Gi (as the village is called) on the Tahlequah area amounted to \$10,660,420.47. The force that provided increased annual revenues of nearly \$11 million to Oklahoma businessmen by ostensibly providing summer jobs for indigent Cherokees was the Cherokee National Historical Society, an organization composed of members of the chamber of commerce, bankers, realtors, and Cherokee politicians. In this combination, an observer with a sense of the continuity of complex social systems might see the grafters of old times in modern dress. The Cherokees do.

HOW CHEROKEE SETTLEMENTS SURVIVE

The Cherokee way of life is to live in a small, autonomous settlement. As far back into the past as Cherokees can be traced, this has been the case, and it is true today. The number, size, and total population of Cherokee settlements in Oklahoma now correspond closely to the number, size, and population of Cherokee settlements observed during the 1700's in the Cherokees' native environment, the mountains of the southeastern United States (Wahrhaftig 1968). Each Cherokee settlement is a social unit, knit by kinship and small enough for face-to-face interaction. Through a classificatory system of defining relatedness (in

which the matrilineal clan was once important), large numbers of Cherokees interact with one another as close relatives (Gearing 1961; Gilbert 1934). Each Cherokee settlement is also a ceremonial unit, with its own central meeting place for ritual and its own curers, preachers, and holy men. Until the 1930's, each Cherokee settlement was a subsistence unit, producing and consuming what it needed from lands available to all Cherokees.

The Cherokees who live in these settlements are one single, unique people. Their name for themselves may be translated as "the principal people." They conceive of themselves as a "nationality" (an English word they often use) bound by shared tradition and shared concern for one another, and not as a people legislated by citizenship of geopolitical boundaries. They conceive of the world as a system of many interdependent populations, each of which must live in a proper way in order that all may survive — and all of them, including the Cherokees, must survive in order for the world to stay together. Modern traditional Cherokee teachings say:

For God said, if the Cherokees be destroyed and become extinct,
Then that will be the destruction of the whole world.
This is the word of the forefathers of our own land (Keetoowah Society 1972).

Cherokee settlements are related through ties of kinship, intermarriage, and participation in a common ceremonial cycle. These ties are the pathways for interaction through which Cherokees residing in different settlements share their experiences, make up their differences, and synthesize new interpretations of their culture. This last task is the special function of old men, the opinion definers in individual settlements, who continually travel to consult with one another. So, while each Cherokee settlement is an autonomous social unit, all the Cherokees residing in each of the settlements participate in a shared culture and a shared definition of themselves as one people.

Perhaps every anthropologist has had, at some point in his studies, an insight that brings into focus what he has learned of the people he is observing. Mine came on the eve of the trial of a Cherokee named John Chewie before a tribunal of federal judges in Tulsa, Oklahoma, on charges of hunting deer out of season and without a license. Having just completed a socioeconomic study of households in four Cherokee settlements, I had been asked to testify as an expert witness to the poverty of Cherokees and to the importance of fish and game in their diet. At that time, I pictured Cherokees as subsistence farmers with a strong sense of solidarity who had become imprisoned as wage earners in the rural backwash of the society we had imposed on them.

John Chewie and I sat on a bluff over the Illinois River through a

moonlit night and reviewed his life as a hunter. He was then in his early thirties, an ex-marine with enough training to hold industrial jobs in Tulsa, when he was in the mood for city living. Usually, he preferred to stay with his elderly father in the Cherokee settlement at Bull Hollow. We counted the number of deer John had killed during the last full season, guessed their dressed weight, multiplied, and came up with a rough estimate of the quantity of meat he had provided "for the pot." The amount was one ton! I was astounded, and I think John was too, for he was used to thinking of his deer kill by kill, and I to thinking of mine by the meal.

Not realizing the quantities involved, I had never before thought to ask about how the kill was distributed. John told me which cuts he brought to his father (who took pieces to his friends when he wasn't feeling too lame) and which went to his brothers and his sister (each of whom received joints large enough to share with their neighbors, for John's siblings have not managed to live next to each other). And the meat that was left? By this time most everybody knew a kill had been made. John habitually deposited the rest of the carcass at a cross-roads store. Anybody who needed meat knew it would be there and could feel free to come and get what he could use. The deer was totally consumed as fresh meat.

I knew well enough that the Cherokee diet is a bland monotony of beans, potato, biscuit, salt pork, and pan gravy if it is not supplemented with game, fish, nuts, and wild greens—but I had never before realized the larger picture. Taken in context, John Chewie could be understood as a specialist, a hunter who with one or two fellows kept an entire settlement supplied with fresh meat—while, meantime, other members of the settlement followed other economic pursuits. Here is a pattern of hunting and distribution of game that could have been found in any of the "classic" hunting-gathering societies that abound in anthropological literature.

This revelation, coming after two years of fieldwork, brought many previous observation into focus. I recalled the group of men and boys who went rabbit hunting together in the snow around the settlement at Cherry Tree, and I remembered the pride of a Cherokee father telling me how much his sons fished and how none of them could be intimidated into buying fishing licenses. ("We're Cherokees, ain't it?" they told him.) And a Cherokee doctor and his apprentice who often sat silently together for hours, not lost in thought but turned outward, joined in the observation of the hills and trees and sky. I realized that it was almost entirely within the context of the hunt, and the stockpiling of knowledge of nature that goes into hunting, that young Cherokee men model after their elders, learn from them who they together are, and develop their strongest affective bonds. I began to

think that the relations of hunter-to-hunter and of hunters-to-environment were the models on which the structure of modern Cherokee settlements is based. And it occurred to me that a society that retains within its present subsistence adaptations the possibility of falling back on previous adaptation has developed a sort of "fail-safe" mechanism.

The presence of John as a hunter for his settlement of wage laborers involved more than just the retention of the social relations (especially the distribution of meat through a network of kinspeople) characteristic of hunting societies. John has a hunter's culturally derived mentality. When we were talking about what he did with the meat, John told me:

I just hunt to feed people now. I learned better. It didn't used to be that way, though. I used to hunt deer for money. I was a good shot, shit, couldn't miss! I could get a deer anytime, me and my buddies, and sell it to a white man for 15 maybe 20 dollars. And get drunk, whoowie!

Dad kept telling me it wouldn't do. He said God put those deer here to feed the Cherokees. He didn't put them here to sell to no white men for drinking money. I didn't pay him no mind.

We were hunting one morning and a buck rose up no farther than from here to there and stood dead still. There wasn't no way to miss. I shot, and then again and again. Couldn't hit him. Same thing another time. That deer was close enough to throw a rock at. I fired and couldn't hit him no way.

I told Dad, and he said I might as well put my gun up, cause I done lost my power. That come of killing deer to sell to white men. I knew it wasn't no use to hunt. I laid off it for years.

A time come when Dad said he thought I might be straightened out. He said he could try and purify me. After that, I took my gun down again and went hunting. Got a deer that day, sure enough. I'm a sure shot right now, but I only kill what people need to eat . . .

I used to see a little white deer sometimes when I was hunting. It wasn't a fawn. It was full-grown, but very small and perfectly white. I used to try to kill it, but I never could.

I told Dad. He said that deer was part of the Little People's herd. He said it wasn't no use for me to shoot at it. That wasn't a deer meant for people. It was the Little People's food, and they wouldn't let anybody kill it. I sure couldn't (personal communication).

The Cherokees are not a hunting-gathering band. John is a modern Cherokee, a Marine veteran, a beer drinker, a resident in a sedentary settlement, whose brothers commute to work at a steel plant in Tulsa. He is a skeptic who sometimes doesn't pay much attention to what the old people try to tell him. Still, it is in the context of his experience as a hunter that his self-esteem is tested, his understanding of the inner working of the world is derived, and his relationship to his father, brothers, sisters, and other kin is stabilized.

Cherokees perhaps no longer make their living from the surrounding

natural environment, but they depend on it to define their life and power. They would not know what to do if they could not cue to it. Cherokee doctors say that when you are sick, if you have faith, you have but to walk in the woods watching closely, and the plant that will cure you will make itself known. Unlike whites, Cherokees rarely build storm cellars, for if you live right, storms will spare you. They feel confident when they see eagles flying in a propitious direction and apprehensive when they hear owls nearby at night. Psychologically, at least, their adaptation involves paying attention to their environment in order to better live in it, rather than try to control and manipulate it.

For the sake of argument, we might accept the proposition that there are two general paths that human societies have followed in their efforts to survive on earth. I do not want to caricature the path of white Americans. Suffice it to say that it involves a willingness to transform our life to conform to our latest adaptation, and to expect that the consequences of this will inevitably reshape the totality of our society. Phrases like "the machine age" and the "automated society" are comfortable, in our syntax. We tend to identify the adaptation as a whole by its characteristic means of production, too. This makes it difficult for us to imagine societies that survive, without stagnation, by continual accretion to, and refinement of, their *earliest* adaptation. It is also difficult for us to find a vocabulary for adaptations in which means of subsistence are incidental to a customary and desired quality of relationships among people and other members of the environment. Yet this is exactly the adaptation that Cherokees appear to have made. There is a sufficiently large, yet satisfyingly intimate size of community, coordinated by flexible relationships among people that occurs in modern societies of hunter-gatherers with "magical" frequency (Lee and DeVore 1968: 245-248; Sahlins 1972). Cherokees seem to have retained that small social system and the complex of ideas that symbolize its ideal relation to its environment as the basis of their continued social and cultural development.

The blueprint for Cherokee settlements developed over an enormous length of time in the forests of the eastern United States. In a synthesis of the archaeology of that area, Joseph Caldwell concludes that hunting bands, entering the forests around 8000 B.C., spent 6,500 years working out techniques for living efficiently in the forest environment. The next 3,000 years saw men elaborating and refining their primary adaption into the forest. During the final few centuries before Europeans came, new ideas and activities from the native civilization of Mesoamerica were received, reinterpreted, and incorporated within the forest-based way of life (Caldwell 1958: 1962 [1971]).

Studies of modern hunting-gathering peoples suggest that the hunters who entered the eastern forests 10,000 years ago already had a life

based on cooperation and sharing within loosely structured bands of kinsmen (Lee and DeVore 1968). From birth, modern hunting peoples must be programmed to ceaselessly scan their surroundings, noting them in minute detail, storing away information, and learning to relate their observations to the ongoing task of feeding and ensuring the safety of their relatives (Laughlin 1968). Given time, the members of a hunting band can know an extensive environment in intimate detail. Through such experience, hunters in the eastern United States broadened their utilization of the forest. They learned the habits and habitats of more varieties of game and devised new methods of hunting—a "forest hunting pattern" evidenced by the appearance of new forms of projectile points in environments where they were not previously found. They accumulated an encyclopedic knowledge of plants and increased the number of those they knew how to prepare for eating. They noted the places and seasons in which many plant and game species increased and were available, so that they could substitute for random wandering a regular cycle of moving seasonally from one abundant foodstuff to the next. Caldwell (1962 [1971]: 362) calls this adaptive trend, "represented by changes in hunting methods, emergence of economic cycles and food specializations, and achieving a kind of balanced reliance on almost all sources of natural foods" the establishment of "primary forest efficiency." He believes that "the establishment of forest efficiency in eastern North America was primary in the sense of providing an economic foundation, a *sine qua non* for later developments. It was also primary in representing an economic system from which later peoples never really departed" (Caldwell 1958: vii.).

The forest adaptation that had developed by 2000 B.C. was sufficient to support sedentary communities. For the next 3,000 years, men continued to live in small settlements widely distributed in the forest, a pattern of settlement appropriate to an economy based heavily on hunting and gathering. "The hunting-gathering pattern was developed to a peak of efficiency and jelled, so to speak, in the very heart of eastern cultures" (Caldwell 1958: 72). People in these small settlements learned how to cultivate food plants, including maize, but gardening was of only incidental importance. There was no "agricultural revolution"; rather, gardening as another use of the woods' fertility was fitted in among earlier techniques.

Perhaps, Caldwell suggests, diversified hunting and gathering was more efficient. Modern studies of hunter-gatherers who understand and yet eschew agriculture indicate that they consider it an unnecessarily risky way of life. On the base of small forest-adapted settlements, the development of other aspects of life was impressive. Men devoted their energies, it seems, to expanding, ritualizing, and commemorating

their relations to one another and to the supernatural. They became "mound builders" and constructed enormous ceremonial centers. The mounds and tombs and burials in these were furnished with beautiful objects worked from materials traded in from all over the East. People in settlements distributed over large regions seem to have related to one another through trade in ritual objects and the sharing of sacred concepts. The ceremonial centers are the works of "advanced cultures" with priesthoods, the capacity to amass labor, engineering competence, material riches, widespread trade, and aesthetic sensibility — so much so, that for generations Americans could not be convinced that Indians had been the "mound builders" — yet it was accompanied by no major transformation of settlement or subsistence. The East was "economically on a plateau, continuing and developing an exploitative pattern which had been formulated during Archaic times" (Caldwell 1958: ix).

In a final development trend, which lasted from about A.D. 1000 until the arrival of Europeans, ideas and activities from the farming civilizations of Mesoamerica were brought to the eastern United States. The people in the eastern United States did not become Mesoamerican farmers: they simply added new technical and spiritual facets to a way of life that was stable in its basic orientation. They began to garden, especially maize, more intensively — although Europeans saw whole "towns" with cultivated fields in the Southeast empty when the hunt was on. They organized in relatively more compact "towns" that incorporated their own central ceremonial plazas. In association with these appeared "cults," as evidenced by a succession of distinctive ceremonial structures and similarly decorated ritual objects. All of these factors were incorporated into the life of kinsmen who lived by a diversified exploitation of the forest. "Thus, the Mesoamerican features of the Gulf Tradition, the Mississippian radiation, and the Southern Cult all appear in what are essentially indigenous formations and so thoroughly re-interpreted that archeologists have sometimes been unwilling to consider them Mesoamerican at all" (Caldwell 1958: xi).

Cherokee ceremonial institutions reveal a great deal about the manner in which Cherokees have integrated new experience. Before the Removal, the high point in the Cherokee ceremonial cycle was a series of agricultural ceremonies celebrating the planting and harvest times, which climaxed with the Green Corn Ceremony. Yet, when examined, these ceremonies did not have much to do with crops and harvests. Fire, tobacco, the tongues and hide of white deer, and the boughs and barks of several trees — all products of the woods — are the most important offerings made in them, and the ceremonies principally had to do with reconciling people to one another while

strengthening their health and fertility. The dances performed at a nominally agricultural Green Corn Ceremony were animal dances.

When James Howard (1968: 14) recently showed Cherokee ritual specialists decorated objects excavated from Mississippian, and even Adena and Hopewell, sites, they unhesitatingly gave consistent interpretations of the motifs. He concluded that, while other tribes originally from the Southeast may have preserved more of the outward form of ancient Southeastern ceremonialism, the Cherokees have preserved more of the underlying symbolism. And now, in Oklahoma, a system in which forty-two Cherokee Indian Baptist churches of individual Cherokee settlements convene annually on their own central campground, at roughly the time of year when the Green Corn ceremony was held, preserves old meaning in a new form. The Baptist faith, as practiced by Cherokees, does not emphasize individual salvation and redemption nearly so much as it does prayerful healing and "love" — caring for one another within the church-settlement-community. The ideas that express and stabilize people's relationships in Cherokee settlements belong to one of the oldest unbroken ceremonial traditions in the New World (Howard 1968: 88).

There is a powerful ritual metaphor that still defines their adaptation and allows Cherokees to consider its meaning in a sacred-intellectual context. This is the White Path (a motif that Cherokees share with other Iroquoian peoples). The teachings of the Keetoowah Society, one of the principal congregations of non-Christian Cherokees, are codified in the form of seven beaded belts of wampum. When these are interpreted, the theme of traveling the White Path is central in the explanation, and three of the seven belts specifically symbolize this concept (Thomas 1953: 121–124). The White Path reminds Cherokees that a way of life has been set out for them. A way of life that is specifically theirs exists. The White Path defines that which is important about that way of life — not specific customs or ways of doing things, but a condition of human relationships. This is what Christian Cherokees mean when they say "love" and what Keetoowah people mean when they say "peace":

This is more of what Keetoowah is teaching:
The way of peace (Keetoowah Society 1972).

Europeans and white Americans called the Cherokees "civilized" because of their tangible accomplishments. They developed literacy, a constitutional government, formal education, and so forth. Cherokees see themselves as being civilized *before* these developments took place. Their concept of "civilized" is the antithesis of "wild." It is an idea

related to "tame" or "domesticated," in that it is a condition of life that involves two requisites: *sedentariness*, or being permanently located in a home environment, and *responsiveness*, or the capacity to enter into relationships based on reciprocity (such as the relationship between kinsmen, or the relationship between men who sacredly strengthen all life in the universe, and the plant and animal populations that support them). The civilized life is harmonious and ordered. The White Path is a way of peace. It is living that keeps to autonomy, tranquility, consensus, and avoidance of crowding others. The White Path involves the continuity of a certain emotively felt quality of life.

Also in this metaphor there is the implication that it is possible to not follow the White Path, perhaps even without knowing it. As in the case of John Chewie, who discovered that he could no longer kill deer, this alerts Cherokees to always watch for signs that they are straying and to take corrective action. This disposition to observation and action enables Cherokees to regulate their lives.

We *plan* a way of life. Cherokees do not; they *regulate* theirs. Always, there is the implication that the way of life for them exists, though they may stray from it and be forced to rediscover it over and over again. This is what the Cherokees' history of the Cherokees is made of. As the Keetoowahs speak of their origins:

When we lived by the waters of the ocean in the east,
We had our first laws to live by,
The Four Mothers,
Laws that protected us.
So long as we kept together and honored them,
Then the Lord kept all evil from us.

Right in that place,
Our own people fought among themselves.
That fighting left them open to worse things.
The Laws of the Four Mothers were broken up.
So their killings grew into a way so awful that
The trails ran with blood.
They brought this on themselves.

The older people gathered to think,
Knowing this could not go on,
That they had to find their way back to peacefulness . . . (Keetoowah Society 1972).

So the Cherokees monitor their own way of life, and, when they sense that things have gone wrong, their response is to rely on knowledge — to gather new information and learn from it how things must be set straight.

When white men took over the Cherokee nation, and their surveyors

began measuring the land while registration parties forcibly enrolled Cherokees in preparation for Oklahoma statehood, Cherokees knew they had strayed from the path. They "took a wrong turn and now we find ourselves in a deep, dark hollow" (Thomas 1953). Their reaction was to "gain knowledge (Thomas 1961). They retrieved their old wampum belts that were being kept as heirlooms, their interpretation forgotten, and sent them with an emissary to their fellow tribes, asking elders there to speak their meaning. From this effort to "get back what they had lost" came the modern Keetoowah Society and its offshoots, organizations that boosted Cherokee morale and furnished the base for experiments in communal economic innovation from 1898 until the 1930's (Littlefield 1971). The wampum are all the more precious for embodying this gained knowledge.

Their sense of being one people with an ordained share of the world's riches has enabled Cherokees to create complex superstructures in order to coordinate actions in their settlements. This happens especially when Cherokees conclude that their existence as a people is threatened, and with men learned in sacred knowledge as spokesmen. Fred Gearing (1962) coined an appropriate term when, in *Priests and warriors*, he described how Cherokees of the eighteenth century followed this path towards the development of a "voluntary state" (which in turn was the basis for the creation of the Cherokee nation). He points out (1961: 132) that in many village-organized societies in the archaeologically known past of both the Old World and the New, and consistently in the case of the Cherokees, "the move toward statehood starts only in the presence of commonly perceived duress," and "the first unification is under the priesthood."

We are dealing with the joining together of coequal villages, an action which would seem to require a large measure of cohesive public sentiment. Under such priestly leaders . . . a cohesive public sentiment had the best possible chance to form . . . Given the need to coordinate the actions of more than one village, that priestly leadership was especially equipped to sense minute jealousies and to nurture trust (Gearing 1961: 132).

Throughout Cherokee history, encroaching white populations got away with taking what they wanted, but, when their activities intruded into the life of Cherokee settlements and disrupted life within them, Cherokee unification was sparked. This was the case when the Cherokees first formed their "voluntary state," and again, when resistance to statehood united settlements all over the Cherokee nation into the Keetoowah Society, which was led by a reconstructed native priesthood. I witnessed the same process in the 1960's, when the local establishment's first steps toward consolidation of their control over Cherokee affairs provoked spokesmen from Cherokee settlements in

five counties to pull themselves together into the short-lived Five County Cherokee Organization.

The first chairman of this modern revival of "voluntary statehood" was chief of the Keetowah Society and the second chairman was chief of the Seven Clans Society (Wahrhaftig i.p.; Buchanan 1972). It is within the framework of such organization that Cherokees look forward to the solution of their economic difficulties. Among Cherokees, however, political and economic and ritual organization on a scale that transcends the individual settlement seems to arise only when necessary and to atrophy, or meet "grass-roots resistance," whenever it outlives its usefulness or develops in a direction incompatible with the basic adaptation of Cherokee settlements.

Some years ago, I attempted to describe how Cherokees actually *do* survive in their settlements—to isolate the principal mechanism of their cultural adaptation. I wrote then that:

All people [in the Cherokee social world] share the job of existing in the physical and social world. The surrounding physical world provides the wherewithal for this way of life. It can be combed over, learned about, and nurtured to produce the elements for food, shelter, medicine, defense, recreation and whatever else man needs. Life depends on profound knowledge of the world, on exploration of each new way that men can find to sustain themselves within the world. The basis of [Cherokee] tribal life, for this reason, has never settled into a single technology such as intensive farming or commercial fishing. It depends, rather, on a closer and constantly adaptive relation to the surrounding environment. Southeastern tribesmen lived aboriginally and continue to live now by hunting, fishing, gardening, gathering, domesticating animals, and by continuing to respond to new economic conditions. The purpose of continual economic and technological adaptation has continued to be the prosperity of the whole body of people. Since Indians live as members of large groups of people involved in a mutual enterprise, successful maintenance of life is also dependent on profound knowledge of the people with whom one co-exists. Discord among people means economic and social disaster. An Indian community depends on the experiences of all its members, experiences of the resources of nature and of the ways of men, for its survival (Wahrhaftig 1966: 62).

It follows from this summary that, if Cherokees are blocked off from gaining new knowledge or are prevented from using new knowledge in their own way, the basis of their adaptation is destroyed and settlements will disintegrate into disoriented and unsupported individuals. This is why the autonomy of Cherokee settlements is so crucially important.

There are presently sixty-nine Cherokee settlements in eastern Oklahoma, but a modern Cherokee settlement is not much to see. It will be in rugged terrain bypassed by major highways. Small houses, hidden under shade trees, stand along the sides of unpaved roads that are

strewn with tire-tearing flints. Some homes are gleaming "Indian project houses" built in recent years, their fresh paint already reddened with dust and mud. Most are spartan wood-frame houses, weatherbeaten and homely. A few, beneath a veneer of imitation brick siding, are log cabins. All are surrounded by a clutter of cars, some running and some cannibalized, and other potentially useful debris—the Cherokee bank account. There is little land under cultivation, and less in the way of kitchen gardens than one might expect to see. Almost no one has the beautiful peach and plum trees that travelers saw in old Cherokee towns and that give rise to a Cherokee surname: Peach eater. Unless people are "doubling up" on small pieces of land, the houses are relatively distant from one another, for the Cherokee ideal, which today is seldom possible to realize, is to have neighbors just close enough that their chimneys can be seen.

A place of worship occupies the center of the settlement. In most, this is a member church of the Cherokee Indian Baptist Association. The churches are built where baptisms can be held in clear waters running from east to west (for "going to the water" is an ancient Cherokee rite of purification expressed through the church). The complex of buildings—which usually includes Sunday school meeting rooms, a kitchen, a dining hall, and facilities for "dinner on the ground"—serve as an all-purpose meeting place, a community hall, a place for older men to consult one another under shade trees, a base for sending "love offerings" of groceries and labor to the poor and the sick, and a women's house, where, under the umbrella of the Women's Missionary Union, the Cherokee matriarchy can assemble. As the church (or, in non-Christian settlements, the "stomp ground" with its outdoor facilities for prayer, sacred dances, ceremonial ball games, and feasting) is the only institution in a Cherokee settlement that remains under Cherokee control, a host of political, educational, and economic functions have been grafted on to it.

When Andrew Jackson marched the Cherokees out of Georgia, they removed by "companies." Whole settlements traveled together, coordinated by their local "captains." Scouts preceded them and selected, in the West, sites in the kind of environment they had adapted to in the "old country." They looked for abundant game, sweet drinking water, a site where water flows to the West, and fertile garden spots, probably placing their priorities in just that order. Entire "towns" from the East resettled intact. The major dialects of Cherokee spoken in the "old country" are still discrete in Oklahoma. Probably most Oklahoma Cherokee settlements are hundreds of years old.

Still, it is possible to drive through the resulting settlement today without having become aware of its presence. Cherokees live lightly upon their environment. An anthropologist driving through a

Cherokee settlement once remarked that the houses looked like flies perched on a sugar cube, as though you would never know they had been there if they flew off.⁴ A Cherokee's home is not his palace. It is the base of operations for a life lived outdoors as much as possible. Although Cherokee material culture has grown to resemble that of local poor whites, the Cherokee settlement pattern is not oriented toward agriculture.⁵

There are usually twenty to fifty households containing a population of 100 to 250 people in each Cherokee settlement. Households average five persons each. About 60 percent of the households containing children house a "nuclear family" of father, mother, children, and no others. But the distribution of Cherokees into small households belies a more extensive structure. The individual household is not the basic social or economic unit in Cherokee life (Wahrhaftig 1970: 65-66).

Over time, a Cherokee settlement tends to be maintained as a single group of kinsmen. Having been together so long, the problem is usually not that people are related, but that they are related so extensively. The customary practice at present is that Cherokees do not marry anyone known to be a relative. Given this broad proscription, it is not long before all the kin groups within a settlement are integrated. Thereafter, the members of that settlement may have to find mates in neighboring settlements, which tends to extend the

⁴ I would like to be able to say that where Cherokees live, the material transformation of the environment is minimal, but this is unfortunately not the case. The timber has been logged, and brushy second growth replaces woods thinned and cleaned by the Cherokee custom of annual burning. Most of these transformations, I think, result from activities forced on Cherokees by whites. During the Depression, for example, many men were able to feed their families only by "tie hacking," that is, cutting timber into railroad ties. During that same period, a geographer remarked that "In many Indian districts, even though the population may consist largely of restricted Indians and most of the land may be owned by them, more Indian land is used by white men than by Indians. This is particularly true of pastureland and of the better cropland. Some Indians have returned to poorer land because they have leased their land to whites. The Indians have not wasted the land resources to the extent that the whites have, but often the waste has been on Indian-owned land" (Hewes 1942: 280).

⁵ Whites in the Cherokee nation make less intensive agricultural use of the land than do whites in similar environments in Arkansas. This phenomenon was studied by Hewes in the 1930's (Hewes 1942, 1943) and was reobserved by Robert K. Thomas and myself in 1964. As compared to Arkansas farmers, Oklahoma whites build less substantial houses and outbuildings, are less likely to plant orchards, plant smaller and less diverse "kitchen gardens," plant flower beds and other adornments less frequently, and construct less varied improvements on their lands. Hewes reported on the basis of data from the 1930 census that: "In both value of farm buildings and of dwellings per farm the best of the Cherokee counties was poorer than the poorest of the four border counties, although it had more valuable farm land than two of the four border counties" (Hewes 1943: 140). Hewes attributed some of the difference to the high proportion of tenants in Oklahoma as compared to Arkansas. He also believed that Oklahoma whites "preserve more of the pioneering traits" than those who stayed behind in Arkansas.

framework of relationships.⁶ Any Cherokee family moving to a different Cherokee settlement is soon incorporated through marriage. The next generation are consanguineal kinpersons.

The backbone of a modern Cherokee settlement is a generation of men who are like brothers to one another.⁷ A man usually brings his wife to his parents' home and soon thereafter builds a house of his own nearby. This separates a married woman from the companions of her childhood. The infant males who crawl together (watched over by elder sisters) become boys who hunt, fish, and tussle together, and later adolescents who chase girls together. In young adulthood they work alongside one another, and at maturity they preside together over the affairs of the settlement (influenced greatly by the diversity of strong opinions represented by the women they have married). The men of a Cherokee settlement tend to be born already related to one another. Those who live conveniently nearby come to know one another individually and profoundly through a lifetime of hunting, fishing, fighting, drinking, womanizing, sobering up, repenting and settling down—all in the same shared environment. Under these circumstances, the distinctions we make between brothers, first cousins, distant cousins, and so forth are inapplicable. Male kin of the same generation who interact together are "brothers." The structure of a Cherokee settlement is organized around a very few (and often overlapping) clusters of "brothers."

In general, all the relationships of people within a Cherokee settlement are like the relationship between "brothers"; with the exception of women recently married in, they are relationships between people who have lived together for a long time in the same environment in a small and intimate community, and they are relations extended from the primary kin relationships. In a Cherokee settlement, one is surrounded by grandfathers, grandmothers, fathers, mothers, uncles, aunts, wives (or husbands), brothers, sisters, sons, daughters, nieces,

⁶ Centuries ago, Cherokees reckoned descent matrilineally and encouraged marriage with certain relatives, namely women of the clans of either of a man's grandfathers. At present, Cherokees reckon descent bilaterally and theoretically there is no limit on the degree of relatedness within which marriage is incestuous. There has been enough internal migration within the Cherokee nation in the last century to alleviate the problem, but Cherokees ought to be grateful to Detroit, for the automobile, which has increased the "courting range" of the young, has helped get this generation off the hook.

⁷ The relationship between classificatory brothers can be extremely close. The relationship between "real" (biological) brothers is sometimes almost pathologically close. Although they frequently live in adjoining households and work together, in this relationship they have less freedom to express anger or hostility than in any other. The combination of deep affect and repression is sometimes explosive. Fratricides seem to be unusually frequent, and there are cases in which, after one brother killed another in the heat of anger, the remorseful murderer then committed suicide.

nephews, and grandchildren. That is, all persons in a Cherokee settlement quite naturally and unconsciously relate to each other through behaviors that derive from these primary, "close" relationships. Fundamentally, the Cherokee social system operates by perfecting a few fundamental models for behavior.

One attribute of this system of social relations within a Cherokee settlement is that the settlement can field a very flexible yet well articulated work force. This can currently be seen most clearly in the Cherokee tradition of community labor, for in this context Cherokee arrangements are unaffected by our cultural practice of hiring an individual wage earner. Cherokee settlements ("towns" as they were then called) once produced their food together. Bartram, who visited the Cherokees in the 1770's, observed that:

An Indian town is generally so situated, as to be convenient for procuring game, secure from sudden invasion, having a large district of excellent arable land adjoining, or in its vicinity . . . This is their common plantation, and the whole town plant is one vast field together; but yet the part or share of every individual family or habitation is separated from the next adjoining, by a narrow strip, or verge of grass, or any other natural or artificial boundary.

In the spring, the ground being already prepared on one and the same day, early in the morning, the whole town is summoned, by the sound of a conch shell, from the mouth of the overseer, to meet at the public square, whither the people repair with their hoes and axes; and from thence proceed to their plantation, where they begin to plant, not every one in his own little district, assigned and laid out, but the whole community united begins on one certain part of the field, where they plant on until finished; and when their rising crops are ready for dressing and cleansing they proceed after the same order, and so on day after day, until the crop is laid by for ripening (Bartram [1791: 400-401] quoted in Fogelson and Kutsche 1961: 95-96).

A Moravian missionary who journeyed through the old Cherokee towns in 1783-1784 added to this description that: "They dare not go from their Work till in the Evening, but the Women must bring them their Victuals into the Field" (Williams [1928:261] quoted in Fogelson and Kutsche 1961: 96). Men organized into a community work group, which was complemented by a community work group organized among women. In that period, "this same communal organization of men who tilled the fields also rapidly erected both private and public buildings in the town, and the men of one town or neighborhood frequently helped those of the next" (Fogelson and Kutsche 1961: 96).

During the next two centuries, the structure of the Cherokee "town" altered considerably, as did the organization of the community work group. Among the Cherokees of North Carolina, the end product was an intricately organized settlement work group, the *gadoogie*, headed by a chief and an assistant chief who decided what work should be done and where, supported by a secretary and treasurer, and filled out

by a number of specialists (e.g. gravedigger, carpenter, head cook) who coordinate their respective male or female work crews (Fogelson and Kutsche 1961: 98-110). The Oklahoma Cherokees followed a slightly different path. There, the tradition of settlement work parties as a primary means of crop production persisted, although no one knows for how long, or how intensively. Hewes (1942: 274) mentions "town work" as characteristic of the Cherokee "pioneer economy" in Oklahoma. Thereafter, the *gadoogie* became an occasion, as opposed to an organization. Oklahoma Cherokees use the word to mean a work party called together to accomplish some specific task, usually with the expectation that the work will be accompanied by a feast collectively prepared by the workers' women. Now, the *gadoogie* remains in the background of Cherokee settlement life, as a form of disaster relief to be called upon when the primary economy fails. This is possible because the population of a settlement is so related that they can "fall together" when called out.

Voluntary work groups bring baskets of food to the poor and the shut-in, and cut their firewood, clean their houses, wash their clothes, and cook their meals. Groups appear to sing and pray over invalids. When a home or a church is destroyed by fire it will be repaired by a voluntary work group. Even quite unusual tasks may be performed *ad hoc* by such work groups. John Chewie, accused in 1966 of shooting a deer out of season and without a proper license, pleaded innocent. When the ACLU agreed to enter the case, Cherokees began to hope that it would be the definitive test of the legality of their right to hunt and fish throughout eastern Oklahoma. In the settlements of Kenwood and Bull Hollow, Cherokees were deeply interested in the case, but worried, too, for they knew John was fond of drinking and they feared that county authorities would find a way to get him drunk enough to accept a bribe and drop the case. To handle the situation, they called together the young men and detailed them to search for John, find him, and act as his bodyguard.

More often than not, the work group of a settlement is organized within the framework of its Indian church. North of Stilwell in Adair County, Cherokee members of a Methodist church have trained together as ambulance attendants. They schedule themselves so that some trained member of the congregation is on call twenty-four hours a day, by telephone or by short wave radios that they have distributed in remote parts of their settlement, to tend patients and rush them to a hospital. As a final illustration of the propensity of this tradition to appear in new context, in the winter of 1972, the Original Cherokee Community Organization, which had become the organization uniting Cherokees who opposed the incumbent tribal government, was attempting to build its following by traveling from its offices in the town

of Tahlequah to Cherokee settlements where members of the organization cut wood, repaired bridges, cooked meals, and extended their relationships through the ease with which voluntary work groups may be entered. They mended their political fence literally.

Not long ago Cherokee settlements were economically self-sufficient. The Cherokees brought to the West a knowledge of farming, as well as hunting, fishing, and plant collecting. Nearly a century ago one of them testified:

Nearly all of us have our own houses. We raise our own corn and wheat; we have hogs, cattle, and plenty of chickens and live comfortably. We may be poor, but we are independent. You can go anywhere and find enough to eat. They are therefore satisfied and happy. Some live in valleys that are very narrow, but they are rich. They have farms of four or five to twenty acres. The people don't care to go elsewhere (Report of the Committee on Indian Affairs [1886] quoted in Hewes 1942: 275).

Although this account fails to mention the diversity of subsistence enterprises, it reflects the enormous importance Cherokees attach to their autonomy, to determining their own adaptation. That was when, as Cherokee memories go, the quality of life was as it was supposed to be. Older Cherokees look back to the times when they lived this way and insist that then people lived longer, were healthier, and got along with each other better. It was the Cherokee Golden Age. An elderly man told me:

It wasn't as neighborly [that is, crowded] as it is now. People used to live five and ten miles apart. They farmed with an ox, and they used to have hogs up to six years old. They were not in need of food. They raised a lot of corn. They had no use for money. No use for grocery store. Even today people look for hidden treasures because back then, the farmers had no use for money and just hid it away.

Then they changed to using horses and visited a little more. Not too long after it, began to use machinery. People began to close up. Some quit farming. They started working. Now one man can farm with a little gas!...

In those days all people were Keetoowah. There were no churches. Churches started from people visiting in groups at night. Believing in "do unto others." Before then people worked together. Loved one another. Had lots of gadoogie. Helped one another. They built rail fences and did farm work. They didn't use herb medicine [against one another to conjure]. They doctored among themselves. They ate lots of wild game. No guns. They used bow and arrows to hunt deer, turkey, wild hogs, and they made hominy and kenutchie from hickory nuts, and corn bread and beanbread from corn.

My dad said years ago people didn't marry until they were in their seventies [i.e. in those days seventy was early adulthood and people lived much longer] (personal communication).

Cherokee subsistence farming settlements were boxed in by farms
Overpopulation, overfarming, and overexploita-

tion of the woods destroyed the environment and the last possibilities for Cherokee economic self-sufficiency. The process of encapsulation and destruction of economic self-sufficiency has not yet run its course. Even before statehood, Cherokee settlements were islands of Indian farming. Land hawks, as they were called, collaborated with Indian agents to lease large sections of Indian lands and, in turn, to sublease them to settlers. At hearings held in 1915, one witness told of a firm of speculators that controlled 30,000 acres of land in the Indian territory and leased it to more than 1,500 tenants, and this was not an exceptional example (McWilliams 1942: 189). Time only made matters worse:

As oil, mining, and lumbering activities began to decline, workers from these industries crowded into the already overpopulated areas in search of subsistence farms. The number of farms increased in precisely the poorest, therefore the cheapest, farming areas in the state. As farming units got smaller and smaller, soil erosion, already far advanced, began to claim the land (McWilliams 1942: 191).

The Cherokees were boxed in by these manipulations. The Depression, together with severe droughts in 1935 and 1936, completed the destruction of their self-sufficiency. Observers saw Indian farmers near starvation (Hall 1934). A geographer who gathered data during those times reported that:

The Cherokee economy is not well suited to present conditions. Generally, the Indian farmer is able to supply his own food but does not have sufficient cash income to buy clothing and other necessities. The average family cash income for the year 1934 in the northern part of the region was estimated by Indian Service workers at \$95. A considerable part of the cash income is derived from the sale of wood, particularly of railroad ties, in the cutting of which the Indians have acquired the reputation of being skilled workmen. Generally, the culture of the restricted Indians is that of the pioneer period, but much impoverished and no longer adequate (Hewes 1942: 281).

Toward the end of the 1930's, there seems to have been less wood for ties, and there was less employment for farmhands. The cash that Cherokees needed to supplement their subsistence farming became harder to acquire. The failing subsistence farms of the 1930's were replaced by cattle ranching. In Adair and Delaware counties, submarginal agricultural land was bought by the United States government and turned over to the Bureau of Indian Affairs to administer.

The BIA leased to cattle raisers. Subsistence farmers from Cherokee settlements were poor risks, compared with the culturally white but technically Indian entrepreneurs who were awarded leases. Speculation in cattle land began. In the late 1960's, local opinion in Adair and Delaware counties was that Texas investors were consolidating large tracts for cattle. Census figures compiled in 1964 do show recent

decreases in small holdings, and increases in the number of landholdings of more than 220 acres, including a rather large jump in the number of holdings of 500 to 1,000 acres (Jordan 1972a).

Meanwhile, construction of a large number of lakes as part of the Army Engineers' Arkansas River Flood Control Project transformed eastern Oklahoma into a potential recreation area and brought into being a whole new set of possibilities for speculation in land. Together with the white population's new uses for land came new restrictions on Indian usage. Prohibitions on burning the woods were enforced, increasing the tick and chigger population, and decreasing the ease of hunting. Where once Cherokees allowed their hogs to fatten by roaming the woods, "hog-fencing laws" made that enterprise untenable. County officials began to enforce state hunting and fishing regulations with tenacity.

Cherokees were increasingly blocked from their generalized utilization of the woods and streams, deprived of sufficient cash supplement to capitalize even a subsistence farm, and confined to the tiny island of their allotments. Cherokee self-sufficiency had seriously declined by the time World War II arrived.

Historically, Cherokees have suffered two traumatic events, of different orders, with distinct effects on their way of life. The first occurred in 1907, when the Cherokee nation lost its political autonomy and its citizens were incorporated into the state of Oklahoma. The more recent occurred between 1920 and 1940, when the economic self-sufficiency of Cherokee settlements was undermined. Cherokees no longer found it possible to devise an autonomous adaptation to their environment, and life in Cherokee settlements was severely jolted.

Cherokees who were teenagers in the 1920's describe a life that was strained and violent. Cherokees say that young men then were "mean." (We would say "homicidal.") A number of the people who are now white-haired, "beloved men" in Cherokee settlements, models of peacefulness and sobriety, had explosive tempers and were vicious fighters when they were young. It has been said of the honored and elderly retired chief of a modern Cherokee ceremonial society that when he was a young man he used to show up on the ceremonial grounds so drunk that participants in the ritual had to tie him to the sacred ball game pole for his safety and theirs. The permanent effect of this turbulence, at least as Cherokees explain it, is the abandonment of a host of seemingly useful and pleasurable activities.

An outward harmony in personal relationships is enforced among Cherokees (Hudson 1970; Thomas n.d.a, n.d.b, n.d.c). A Cherokee is expected to unhesitatingly give of himself to others and to suppress any outward show of emotion, especially anger. It is characteristic of

Cherokees that this almost saintly behavior is demanded as a normal and continual state. Neither children nor adults are rewarded for attaining it, but deviation is punished. People will "get mad." This means that they will, while maintaining an outward facade of serene cooperation, retaliate through sorcery or through treachery. Or they will repress their anger until some final slight explosively releases it, for in the Cherokee way of life there are no approved ways to discharge tension (Holzinger 1961). When times are tense and interaction among Cherokees is strained, the Cherokee response is to "pull in"—to avoid places and events where they might be uncertain of the response of others to them. The decades between 1920 and 1940 were a time of general "pulling in," which adversely affected life in Cherokee settlements.

I think that as Cherokee economic self-sufficiency slipped away, relationships within Cherokee settlements broke down. To defend the integrity and cohesiveness of their settlements, Cherokees abandoned valued events. There were too many brawls. Drunkenness was followed by homicide, which was followed by recriminations and vengeance extracted through vicious gossip and then through conjuring and evil medicine. This in turn led to more deeply ingrained hard feelings, latent and ready to precipitate another brawl. When Cherokees identified an event as one likely to precipitate this cycle, public opinion unified against it, and they "let it go," whatever its other values to them. Hard feelings were too high and too dangerous a price to pay.

For instance, many Cherokees were talented fiddlers and guitar players, and in some settlements there used to be weekly music parties and square dances. The fighting at these got out of control, and public music making, dancing, and partying have not been condoned in Cherokee settlements ever since. Cherokees used to enjoy gambling, and horse races and poker parties used to provide them with some excitement. But there were quarrels over bets, and killings, and Cherokees gave up public gambling. There used to be a very old tradition of team sports, in which the men of one settlement challenged men of another. There was "men's ball" (an aboriginal game in eastern North America, from which lacrosse is derived), a "marble game" (which bears some resemblance to Italian *bocce ball* and English bowling on the green), and cornstalk shooting, in which teams of archers shoot at distant bales of cornstalks and score by counting the number of stalks their arrows have pierced.

In each of these sports, teams were assisted by sorcerers, whose task was to strengthen the home team and to disarm the opposition. One of the reasons for abandoning these sports was that the sorcerers were thought to be doing unnecessary harm to their opponents. Worse, they

were suspected of using their position on the teams as a cover for sorcery in which they duelled to the death with their personal rivals. It was all right for arrows on a direct path to the target to magically break in two in midair. It was not all right for an archer to draw his bow and at that moment have his shooting arm "cripple up" — not just for the duration of the match, but for life. Furthermore, as there was no limit to the amount or the kind of body contact allowed in the men's ball game, which was played with sturdy wooden rackets, men expressed their hard feelings by braining one another. The game was abandoned because there were too many injuries. People began to feel uneasy about crowds and even to fear that an enemy might have set "doctored" food out for them at a church supper or feast. Perhaps for these reasons, the custom of regularly building houses by *gadoogie* disappeared. All of these events were sociable, recreational, lively, stimulating, and colorful. None was replaced by a substitute.⁸ Without them, life in a Cherokee settlement is drab, oppressive, and monotonous. In the aftermath of losing economic autonomy, Cherokees did hold their settlements together, but the pleasure and joy in life went out of them.

A host of useful productive activities were either curtailed or abandoned in Cherokee settlements at this time. Cherokees no longer plant as large or as varied kitchen gardens, preserve produce by drying and canning, raise and butcher hogs, smoke meat, brew beer, distill whiskey, squeeze sorghum, mill flour, log for construction lumber or firewood, or make furniture nearly as much as once they did (Mildred Dickeman, personal communication). To the loss of land, the restricted use of the woods, and the increasing and unpredictable amounts of time demanded by wage labor — reasons sometimes given for passing of these practices — we might add also demoralization.

Today Cherokees are the laboring caste of eastern Oklahoma. They haul rocks and carry hod on construction jobs. They frame buildings. They ditch roads and chop brush for the "high lines" of utility companies. They harvest beans, peas, and strawberries. They bale hay. They glean huckleberries from the woods and sell them to grocers. They pump gas and wait table. They plant and pack seedlings in commercial nurseries. They grab chickens in the yards of packing plants. They sort fruit in canneries. A few now are factory laborers in tribally subsidized industries.

Cherokees do work that is heavy, dangerous, and dirty for em-

⁸ Cherokee settlements do field softball teams, which compete with teams from other Cherokee settlements. Sometimes heavy bets are made on these games, but as "ballgame medicine" has not been incorporated into Cherokee softball, this sport is not fully a substitute for men's ball — which was a substitute for ritualized warfare.

ployers who often provide no workmen's compensation and no social security. They work at jobs that are seasonal, and jobs where there is work only during fair weather. They work for employers who lay them off a week before they would qualify for unemployment insurance and then hire a new crew. They work for incredibly low wages. In 1972 there are Cherokee women who clean, cook, and baby-sit for \$2.00 to \$4.00 per day. They are trapped by the expectation that they ought to be grateful for any menial work. Last winter, we conversed in the sitting room of an energetic young Cherokee couple, pressed to the walls by a king-sized quilt stretched on a quilting frame in the center of the small room. The wife had been working on the quilt for days, and the husband was tired of the sight of it. She explained that the patterned quilt top, batting, backing, and even the thread had been thrust upon her by a white lady from Tulsa who expected to pay \$2.50 for its completion. Her husband listened silently as she counted up how many evenings she had spent on the quilting and then said indignantly, "It's just not right. You ought to be getting at least fifty cents an hour out of this"!

Poor whites do this kind of work too, of course, but Cherokees are restricted to such jobs by strong local prejudices. They are subjected to all of the conflicting stereotypes one hears about Indians. On the one hand, Cherokees are said to be heavy drinkers, unreliable, prone to unexplained absenteeism, and a little violent. At the same time, they are also thought to be docile, methodical, patient, careful to do a good job, but slower than Mexicans. So long as Cherokees "live like Indians" they are victims of an intense and covert discrimination, no matter how educated and capable they may be. I know, for example, a well-educated, attractive, and distinctively Cherokee looking lady who had lived in a midwestern metropolis for many years. After she and her family moved back to a rural Cherokee settlement, she repeatedly looked for work in Stilwell, the principal town in Adair County. She admired the life-style of small-town whites, and they were the models for her dress, grooming, and gestures. Nevertheless, the best job she ever found was waiting table in a cafe, and even there she was made to feel uncomfortable. Several years later, her husband became a prominent official of the Cherokee tribal government, in which capacity he was functionally a member of the local establishment. After that, his wife quickly was offered a satisfying job in the town's most prestigious dress shop.

If Cherokees are employed as skilled laborers in eastern Oklahoma, it is usually because they are temporary trainees in projects supported by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and allied agencies. The welders, mechanics, and heavy-equipment operators thus trained seldom find

appropriate employment after the project ends. One afternoon a young Cherokee was asking an older man about the school for heavy-equipment operators situated in the Cherokee settlement at Bull Hollow. "When you're done, do you get a job?" he asked. "Yeah, lots of jobs," was the answer, "in Arkansas, picking grapes."

In 1963, there were no Cherokees with white collar jobs living in Cherokee settlements. The only ones that I know of in 1972 work for their tribal government. Yet Cherokees are desperate for jobs. When Murray Wax (1971: 11) interviewed Cherokee parents about the value of sending children to school, he found that: "The principal value of an education is seen as economic: if a person were able to finish school he would get a job—a better job, a job secured more easily, an easy job, indeed *any* job."

In any Cherokee settlement, kinsmen perpetually pass tips about jobs to one another. Information circulates about who is hiring whom, where, and for what. People drive to one another's houses at night with the news. Sometimes things work out. Too often, the information is inaccurate, or out of date, or others got there first. There is, in addition, a simple and paralyzing fear of whites and a conviction that there is no point in trying for a job. "I just wouldn't know how to act right." From their settlements, Cherokees will travel considerable distances to take advantage of the relatively higher wages and lesser prejudices in areas outside the Cherokee nation. At five in the morning, cars full of Cherokees leave Bull Hollow in Delaware County, bound for jobs as forgers and welders in Tulsa. The workers seldom return before eight at night. Similarly, Cherokees drive from Marble City, Oklahoma, to work at a chair factory in Fort Smith, Arkansas, and from Hulbert to work in Muskogee. They are away from home for twelve to fifteen hours in order to earn eight hours' pay, traveling the initial miles away from their settlements over roads that shred tires and shake cars to pieces.

Even the jobs created by the Cherokees' own government tend to extend this pattern. Workers commute from their settlements to factories located (with one exception, still in the planning stage) in county seats, where most of the employment is for laborers soldering together electronic components.

Observers of the Cherokees in modern times have been amazed that Cherokees can survive on as little as they do. In the 1960's, I lived with Cherokee families and participated in the life of Cherokee settlements while conducting a survey. I knew quite well that people were poor, but I was more impressed with the orderliness and functionality of Cherokee households than with their brute poverty. I could scarcely believe the results, when the survey questionnaires were tabulated and then carefully checked. They were dead accurate. The Cherokees are

that poor (see first section). A Bureau of Indian Affairs employee who surveyed Cherokee settlements in the 1950's raised the crucial question. He said that "conditions such as those here reported have prompted the question 'How can they manage to live on so little income?'" . . . These questions have been put frequently by the writer to those who live alongside [the Cherokees]. The answer invariably has been, "I don't know" or "that's something I've never been able to figure out" (Cullum 1958: 15).

Cherokees get by on so little, I am convinced, because at least the system of primary relationships among kin in their settlements is still intact. Formally organized institutions for organizing collective work, for political decision making, for self-defense, and for social control no longer exist, but there remains a network of person-to-person relationships within a Cherokee settlement that is a pathway for an efficient distribution of resources and labor through sharing. So long as these person-to-person relationships do not break down, the Cherokees are not so poor as they might be.

In the old Cherokee nation, lands were communally owned; today Cherokee settlements still function as though this were the case, even though the United States government has since allotted Cherokee lands to individual Cherokees, and relatives sometimes quarrel bitterly over inheritance. Even so, no Cherokee will deny another a place to live. The facilities in Cherokee settlements are stretched to house the needy, even though overcrowding may result. As a result, the array of people living on any given tract of restricted land is likely to be bewildering.

The principle of allocation, however, is clear. Parents reserve homesites on their allotments for their children and thereafter "lend" unoccupied portions of their land to any Cherokee who requests it. Figure 1 shows the households on two typical tracts of restricted land in a Cherokee settlement in Adair County in 1965. On the larger tract are the households of the elderly heir to the tract and of two married sons and one married daughter, and sites that have been chosen by the remaining sons and daughters, who were then living either in Chicago or Dallas. On the neighboring tract of land are located households of the widow of the original allottee and her present husband, the daughter of the allottee by an earlier marriage and her husband, the son of the widow of the allottee by a former marriage and his wife, and the allottee's widow's son's stepdaughter with her husband. In addition, a site has been reserved for the children of the widow of the allottee by her present marriage. Returning in 1972, I found more people living on the first tract. A new house had been built for the son who lived at "C," and in his old house lived the brother of the wife of the heir of the original allottee, together with his sons. The daughter of

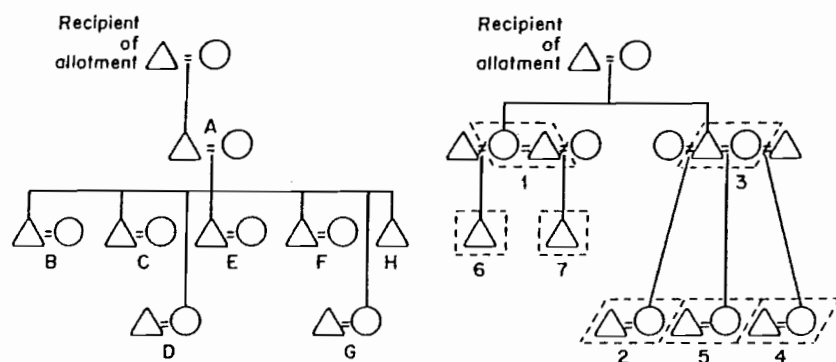
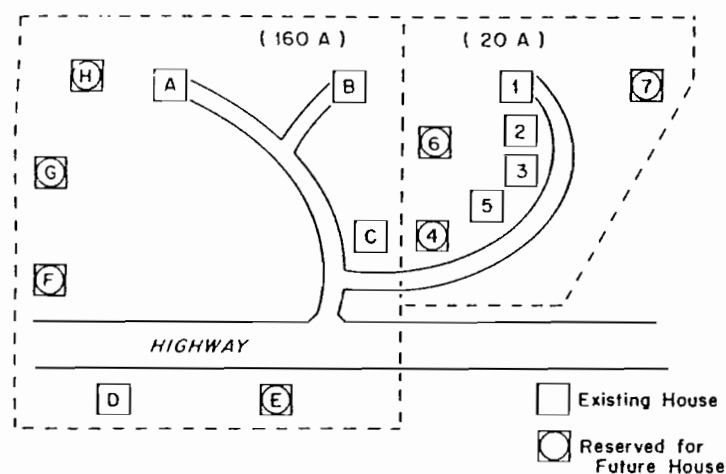


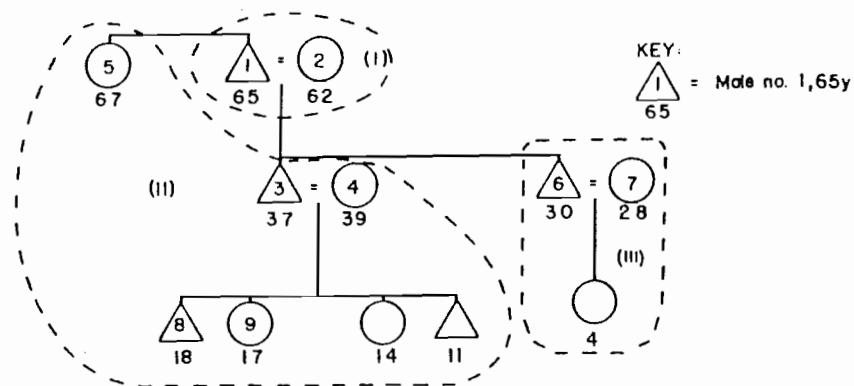
Fig. 1. Cherokee households, Adair County

this man had been given a site next to "E" and lived in a new house built there. Daughter "G" had moved out of her parents' house and into a new house on a site she had chosen.

When there is freedom to do so, Cherokees work communally. All summer long, people band together to pick strawberries, peas, beans, tomatoes, and huckleberries. Whole families, including very young children, may work together, or groups of women together with their female children may work while men are employed elsewhere. Although Cherokees resent having to scrape by at stoop labor, they at least make this an occasion for sociability. Cherokee migratory labor follows the same pattern, with gangs of young men, usually "brothers," traveling to Colorado for the broom corn harvest and following the crops from there. Each worker, even those who are children, keeps his own wages and spends them as he pleases.

In the more common circumstance where communal labor is not possible, the Cherokee adaptation to wage labor is nevertheless based on intricate chains of reciprocal services that may include the whole of a settlement. Figure 2 shows three typical households in Cherokee settlement in Delaware County. An elderly man lives with his wife in Household I; his son with his wife, children, and aunt live in Household II; and another son lives in Household III with his wife and child. House III is a trailer placed behind House I. A shortcut footpath through the woods connects House II with the others. The women in Houses I and II cook together in the big house, where both households eat together.

On a typical working day, the young man and his wife in the trailer are ready to leave for work at dawn. They leave their daughter in charge of her grandmother in House I and drive west. The wife is dropped off at her job in the city of Pryor, and the husband continues on to work in Tulsa. It is late in the evening before they return to their home. Meanwhile, the other son also leaves his home at dawn. He



Source of Income		
Household	Individual	Income
I	1	Welfare/Old age
	2	None
II	3	Road construction crew
	4	Cannery worker, seasonal
	5	None
III	6	Steel plant labor (Tulsa)
	7	Office work (Pryor)

Fig. 2. Characteristic Cherokee economic unit, Delaware County, 1963

picks up his wife's brother (not on the diagram) and other young men, and together they drive to work on a road crew. His elderly aunt stays home, minding his children. The old man gets up later. He comes to fetch his daughter-in-law from House II and, picking up women from other houses along the way (not on the diagram), he takes them to work at a cannery. He waits there while the women work, then drives them home in the evening. This particular extensive pattern of cooperative relationships is interesting in that it is fairly recent. The young couple in the trailer lived in Tulsa and had moved back to the settlement just a few months before my observations were made. They found that they could live better by commuting to their distant jobs from this settlement. It took but a short time to incorporate them into the neighborhood pattern of cooperation and wage earning. This example makes it clear that in the less disrupted Cherokee settlements, each person plays a role in facilitating production. As chauffeurs, chaperones, and baby-sitters, older people play roles that free more young people to earn wages. In turn, older people are supported and looked after by the younger. The boundaries of Cherokee households are fluid. When expedient, they may merge, as when two nuclear families cook and eat together, or individual persons may shift from one household to another, if that proves more satisfying and convenient.

While these pervasive cooperative arrangements enable Cherokees to earn and survive on their meager wages, the adaptation is difficult and is continually jeopardized. The priority whites place on dependability and punctuality on the job conflicts with the priority Cherokees place on dependability and punctuality in responding to the needs of their companions. As whites are ignorant of the kind of Cherokee relationships just described, and as these are also "taken for granted" by Cherokees and therefore exist below the threshold of conscious awareness, Cherokees would find it difficult to explain themselves to their white employers even if these employers would listen.

Cherokees always seem to be in some bind. Last winter we visited Cherokee friends on an icy February day. As the husband stoked his wood stove—for he has never had the time or money to insulate his house and therefore cannot hope to afford the amount of propane gas that would be necessary to heat it—he worried aloud. While he is working, framing houses for a contractor, he doesn't have time to cut wood. He counts on buying it cheap from a relative who is a wood-cutter. But now this relative had the flu, and there was no cheap wood to be had. He stayed home to cut a supply of wood for his own family and for his sick relative, but was concerned that the boss would be angry at his absence and kick him off the construction crew.

When relationships are disrupted in a Cherokee settlement, the

results are demonstrably costly, both to Cherokees and to the public. The realigned settlement may be both more culturally isolated and less self-sufficient. The Cherokee settlement around the town of Hulbert provides an example. It is among the least isolated of Cherokee settlements, situated on a major east-west highway linking Tahlequah (the former Cherokee capital and now a regional trade center) with Tulsa, and linked by paved roads with the cities of Muskogee and Wagoner. So the Cherokees around Hulbert are more exposed to the acculturative influences of town and city life than is usually the case. Nor is the terrain as rugged as that surrounding most Cherokee settlements. Cherokees around Hulbert live interspersed with neighboring white farmers and ranchers. The settlement patterns of Cherokees and whites interpenetrate.

I expected to find an acculturated Cherokee settlement at Hulbert and even wondered if it would really be necessary to use an interpreter. It was. In tabulating the results, I found that as many Cherokee heads of households around Hulbert were unable to speak English as in the most isolated Cherokee settlement, and twice as many heads of households were unable to speak English as in the remaining two more isolated Cherokee communities (Table 3).

Table 3. Percent of heads of households unable to speak English*

Settlement	Percent
Hulbert	40
Cherry Tree	14
Marble City	24
Bull Hollow	42

* Where both husband and wife were present in the household, both were counted as househeads.

Clearly, Cherokees here were not acculturated; moreover, their inability to speak English evidenced an enormous amount of social isolation from English-speaking whites in spite of the lack of geographic isolation from whites. Absence of geographic isolation and exposure to town life have not led to an acculturated settlement around Hulbert.

In general, the Cherokees around Hulbert were not only poor, but were also more fearful and "closed" than Cherokees in more isolated communities. Young Cherokee workers were also migrating from this area to live near jobs they had found in Wagoner, Tahlequah, Muskogee, and more distant cities. With a shortage of young adults to support and care for them, older Cherokees were moving off their restricted lands and into town. This process was encouraged by social

workers and welcomed by landlords in the economically stagnant town of Hulbert who were eager for welfare-supported tenants. Many Cherokees were forced to sell their lands in the process of moving. Around Hulbert, there were more landless Cherokees renting homes than in any other Cherokee settlement (Table 4). Because Cherokee wage earners have migrated away from Hulbert, there were more households with no source of support but welfare (Table 5).

Table 4. Status of Cherokee residential sites

Settlement	Allotted	Purchased and restricted	Being purchased through welfare	Rented	Tribal lands (former "government land")
Hulbert	46%	6%	3%	40%	0%
Cherry Tree	66	16	0	11	11
Marble City	48	24	12	13	0
Bull Hollow	61	33	0	0	5

Ironically, the overall income of Cherokees around Hulbert is no less than in Cherokee settlements supported principally by wage earning. (Table 5). However, Cherokees at Hulbert have higher expenses (as for rent) and could count less on help from kinfolk. In the Cherokee settlement most exposed to white life-styles, the standard of living was a little lower and the amount of welfare assistance required for even that level of living was far greater.

Table 5. Source of total income of settlement — 1963–1964

Settlement and Median per capita income	Wages	Welfare	Social Security Pensions	Miscellaneous
Hulbert (\$500)	39%	42%	18%	0%
Cherry Tree (\$500)	64	19	11	5
Marble City (\$650)	60	29	10	1
Bull Hollow (\$450)	64	25	8	1

The conditions to which Cherokees around Hulbert have been exposed lead not to acculturation of the Cherokee settlement but to *fragmentation*, at least in the sense that individuals are drawn out of the diminishing body of the settlement. Cherokee life is communal, and Cherokees prefer to learn and work in kin groups, but involvement in American institutions demands participation in which the isolated individual is the principal actor. Demands that Cherokees perform as individuals start with their first days of school, before they

even understand the English language (Dickeman 1971). These demands continue into their other relationships to our society—as students, employees, billpayers, or welfare recipients.

Furthermore, eastern Oklahoma whites, especially schoolteachers and the more paternalistic of employers, are cultural evangelists in their interactions with Cherokees. They conceive of each Indian as individually free to make a choice between his own backward ways and "progress," between Satan and the angels, accordingly, and they heavily reward a Cherokee who "forgets" his language and his tribal "superstitions." Some individuals respond to these pressures by becoming zealous converts to white values, some by militant repudiation, some by withdrawal, and some by oblivious imperception. The results of the process are tangible in Hulbert. Although it is commonplace for workers in other Cherokee settlements to commute even greater distances to their jobs, Cherokees from Hulbert are more willing to abandon life in the settlement and live near their jobs in towns and cities.

Because the experiences that decrease commitment to the Cherokee settlement are so individual, the effects on individuals cut across kinship ties. In a given group of brothers, there may be some who find satisfaction in their attachment to the hills and to the Cherokee-speaking relatives, while others are uncomfortable there and deeply ashamed of their Cherokee upbringing, asking only the opportunity to leave it far behind. Thus, individual persons may repudiate their places in a Cherokee settlement and move away from it, but as a Cherokee settlement is an extensive system of related people, the system of relationships simply closes up again. The settlement remains socially cohesive, but its economic and cultural characteristics are altered.

Paradoxically, the effect of the process just described seems to be a settlement that is, in the narrow sense of the word, more "traditional." Originally, there were three Cherokee settlements near Hulbert, each clustered around a Cherokee Baptist church on one of the westward flowing creeks north of the town. The churches at Fourteen Mile Creek, Keehner, and New Hope are still functioning ceremonial centers for settlements that are being reduced by fragmentation and dispersion. At the same time, Cherokees who have moved from the settlements to the town of Hulbert have formed new relationships to one another and have established a new settlement whose social center is a Cherokee Methodist church in town.

As young workers migrate from Hulbert, they fall back on the acceptable Cherokee practice of "lending" or "giving" children to older relatives to raise. It is hard for a working couple to raise children in the city, and it makes sense to "give" them to grandparents, which is the common pattern, but in the absence of their parents, which is not.

The generation that participates most directly in American society, through employment and recreational activities, is absent from the household during the years in which their children are being socialized. Children are raised by adults who are at the stage in the normal progression through a normal Cherokee life when they are most withdrawn from surrounding whites and most concerned with traditional Cherokee community affairs. Hence, the isolation of Cherokees in Hulbert.

The result, at Hulbert, is a settlement with an enthusiastic sense of identity, yet one crippled by naïveté and innocence of white ways. The Cherokees around Hulbert have been among the most active in attempting to devise their own communal institutions and economic base. Early in the 1960's, they somehow persuaded the United States Public Health Services to establish in their settlement the only local clinic serviced by the main Indian hospital in the region. (The clinic has since been removed.) In 1965, members of the settlement independently made a survey of their own economic needs, in hope of receiving funds through the proposed community action program of the Office of Economic Opportunity. At about that time, they had also been enthusiastic over a proposal to establish a cottage industry for the manufacture of canvas golf bags. Unfortunately, the proposal emanated from a utopian-minded white preacher and his retired brother, neither of whom had the resources to back production. Undaunted, Cherokees around Hulbert are now the backbone of a feeder-pig marketing cooperative sponsored by Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity (see next section).

There is evidence suggesting that acculturative pressures finally pare Cherokee settlements down to a stable core of "diehards." The process extracts those Cherokees whose ties to settlement life can be weakened, leaving behind a population whose commitment is strong. The interest that Cherokees showed in 1965 in clarifying their treaty rights to hunt and fish without restriction was kindled by Cherokees at Park Hill, a settlement nearly in the shadow of the city of Tahlequah that is now reduced to a very few households. It was there that Cherokee men first proposed that a group of Cherokee hunters should simply gang together to hunt through the woods and see if any state or county authorities would try and stop them. This plan awakened interest in the issue of Cherokee hunting rights among other Cherokees, who decided that they should first seek a lawyer who could examine the treaties and advise them of their rights. When this consensus was reached, Cherokees from Park Hill dropped out of the movement. They were certain that American justice would produce nothing and were not about to waste their time. Rather, they were

willing to wait until the results of their fellow Cherokees' actions could teach them, too, to trust nothing but their own actions.

While Cherokees have been able to utilize the strengths of their shared settlement life in order to survive in the white man's eastern Oklahoma, this has nothing to do with the life Cherokees want for themselves. Cherokees want autonomy, independence, and economic self-sufficiency. They have tried consistently to reattain these goals for the last 160 years, and they are still trying. Cherokee attempts to regain self-sufficiency have followed one of two avenues; migration or development of a self-sufficient community within the state of Oklahoma.

Cherokees expect the United States government to defend Cherokee territorial integrity and sovereignty. They believe that their earliest treaties commemorate an agreement for perpetual reciprocity between the Cherokees and the United States government. Cherokees gave up land and later offered military assistance. In return, the United States government obligated itself to "take care of the Indians." If it becomes apparent that the United States is not going to honor its commitments, then Cherokees are prepared to move entirely outside American jurisdiction. If they cannot find land not controlled by some other nation, then they will look for a nation that can be trusted to honor its guarantees.

Each time life in Cherokee settlements has been dislocated by white political and economic expansion, Cherokees have envisioned migration as a solution. There have been four waves of actual or seriously contemplated migration. The first, which brought a fourth of the tribe to the territory between the Arkansas and White rivers before 1812, coincided with the expansion of white colonization on the Cherokee frontier and consequent intensification of border raids and reprisals. By 1822, entire Cherokee settlements had moved to Texas, where there were "climatic conditions auguring favorable to the pursuits of agriculture, stock-raising and hunting." Cherokees were under the impression that they had a "perfected right" to occupy lands granted by the monarch of Spain (Starr 1921: 187).

The aftermath of the Cherokees' forced removal to Indian territory produced a second wave of migrations in the 1840's. Some bands of Cherokees did in fact colonize in Mexico, while others asked the United States to provide them a home upon relinquishment of their lands in the Cherokee nation (Littlefield 1971: 409-10).

The traumatic events that preceded incorporation of Cherokees into the state of Oklahoma precipitated a third series of plans for migration. A delegation of Cherokees opened negotiations in 1895 with President Diaz for a tract of land in the Mexican state of Sinaloa. The

Cherokees may have been supported by prospective emigrants from the others of the Five Civilized Tribes, for they claimed nearly 100,000 Indians of several tribes and nations would be glad to settle in Sinaloa, bringing with them some \$150 million in capital (Littlefield 1971: 411). This was only the first of several plans for emigration which involved lands in Tamaulipas in 1898: a reported migration of 5,000 Cherokees, Creeks, and Delawares to Guadalajara in 1899; new plans for migrations to unspecified locations in Mexico in 1901; and an effort by a body of Indians from all five of the Civilized Tribes to colonize a 9,000-acre tract they bought north of Tampico. John Henry Dick, who bought a large tract of land during this migration, told the Oklahoma newspapers, "... should the restrictions be removed from our lands, we can move to Old Mexico and buy ten times as much land with the money derived from the sale of our small holdings here and be a free people" (Littlefield 1971: 414-19).

Predictably, renewed interest in migration to Mexico accompanied the loss of economic self-sufficiency in the 1930's. The plan was organized by officers of the Four Mothers Society, an organization that arose during the resistance to statehood, which has ceremonial grounds and priesthoods among each of the Five Tribes. In 1932 a party of Cherokees and Creeks made a reconnaissance of prospective sites for colonization in northern Mexico, and early in the 1940's a delegation traveled to Mexico City in hope that the Mexican government might still recognize cessions made to Cherokees by President Diaz, and before that by the Spanish Crown.

The other direction that Cherokees take in their attempts to live according to their own wishes involves bolstering their present settlements. Not a day goes by without a scheme for some form of collective production being debated in a Cherokee settlement somewhere in the Cherokee nation. There is perennial talk about consolidating land, either by getting people to combine adjacent allotments or by selling restricted lands and using the proceeds to buy large tracts for communal use. On this land base, the Cherokees involved then propose some additional means of earning an income.

A project that still provokes heated discussion among older Cherokees was conceived around 1915, when a man named C. P. Cornelius became advisor to the Keetoowah Society, then at the height of its strength among Cherokees. Redbird Smith, founding chief of the Keetoowahs, had met Cornelius during a visit to Washington, D.C., and hired him to come to Oklahoma and help the Cherokees. Smith told Cornelius, "I want my people to be self-reliant, and some day I want the strong to build up a surplus that will make it possible for the weak to receive an education and never want for anything" (Littlefield 1971: 424).

Cornelius was a broadly educated man, a lawyer, and a member of Wisconsin's Oneida tribe. "He had everything in his favor to be received favorably by the Cherokees. He was an Indian, an educated man, and he came from the sacred direction, east" (Thomas 1953: 182). Cornelius advised Keetoowah Society members who were scattered all over the Cherokee nation, to congregate in the area of the head fire (ceremonial ground) in the Illinois district:

... Late in November, 1921 over one hundred [members] did prepare to move. The members of thirty-five families belonging to the Brush Creek Fire and Yellow Locust Fire of the Keetoowah Society made ready to leave their homes near Jay in Delaware County. They were all going to live in the same locality in the Wild Horse Mountains in the extreme southeastern corner of Cherokee County, some seventy-five miles away. There Cherokees boxed up their household goods, sold their corn, hogs, and cattle for whatever price they could get, and attempted to rent or lease the homes they left behind. If the latter were not possible, they planned to leave their farms untended and unoccupied. A farewell dance was held, and the group departed November 27, 1921, to be followed by fifteen families from Saline Creek in Mayes County on January 8, 1922.

It was the intention of these people to establish a colony in which they would have their own schools, revive their old customs and practice their own religion without interference. To assist them in their project the Keetoowah Society notified the colonists that there were funds to meet their expenses in moving. Houses had already been built to receive them. Once the colonists were there, however, they were expected to work for the common good since one purpose of the project was to revive the old tribal custom of holding lands in common (Littlefield 1971: 423).

An anthropologist whose informants included two of Redbird Smith's sons described the way in which the Keetoowah hoped to support themselves:

After Redbird Smith's death, C. P. Cornelius continued with his plans. The restrictions were removed on several ... allotments and they were mortgaged. With this money, a bank was set up in Gore, Oklahoma, with C. P. Cornelius as president. A herd of black Angus cattle was purchased in Wisconsin and driven to Oklahoma. These cattle were placed on different tracts of [Cherokee] land, each smaller herd with cowboys appointed to look after it, and with a general foreman to supervise the whole project...

Sometime in the early 1920's the bank at Gore failed, the cattle herd was taken by creditors, and the [Cherokees] who had mortgaged their allotments lost their land. George Smith [Redbird's son] said, "We bought the cattle when times were good, and then prices went down. We had a bad winter that year with deep snow all over the ground. C. P. Cornelius tried to get more restrictions removed so he could mortgage that land and get some more money to tide us over. But the government found out what the Keetoowahs were trying to do (set up a reservation) and they wouldn't remove any more restrictions from full-blood land."

This failure of the bank probably happened in the post World War I depression in the early 1920's when many sound businesses and banks failed. Many [Cherokees] today feel that C. P. Cornelius cheated them out of their land. But George Smith says, "C. P. was awful smart: you couldn't get ahead of him. The white people was scared of him all the time, watching what he was doing with the Keetoowahs. He was a good man, but the white people were against him, and we had some bad luck" (Thomas 1961).

The story of C. P. Cornelius and the Keetoowahs is typical of a great many Cherokee endeavors between the 1890's and the present time. No one has studied the subject, and it is therefore impossible to even guess how often Cherokees have attempted similar reconstruction of their communities. The spark is far from dead, and similar plans are still being made. For example, members of the Seven Clans Society, whose ceremonial ground is at the Cherokee settlement of Chewy in Adair County, have been working on a plan that includes consolidating what little land they have left in order to set up a communal farm, buying a microbus and setting up a daily "run" through the hills to transport people to the Indian hospital and to their errands in town, establishing a community hall work center and laundromat, founding a co-op store to break the hold that white proprietors of country stores have on their Indian creditors, and forming a credit union. They intend to employ young Indians, give them business experience, and plow the profits into other community development programs.

There can be no doubt that Cherokees do have aspirations toward developing a more secure and self-sufficient economic base for their settlements. In every Cherokee settlement, there are people who have a clear idea of what they would do to make life better for everybody in the settlement—if they just had some capital and some freedom to use it. But Cherokees also doubt that they will be allowed to develop in this way. They are aware that any success on their part will threaten white economic and political control over the region. As the Keetoowah say,

This is about Indians.
Today they are held down.
They are a poor and sorrowful people.
They can't get out of it (Keetoowah Society 1972).

Any talk about what Cherokees might be able to do is soon permeated with a deep and bleak pessimism. Cherokees do not imagine that the destiny of their settlements is theirs to control. Worse, there have been many experiments like the two described, and many failures, and these occur in the context of a society that regards Cherokees as stupid and incompetent. To the things that Cherokees do not believe whites will

let them do are added the things that Cherokees themselves have begun to believe they are not "smart" enough to do.

The Cherokee conception of the future is very different than that of white Americans. We consider the future to be unknown and unknowable, and wonder what it will bring. Cherokees know. They are a people who live under prophecy. Their priests have seen into the future and told them what is going to happen. The prophecies are common knowledge among Cherokees, and, although many Cherokees are reluctant to admit (to whites, at least) that they "believe them," it is hard, too, to disbelieve them. The prophecies explain what it is that is happening to the Cherokees right now.

The prophecies date back to the trauma of Oklahoma statehood. In those difficult times, Cherokees realized that they were "going downhill," and the people were deeply worried. Deciding to "do like in the old days," they picked seven men to ask God for direction. The seven men met and, taking fire from the ceremonial ground, went to sit out on a little bluff, where they prayed and fasted around a small fire throughout the night. They received their answer in the form of a long, symbolic dream or vision, the content and interpretation of which is esoteric knowledge known to older Cherokees. The gist of the message was contained in a sort of anecdote, which is familiar to, and readily understandable by, the mass of Cherokees. Toward dawn, one of the old men got thirsty and went to the drinking bucket for a dipperful of water. By the light of the fire, the others could see him pick up the bucket and discover that it was empty; they could see where the water had leaked out. Everyone laughed, and they did without water the rest of the night. Then at daybreak, when they were packing up their things to go home, they looked at the bucket again. It was full of water.

What this meant, they said, was that Cherokees would be like the water. They would dwindle down to nothing, just like water leaking out of that bucket. Everything they had would be taken from them. They would be offered pretty things, things they would think that they wanted, to tempt them away. Pretty soon there wouldn't be any Cherokee left, except the very few who could stand to lose everything and not be tempted. Then, when everything seems lost, the Cherokees will be made whole again. Just as the water miraculously reappeared in the bucket, the Cherokee nation will be restored: the few Cherokees who have stood fast will form its nucleus.

In February 1973, in preparation for this report, I asked a Cherokee who knows the prophecies well to describe what would happen when, as was foreseen, things begin to get better for Cherokees. He said that the prophecies do not say exactly what will happen. If Cherokees who have stayed with their settlements and resisted the seductions of the white man's way of life can sit down together to try and find what they

can do for themselves, a plan will be revealed to them. The rebirth of the Cherokees can start with just a handful of men. They have to deliberate among themselves and determine something that suits *them*: "See, if I sit down, think it over, something that works for go a long way . . . Three four, five [of us] sit down . . . Not going to ask *nobody*! Not going to ask Indian bureau, or old people. Not going to ask nobody. Just going to set down thinking."

The enterprise they decided on will start on a small scale and build slowly. It will take a long time before its results are to be seen: "When they find out something good for them, when they start it, they gone to start three generations. Fourth generation they might change this. That's how long it goin' to start. Bigger. And get bigger and bigger. Now that's what I been telling. Oscar, I told him. Been telling these other people. We got to sit down, think of something. That's what prophecy says. We'll find something good for *us*. We kin start it. They goin' to start it and get bigger and bigger. That's what prophecy says."

And accompanying this economic revival, there will be a new spokesman and a new doctrine — and a new place to meet, to interpret the changes that will keep people socially and emotionally healthy: "All it says, someday . . . one of these fire place [ceremonial grounds] it's going to be called chief. Be one called chief. Anyway, it's going to be called chief all time [Not just a chief in the narrowly political sense of the word]. If they listen to him, they find good medicine for the Indian . . . They say he's goin' to appear some time 'bout this time, [the one] they gone to call chief. It's goin' to be poor man. Not goin' to be rich. Not goin' to be educated. Just really ordinary Cherokee. But he'll be called chief. He's the one goin' to start it."

The promised restoration of the Cherokees involves both an economic base for Cherokee settlements and a doctrine, a new ceremonial structure that will unify the Cherokee people. It will find its roots in subsistence activities satisfying to the ordinary Cherokee, at one pole, and in teachings drawing on the accumulated knowledge of the Cherokee priesthood, at the other. The Cherokees will rise in a sacredly defined social movement.

White America plans. A nation living under prophecy watches. The question for them is, has our rise started? And by what sign can we know? This is why prophecy is wedded to social movement. For once it is accepted that an authentic sign heralding the turning point has been seen, there can be no doubting the definition of the situation. It means that everything that is tried will have to come out all right. Despair turns to glee, and anguish to energy. In February, things were bad. People were poor, as always; but, worse than that, new tribal programs were intruding on life in the settlements. Cherokees regard their tribal government as an arm of the white establishment, as people pretending

to be Indian in order to get their hands on Cherokee money. The rapid development of tribal programs was being met with rapidly developing resentment. People felt pushed around — especially by the tribal housing program, which forcefully merchandized to them houses they were not sure of wanting. And roads the size of highways were suddenly being pushed through the remote hills of Adair County. To poverty now was added final penetration of the protective isolation of Cherokee settlements. It was a worrisome scene. Yet the older Cherokees — men of an age to influence consensus in Cherokee settlements — were gleeful. Looking around them in light of the prophecies, they chortled hopefully, "We're down about as far as we can go!"

THE CHEROKEE ESTABLISHMENT

In 1965, a previously unnoticed natural resource was discovered in eastern Oklahoma. The development of this resource has furnished the base for a major and prestigious industry and, in this economically depressed area, promises to be the single force that will create new jobs, attract new investment, and collect substantial federal subsidies. Its directors are the Cherokee Establishment, and the future of eastern Oklahoma is increasingly in their hands.

The Cherokee Establishment emerged over a period of some fifteen years. Like any establishment, it is an alliance of powerful persons and agencies that are united by a shared conception of the proper state of society, as well as by the mutual political and economic advantages to be gained (or preserved) through continued association. The Cherokee Establishment unites a core of Americans, who are recognized as Cherokees by United States law, with their white and their culturally Cherokee allies.

Eastern Oklahoma's newest industry is headquartered in a complex of buildings just outside the southern limits of Tahlequah, Oklahoma — buildings whose plate-glass windows and rich wood interiors overshadow even the banks in the center of the Cherokees' former capital. In these buildings things are run in an obviously business-like way. Make no mistake, this complex is a showplace — the executive facilities of a modern corporation. Within it, the corporation life-style has been imported to rural Oklahoma, right down to the last detail of a parking lot subdivided according to status and a franchised restaurant for the expense account entertainment of bankers, oilmen, chamber of commerce directors, and visiting high school classes. The buildings belong to the Cherokee nation of Oklahoma, or, as its employees and its supporters usually call it, "the tribe." The complex

houses both white-collar employees of "the tribe" and also the entire Tahlequah Agency Office of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The newly discovered resource that is being developed is the poor Cherokee Indian. From the Cherokee Establishment's point of view, "the tribe" and its present operations are a great American success story. The Cherokees are Indians helping Indians, those who have "made it" showing those who have not how to pull themselves up by their bootstraps. Here are people who have had the discipline to refrain from licking their wounds and nursing a grudge against the United States, who instead work toward their own prosperity. Although there may still be a lot of work left to do, and a large population of poor and disadvantaged Cherokees to upgrade, there is also leadership and an inspiring example of success in the person of W. W. Keeler, principal chief of the Cherokee nation. Born poor and an Indian on an Oklahoma ranch, Mr. Keeler worked himself up to become president of Phillips Petroleum Corporation—and an Indian chief, too. He has been honored by business and civic organizations all over the United States for his personal success and for his devotion to the needs of his people. Five successive presidents have sought his advice on national policy toward American Indians.

When President Johnson declared a war on poverty and it became clear that federally financed programs would be piped into economically stagnant areas through the Office of Economic Opportunity, eastern Oklahomans began to move. When Appalachia became eligible for special support through recognition of its pervasive poverty, Oklahomans realized that "Ozarkia" could equally be brought to the attention of the Congress. Oklahomans began to grasp that having poor Indians in your county could be worth even more than having oil under your land. They came to understand that more money and power is now to be gained from helping Indians than from swindling them. The recent history of eastern Oklahoma appears to revolve around that homely observation.

In order to maintain its credibility and power as the principal helper of Cherokees, the Cherokee Establishment must control the definition of who is and who is not a Cherokee. They must appear to be Indians, for, if not, they might appear to be grafters. To keep up appearances, the Cherokee Establishment manipulates legislation and plays upon public opinion,⁹ and is assisted in doing both by the deep and consis-

⁹ A key member of the Cherokee Establishment once claimed that he and his associates "got rid of" local newspaper and television reporters who were critical of activities and policies of the Cherokee nation. While I have been unable to verify this information, reporting of Cherokee Nation activities by the *Muskogee Phoenix*, the *Tulsa Tribune*, and the *Tulsa Daily World* has been noticeably more positive in tone since 1968.

tent myths through which Oklahomans justify the sanctity of Oklahoma social structure.

In the view of Oklahomans, the destruction of the Indian nations is metamorphosed into a tragic necessity that freed Indian individuals from tribal backwardness and permitted their rise according to personal merit in a new commonwealth. The classic expression of this unconscious conviction is to be found in a review by a widely respected native Oklahoma historian, herself the granddaughter of a Choctaw principal chief, of Angie Debo's *Rise and fall of the Choctaw Republic*, in which the reviewer insisted that the title of the book is "a misnomer in itself."

The Choctaw Republic rose but it did not fall. From its inception over a century ago, it was planned as a training ground for the Choctaw people, in preparation for a time when they of their own volition would become citizens of their protector Republic, the United States. When at the end of almost three quarters of a century they cast a majority vote in favor of such a step by adopting the Atoka Agreement, they as a nation had attained a position where their leaders were counted among the leaders in the new State of Oklahoma organized soon afterward. Thus, the Choctaw Nation as a republic did not fall: it attained its objective (Wright 1935: 108-120).

How Cherokees are defined affects, then, not only how people in Oklahoma think about Indians, but also how they think about themselves and their own society. The Cherokee Establishment can count on public sentiment, on the desire of Oklahomans to believe that all is right in the world. For so long as W. W. Keeler and his colleagues are defined as "Cherokees," then it follows that the people who live in Cherokee settlements are a neglected population that is making great strides forward under the administration of "successful business and professional leaders of unquestioned ability and integrity." However, if W. W. Keeler is not a Cherokee, then what is an executive of an Oklahoma oil company doing in command of Cherokee affairs? Then, there exists the possibility that the people who live in Cherokee settlements have been made the victims of an outrageous colonial situation—that they have been handed over to the captains of the very industry that reduced them to poverty.

There is no possibility of understanding the state of contemporary Cherokee affairs without first understanding the evolution of the issues involved in the question of who is a Cherokee.

By 1827, the Cherokees already had an elective bicameral legislature presided over by John Ross, their first principal chief. The majority of Cherokees, known as the "Ross party," called upon Ross to resist American pressure to remove them from their homelands. A minority, which later became known as the "Treaty party," sympathized with the signers of the Treaty of New Echota, which in 1835

committed the Cherokees to move west to Indian territory. When the Cherokee nation was reestablished in Indian territory, antagonism between the two parties continued in the form of a series of political murders. Political differences were accompanied by an increasing difference in life-style. Although there were plantation owners and slaveholders in the Ross party, most of that group preferred life based in the traditional Cherokee settlement; and, although there were members of the Treaty party who lived primarily by the hunt, more of them farmed, herded cattle, and engaged in commerce. In the Cherokee nation, the Civil War was also a devastating war between the two bodies of Cherokees. Afterward, their bitterness was so intense that they separated completely. Under Cherokee law until 1907 and under United States law since then the descendants of both factions are equally and legally Cherokee, although for a century they have lived as two separate and antagonistic communities.

After the Civil War, the Cherokees who had been members of the Ross party stayed to the east of the Grand River. They remained a Cherokee-speaking community and continued a life based on the Cherokee settlement, marrying almost entirely among themselves. By the 1880's, they were spoken of as "the full-blood faction" of the Cherokee nation. The culturally Cherokee population of today comes from the "full-blood faction" settlements.

Meanwhile, the people who had formed the Treaty party moved west of the Grand River. They were familiastic more than settlement-minded and became increasingly oriented toward ranching and commerce. Their part of the Cherokee nation was filling up with whites, and members of the Treaty party intermarried extensively with these whites and became part of a Cherokee-white English-speaking community. By the 1880's they were known as the "mixed-blood faction" of the Cherokee nation, which gave rise to the socially and culturally assimilated Americans who are "proud of their Cherokee ancestry."

In preparation for Oklahoma statehood, all citizens of the Cherokee nation were listed on a final roll, which was closed in 1907 and has never since been reopened for addition. Because the roll was a list of the persons who were to receive allotments of Cherokee land, speculators made every attempt to cram it with extra names. A few of the certifiably fraudulent entries have been removed from the roll by court order. A great many of the persons listed are entered as being 1/16, 1/32, 1/64, 1/128, and even 1/256 Cherokee! In all, the roll includes 41,824 names: 8,703 full-blood Indians; 27,916 mixed-blood Indians; 286 whites; and 4,919 freedmen (Negro ex-slaves and their descendants). Under United States federal law this document determines who is legally Cherokee.

It is quite obvious that the *cultural* and the *legal* definitions of

"Cherokee" are in conflict. In this report, "Cherokee" has been used much in the way that the people I call Cherokee define themselves. These Cherokees (in their/my terms) see themselves as an entire *community* of people who *participate* in a specific ancient yet continually evolving way of life that is *permanent* (although not unchanging). Their focus—which is on participation, on the whole body of people who share in their way of life at any given time—tends to be fuzzy about marginal individuals. Because participation in a Cherokee settlement is at the heart of Cherokee self-definition, it is a matter of where an individual's life is rooted. The Cherokee conception allows for the fact that many individuals are lost from the Cherokee way of life; they are "ashamed" of being Cherokee and have "joined up" with whites. But whether this makes such individuals Cherokee or white seems to be a question that Cherokees themselves have understandably avoided for two generations—for what could possibly give any one Cherokee the right to imply to another Cherokee that the latter's grandchildren are not Cherokee?

Oklahomans of course, would heatedly object that this definition is too restrictive. It includes only the full bloods, they would say. When Oklahoma whites wish to specify the people here called "Cherokee," they say "Indians"—meaning "people who live like Indians." They unconsciously use "Cherokee" to refer to a "better class of people."

"Cherokee," as Oklahomans habitually use the word—and as the Cherokee Establishment insists that it be used—has nothing to do with social participation or even with race (although it does mean that the person specified has "some Indian blood"). "Cherokee," as the Cherokee Establishment uses the word, means an individual who is legally entitled to a share of Cherokee assets. The Cherokee nation, from this point of view, was significant as a political entity. When it came to an end, some of its [Cherokee] citizens were just like white men, while a few were still [Cherokee] Indians, but what is significant is that all had the same *legal right*, as *individuals*, to a share of the tribal property. These rights are conceived of as inheritable, and the 1907 final roll was drawn up to facilitate the distribution of individual allotments to Cherokee citizens. A Cherokee is still anyone whose name is on the roll of citizens and anyone descended from a person named on that roll.

Oklahomans are deeply committed to believing that Cherokee culture is temporary and inevitably must vanish. It does not seem inconsistent to them that individuals isolated for generations from the life in Cherokee settlements should be equally as Cherokee as monolingual Cherokees living in those settlements. Indeed, from their point of view, the fact that they have been assimilated into American life is precisely what qualifies such men for leadership over Cherokees. It is, after all,

knowledge of white ways, not Indian ways, that counts in the world today.

The Cherokees who live "like Indians" in Cherokee settlements are overwhelmingly outnumbered by the people who have a legal claim to the Cherokee estate. The population of "tribal Cherokees" (a term that will here be used to designate residents of Cherokee settlements) has probably grown to at least 10,000. There is no way to count the number of "legal Cherokees" (that is, the tribal Cherokees together with the greater number of "white" men of Cherokee descent).

The Cherokee claims award was distributed to 44,000 people who by 1962 submitted applications proving that they or a lineal ancestor had been named on the 1907 roll of Cherokees. In 1962 there were more than 9,000 tribal Cherokees (Wahrhaftig 1968). Some refused to apply for claims, maintaining that an individual payment of \$260 could never compensate for the loss of a perpetual homeland. Others were ineligible, either because they (or their ancestors) had escaped the enrollment parties, or because they were children of two living enrolled Cherokees. Thus, there can be at most no more than 8,500 tribal Cherokees on the 1962 per capita distribution list. The other 36,500 persons are "whites" and "blacks" of Cherokee descent. The tribal Cherokee are outnumbered by more than four to one.

The Cherokee Establishment protects its power both by legitimizing its own leadership as being Cherokee and by discrediting the opinions of the Cherokee-speaking population that lives in Cherokee settlements, which are as numerous and as populous as in aboriginal times. So long as it remains possible to present the entire legally Cherokee population as being the true constituency of the Cherokee tribe, then the opinions of tribal Cherokees can be passed off as the views of a small (and backward) minority.

The Cherokee Establishment has seen to it that all legal Cherokees can register to vote in Cherokee elections. The result is that culturally white voters living east of the Grand River, in counties with no tribal population at all, as well as culturally white voters living outside of Oklahoma are in the overwhelming majority. Absentee voters provided 41 percent of the total in 1971 (Jordan 1972b). Yet this portion of the electorate selects the "Cherokee leaders" who, in terms of their own cultural standards, they think will best help Indians.

The Cherokee nation's complex outside Tahlequah houses a confusing array of activities. It provides offices for employees of the Cherokee nation and for the Tahlequah Agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It is a center for the coordination of the Cherokee National Housing Authority, Cherokee Nation Industries, the Cherokee Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Cherokee Skills Center, and many other projects dealing with job training and education.

Closely tied to this complex is the Cherokee National Historical Society, which claims that it annually brings more than \$10.6 million dollars into eastern Oklahoma by running a replica of an ancient Cherokee village and a "historical" pageant. Northeastern State College works in close alliance with Cherokee nation administrators through their mutual involvement in various bilingual education projects, which reach into local school systems in the neighboring counties. The activities of the Cherokee nation and the Cherokee Establishment that radiates from this center are a pastiche. They just grew, and grew fast — ostensibly to benefit Cherokees in their rural settlements, but more realistically to claim federal grants and funds.

No organizational chart relating these activities, projects, and programs to one another exists. They sprang up so fast that their structure has never been systematized. Yet beneath the apparent diversity there is one consistent principle of organization. Power is, and always has been, centralized in the hands of a culturally white elite. The Cherokee Establishment is an empire that has evolved through four distinguishable phases.

From 1907 until 1948, the Department of the Interior held that under United States law the Cherokee nation could no longer exist as a legal or political entity. For the sole purpose of having someone to sign deeds disposing of Cherokee national property, it was customary for the president of the United States to appoint a principal chief of the Cherokees. Some of these "chiefs" were appointed for a twenty-four hour term. The BIA managed the affairs of individual Cherokees whose lands were restricted from sale and held in trust by the United States government. Cherokees living traditionally in rural settlements were otherwise ignored, and eastern Oklahoma society was presided over by a local elite that proudly traced its roots back to distinguished ancestors among the culturally white branch of the Cherokees.

The first phase in the development of the Cherokee Establishment was precipitated by passage of the Indian Claims Act of 1946, which invited Indian suits against the United States government. Bartley Milam was then the token, federally appointed chief. In 1948, the BIA and Chief Milam called for a meeting in Tahlequah to select attorneys to prosecute a tribal claims case. They hoped to win monetary settlements for Cherokee lands fraudulently disposed of by the United States government. At this "convention," Milam appointed an executive committee, which in turn selected the tribal attorneys. When decisions were presented to the few dozen people present for a voice vote of ratification, the handful of tribal Cherokees who had attended withdrew from the convention. Milam died shortly thereafter, and W. W. Keeler, originally appointed by Milam to represent Texas Cherokees on the executive committee, became principal chief. Keeler,

appointed chief by the Secretary of the Interior on the recommendation of the local BIA agent, and a committee selected by Keeler or by his predecessor have directed Cherokee affairs since 1948. Members of the executive committee have been culturally white individuals, locally regarded as being from "old families" of the region's elite.

A woman who was a member of the Cherokee executive committee from 1953 until her resignation in 1966 painted a vivid portrait of its procedures in testimony she presented to a Senate Special Subcommittee:

Comparatively few of the Cherokee people, of course, came to Tahelquah and participated in the election of this Executive Committee. The election, however, gave it a semblance of popular approval. This committee has been continued to the present time [1968], though no election by the people has ever been held since 1941. New members of this committee have been appointed by the chief from time to time as needed. After the appointment they usually go through the form of an election of the new appointees by the committee itself. Thus it has come to be purely a self-perpetuating body, in reality appointed by the chief. At first these members were supposed to live in the district they represented, but this required site has long since been ignored. They are now selected from anywhere. The present committee has four lawyers on it.

This committee is altogether a confirming body. It never acts against the will of the chief. It always confirms his suggestions. It in no way sponsors the will of the Cherokee people, whom it nominally is supposed to represent. . . . It is not recognized in any way by the Federal Government.

In other words, the chief, appointed by the Department of the Interior, is the sole ruling agency of the Cherokee tribe. The Cherokee people haven't a word to say about any of their affairs. The chief is as absolute in authority as a ruler could ever be. . . ." (Special Subcommittee on Indian Education 1968: 559).

Between 1948 and 1962, the Cherokee chief and his executive committee performed three functions. They prosecuted Cherokee claims against the United States government, perpetuated the myth of Cherokee assimilation, and worked energetically to deflect any "separatist" activities among Indians, and dispensed charity to "needy full bloods." They did little more until 1962, when the Cherokee tribe acquired \$2,000,000 and additional projects could be considered. Anticipating awards in the tens of millions of dollars, the chief and executive committee contracted four attorneys, who agreed to prosecute Cherokee claims in return for 10 percent of any settlement. The chief and executive committee found a way to perpetuate the myth of Cherokee assimilation in dramatic form, creating a "Cherokee National Holiday," which is still held in Tahlequah each fall. The holiday is a memorial to the death of the Cherokee nation, an occasion upon

which members of the establishment's elite present flowery eulogies to the past accomplishments of the Cherokees.

In addition to this manipulation of social symbols, executive committee members have extended their ties to Indian politicians in other tribes. Together with their counterparts among the Creeks, Choctaws, Chicasaws, and Seminoles, they formed a Five Civilized Tribes Intertribal Council and, more importantly, they had a hand in the policies of the National Congress of American Indians from the time that organization was founded. Wherever they suspected that Indians might demand more tribal autonomy, or accuse the Department of Interior of mismanaging tribal resources, or cast doubt on the inevitability of Indian assimilation into the American melting pot, delegates of the Cherokee executive committee went.

In 1961, Professor Sol Tax of the University of Chicago coordinated a massive conference at which it was hoped that Indians from all over the country might author a "Declaration of Indian Purpose," advising the new administration of their wishes. At a meeting of the Five Civilized Tribes Intertribal Council, Cherokee delegates advised that the meeting was a Communist-backed effort to stir up discontent among Indians. One of those present recalled:

The chief had been on a trip, with several other oil men, to Russia some time before this. When he returned the executive committee was given a rather bizarre account of the trip, bugged rooms, things they already knew about the chief. Indians here in the United States are being kept in leg-irons [the Russians said]. The chief [said he] asked where they got their information and was told from the University of Chicago.

When this meeting at Chicago was announced, the chief, tribal lawyers, and others, began plans to send representatives to see what went on there. In the executive meeting that spring some of the main discussion was this Chicago meeting. It was decided that two of the tribal lawyers would go, which they did. The resolutions passed by the Chicago conference were rather ineffective, so far as our information goes. The lawyers returned quite jubilant and recounted what they had done blow by blow (Special Subcommittee 1968: 556).

The Cherokee executive committee created the Cherokee Foundation, Incorporated, in 1952, to "improve the welfare, culture, health and morale of the Cherokees." The foundation was "administered by successful business and professional leaders of unquestioned ability and integrity" (*Cherokee Nation News*, September 23, 1969). It was something of a "charity drive," supported by tax-deductible contributions solicited from local businessmen. The foundation presented baskets of food and clothing to Cherokee families at Christmas time and once "bought a special type mattress for \$635 for a young Cherokee,

25 years of age, who is a paraplegic" (Special Subcommittee 1968: 973). Until 1962, the direction of Cherokee affairs was a civic duty performed by prominent and socially responsible members of eastern Oklahoma's older elite families.

The Cherokee Establishment entered a second stage of development in 1962, when the tribe came into possession of about two million dollars in funds left over after per capita distribution of an award from the Indian claims court. The chief used this money to finance a number of projects proposed to him by business interests in eastern Oklahoma, local officials of the BIA, and advisors at the Phillips Petroleum Company—with the sanction of the socially prominent citizens of Cherokee descent who sat on the executive committee.

Cherokee money was used to underwrite projects that enriched the general economy of eastern Oklahoma, under the justification that these projects generated needed jobs for destitute Cherokees. But the man who was the first business manager of the Cherokee nation said, "The Cherokee tribe is controlled essentially by non-Indians. They don't do anything that will harm non-Indians. Fact, they go even further. They don't do anything that will not *benefit* non-Indians. Of all the programs that the Cherokee tribe has, none were started with the prime objective of helping Indians (Wahrhaftig 1972). When new programs were announced by the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Cherokee Establishment moved to incorporate and control them. The result was a hodgepodge of projects and programs, opportunistically embarked upon with neither the knowledge nor the consent of the Cherokees residing in Cherokee settlements.

The court of claims awarded the Cherokees nearly \$15 million as an additional payment for the Cherokee Outlet. After the per capita distribution of this award in October 1964, a residue of about two million dollars remained in the tribal fund. Chief Keeler and a small number of his associates "wanted a fund left in the treasury to use in the promotion of future projects of their own choosing" (Special Subcommittee 1968: 560), and this was arranged.

The group's most controversial proposal was the financing of the early activities of the Cherokee National Historical Society, which was incorporated in April 1963. The society was backed by leading politicians, bankers, chamber of commerce officials, BIA employees, and distinguished citizens of Cherokee descent. Its principal project has been an unabashed imitation of tourist attractions already developed on the Cherokee reservation in North Carolina. There was a great deal of publicity about the employment that would be generated by this attraction, but the benefits in the form of wages for Cherokees are minor compared with the benefits to the overall economy of eastern Oklahoma. The president of Tahlequah Chamber of Commerce called

the project "the most exciting quality tourist attraction in the area—a magnet, it draws tourism to other parts of Tahlequah." The project was seen as a major economic "break" for the area. Although the Cherokee National Historical Society has financed this project by raising hundreds of thousands of dollars in grants—principally from EDA—the seed money was provided from Cherokee tribal funds. The business manager of the Cherokee nation from 1967 to 1969 said, "The tribe loans money to the Cherokee Historical Society at prime interest rate with no security. The initial loan of \$100,000 was finally repaid—with money from EDA. But every time the historical society goes broke, the tribe loans them money again" (Wahrhaftig 1972).

Tribal Cherokees have no part in deciding how Cherokee residual funds are to be invested, and even the tribal executive committee seems not to have been informed of planning. A former member of the executive committee testified:

Everyone knows the value of a surprise move, and none better than the chief, as he is a past master in handling people and situations. At a committee meeting in 1965 that was called to discuss housing there was present at least seventy-five people—visitors, Cherokees, and Bureau officials. Housing was discussed, but quite unexpectedly the chief asked the Executive Committee to allow a hundred thousand dollars from the Cherokee residual fund for the Cherokee cultural project. It seems quite evident now that the chief must have had an understanding as to who he intended to appoint as manager of this project. The writer was the only abstaining vote. If there is any question or objection to what the chief has done, the chief assures the objector that the Executive Committee passed the measure. In this way the responsibility is shifted and the objector is silenced (Special Subcommittee on Indian Education 1968: 557).

A clique or "inner circle" within the growing Cherokee Establishment appears to have been making the major decisions.

A former tribal official says bitterly, "Keeler's idea was for the tribe to have a desk in Harrington's [the BIA Superintendent] office in Muskogee. . . . He never could imagine the Cherokee tribe as anything but a legal fiction for the BIA to work through." Keeler, as a principal executive of Phillips Petroleum, drew on Phillips Petroleum's Director of Special Cooperative Projects to devise means of attracting new industries into the Cherokee area. Maximum advantage was taken of wage subsidies available through the BIA on-the-job training programs and sites furnished free of charge by the Cherokee tribe. For a subsidiary of Phillips Petroleum that by 1966 was employing 29 workers, 20 of them [legally] Indian, in the manufacture of plastic pipe, the tribe even acquired 25 houses "near the industrial area where Indians are currently employed and where many jobs will be created for them" (Special Subcommittee on Indian Education 1968: 975).

However, it does seem that the Cherokee tribe invested large amounts of money to create a very few jobs. The tribe's first general manager says that the Cherokees "sunk over \$150,000 in Glassmaster," a company that manufactures pleasure boats in Grove, Oklahoma. "Not only does this plant not employ many Cherokees," he said, "they haven't paid anything back. They were only obliged to sign a five-year lease, and they don't have to begin repaying capital until after five years." Glassmaster employed 11 [legal] Cherokees in 1968 and 14 in 1970.

During this second period, the elite who were directing Cherokee affairs became very secretive about their activities — and they still are. A former member of the tribal executive committee says, "Minutes don't mean a thing. Whenever they want to talk about something important or the least bit controversial, Keeler says 'Now this is off the record.'" When I asked the former general manager of the Cherokee nation where I could get some reliable figures about tribal operations, he laughed a little hysterically and said, "There aren't any. A budget is passed. Then when the tribe runs out of money on a project, they just vote more. When that runs out, they vote more. They never amend the budget. They don't even have profit and loss sheets on such operations as the restaurant [that the tribe invested in]. In that operation, tribal funds were channeled through BIA which has its own way to disguise losses on accounting sheets. It used to take eight weeks for us to requisition the tribe's own funds from the BIA" (Wahrhaftig 1972).

One reason for secretiveness, perhaps, is that some costly blunders may have been made. The Cherokees built a plant in Tahlequah for McCall Manufacturing Company of Greenville, South Carolina, expecting that employment would reach 125 by 1969, but McCall never materialized and the tribe was stuck with the facilities. There has been gossip around Tahlequah that the Cherokee Foundation had guaranteed the loan by a Bartlesville Bank of \$250,000 to McCall and that the funds have disappeared into South Carolina. Some unexplained factor also upset highly publicized plans for Bates Manufacturing Company to move into a new plant in Pryor, Oklahoma, which was furnished by the Cherokees.

The rationale for the kind of development favored by the Cherokee Establishment has always been that it would lead to the "economic upgrading" of individual "Indian people" [tribal Cherokees] into the overall social and economic system of Oklahoma. The "stated goals" (a phrase used with monotonous insistence) were concerned with "trying to educate the [white] people to understand the Indian, while . . . the Indian must learn to pat himself on the back and not be afraid to set his goals big." As if to refute these premises, around 1965 the presence of tribal Cherokees with aspirations of their own, living in

traditionally organized settlements, became undisguisable. First, there were a number of efforts by tribal Cherokees to protest the executive committee's use of Cherokee funds. They argued that tribal Cherokees had no voice in decisions that were made about the disposition of Cherokee money; that they wanted the funds used for directly charitable purposes, such as helping the poor, sick, and homeless in their own settlements; that when they were employed on tribal projects they were really being forced to work for their own money; and that the Cherokee National Historical Society's village and pageant misrepresented Cherokee culture and made a commercialized travesty of Cherokee sacred rites (Fites n.d.).

Some of the arguments of tribal Cherokees were sympathetically reported by Tulsa newspapers. Then the Carnegie Corporation Cross-Cultural Education Project of the University of Chicago published the results of the first modern research on Cherokee demography and the socioeconomic conditions of the tribal Cherokee population. These research reports, distributed in a bilingual Cherokee/English edition written for relatively unschooled Cherokee readers (Wahrhaftig 1966b), were also summarized in local newspapers. The reports forced whites and Indians to lay to rest the myth of Cherokee assimilation and prosperity.

Later, when officials of the recently created Community Action Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity invited proposals from eastern Oklahoma, white politicians quickly tried to define the entire northeastern Oklahoma region as one "community," but CAP personnel were initially sympathetic to a more sociologically realistic definition of a "community" (Wahrhaftig 1966b). They responded to individual Cherokee settlements as potentially viable communities, and they held unprecedented meetings in which the proceedings were fully interpreted into Cherokee. Although the usual tribal Cherokee response to meetings is to send an observant young man to listen and report back to residents of his settlement, some five hundred settlement residents attended an all-day meeting with CAP spokesmen held in southern Adair County. The crowd was enthusiastic and Cherokee settlements quickly responded to the OEO with proposals of their own (Wahrhaftig 1965).

Next, as an experiment in "action anthropology" designed to study conditions under which literacy and bilingualism can be promoted, the Carnegie Project subsidized tribal Cherokees, who produced a Cherokee-language newspaper and Cherokee-language radio programs, as well as other Cherokee-language and bilingual textbooks, informative guides, and readers (Walker 1965; Spade and Walker 1966; United States Public Health Service n.d.). Tribal Cherokees began to sense that it was not impossible for Cherokees to do things as

Cherokees in a Cherokee way. In this context of hope that Cherokee settlements might at last be on the move, tribal Cherokees again turned to the eternal first item on their agenda, their right to hunt and to fish, and the Five County Northeastern Oklahoma Cherokee Organization quickly emerged.

The initial response by the Cherokee Establishment was to attribute these events in Cherokee settlements to the activities of Communist agents and "outside agitators" who were preaching hatred of white people to Cherokee "full bloods." Their next response consisted of attempts either to compete with or to absorb the projects initiated in Cherokee settlements. The Cherokee tribe began publishing its own newspaper (in English). The tribe and the BIA each hired Cherokee-speaking community workers—for the first time. A Cherokee Public Relations Association was organized to explain what the executive committee was doing with Cherokee funds. The proposals made to the CAP by tribal Cherokees were sidetracked in the political quagmire of the OEO regional office in Austin, Texas, and the official most responsible for encouraging them was kicked upstairs; thus the OEO was taught to never again relate to Cherokees in any way other than through the chief and executive committee. Other branches of OEO awarded contracts to the Cherokee government, for a Cherokee Neighborhood Youth Corps and other programs. Through this process, "the tribe" was saddled with a great number of unrelated programs. Some of these they may have wished to administer, but others they had to take on simply to prevent other institutions—or still worse, the tribal Cherokees—from running them.

Another response pursued by the Cherokee Establishment was to work intensively on a program that would impress both tribal Cherokees and the public that "the tribe" did have the interests of Cherokee settlements at heart. In June 1965, a Cherokee Housing Authority Board of Commissioners was established and five Cherokees were later appointed to serve a (powerless) advisory committee. The board promptly submitted the first of a continuing series of proposals for low-rent and mutual-help housing to be supplied to Cherokee settlements under the auspices of the HAA. Although most housing in Cherokee Settlements is dilapidated by the United States Census standards, no one troubled to ask the Cherokees who lived in such houses how high new housing stood on their list of priorities.

By 1967, Cherokee affairs were in a state of confusion. A bewildering assortment of programs were in operation, many of them run by hastily created subsidiary organizations. Areas of jurisdiction and interrelationships were unclear, and there was no overall plan for development. The only coherent factor was that all the programs were run by like-minded men, personally appointed by the Cherokee chief

with ratification by his appointed executive committee, and were firmly interlocked by overlapping boards of directors. BIA personnel, Cherokee tribal directors, OEO administrators, welfare department supervisors, bankers, business organizations, elected politicians, school and college administrators, and, to some extent, the local press—all were becoming increasingly dependent on programs generated by the Cherokees' two million dollars. And all looked forward to future claims settlements, which are expected to result in awards of between fifteen and fifty million dollars.

In addition, businessmen and bureaucrats were beginning to take advantage of a new aspect of Cherokee exploitability. In the usual situation, a colonial power may extract native resources and use them for its own purposes, or a colonial system may harness native labor for its own use. The system in which Cherokees are enmeshed adds a new dimension to these relationships. The very *presence* of Cherokees is negotiable. In the case of nonhuman resources, the pattern is well established. If a firm can prove a reasonable possibility that there is oil under land it controls, it can raise money. If its drilling operations are large enough, they will generate a host of new businesses—suppliers of drilling tools, derrick builders, cafes to feed workers, stores to supply them. All of these businesses are economically and often politically dependent on the firm that initiated exploitation. If the firm fails to strike oil, the new businesses that it has generated, which now depend on it, will clamor that it be granted additional funds for continued drilling.

The War on Poverty converted Cherokees into an asset similar to oil. When the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Economic Development Administration, or the Office of Education become convinced that a poor and "culturally deprived" target population exists, they will grant funds for the development of this population. The resulting programs may be of considerable benefit to the "target population." The resulting investment may benefit local "Cherokee-helping" businesses even more.

By pointing to the existence of a large population of non-English-speaking Cherokees in Cherokee settlements, the Cherokee government has recruited money for a number of bilingual education programs, which have added employment and have also added to the power and prestige of Northeastern State College and the county school systems. Ironically, the "Cherokee-helping" business has been founded and managed by the architects of the social system that impoverished Cherokees and keeps them poor. Unlike timber and oil resources, the supply of poor Cherokees is not likely to be exhausted. The possibilities for continuing development of the Cherokee-development industry are unlimited.

In June and July 1967, the small body of people who govern Cherokee affairs began to consolidate a position. The tribe acquired a general manager, adopted a plan of operation, and opened its first tribal office, in Tahlequah — steps that inaugurated a third stage in the development of the Cherokee Establishment. Between 1967 and the fall of 1971, in addition to further institutionalizing itself, the Cherokee tribe greatly expanded its commitment to build new houses in Cherokee settlements, altered its methods of importing industrial employment into the Cherokee area, and tried to make it appear that tribal Cherokees had a voice in decisions made for them by the tribal government. Although new personnel were appointed, decision-making power remained concentrated among the chief and his appointed executive committee.

The newly hired general manager apparently tried to differentiate "the tribe" from the BIA. (As he tells it, the chief and executive committee were reluctant to approve particulars of his plan.) The finances and personnel of the Cherokee nation and the BIA were thoroughly intertwined in 1967. When, after nineteen years, the Cherokee nation finally opened an office where Cherokees could walk in and speak with representatives of the people who decided their tribal affairs, two of the five employees staffing it were BIA people who were paid with Cherokee tribal funds. The tribe's first general manager claims that,

The tribal office building was my idea. I thought the tribe had to have identity Keeler never could imagine the Cherokee tribe as anything but a legal fiction for the BIA to work through. When I wanted to rent a place in Tahlequah for a tribal office, the Chief really dragged his feet. Then, later, they thought about building a building to lease to the BIA. Keeler wanted simply to put a couple of extra rooms in that one to house tribal affairs. I refused to build that one. Eventually they built the BIA a building with no provisions for the tribe's office at all. Keeler turned down proposals for an office building for the tribe twice. He finally approved the idea the third time I submitted a set of plans (Jordon 1972b: 128).

At the time the general manager was hired, the Cherokee tribe had already started construction of a restaurant and an arts and crafts salesroom near its industrial site on the outskirts of Tahlequah. The general manager says, "This was a plan from the BIA. They said it would give Cherokees pride in their culture! The project was financed with tribal money, but the workers were being paid by the BIA with federal checks. The first thing I did was get some checks printed."

With an office near Cherokee settlements as a base of operations, the Cherokee nation staff began to push their housing programs *within Cherokee settlements*. Previously, Cherokees had been summoned to meetings held in county seats, where they were informed of programs

devised for their benefit; they were expected to come to BIA offices to submit their application. Now "the tribe" began to convene meetings in church houses at rural Cherokee settlements. If Cherokees responded through their usual tactic of passive resistance, sending a few young men to listen closely and later tell older men what they heard, the Cherokee nation staff spoke its piece (although usually without even *ad hoc* interpretation, and no "official" translation into Cherokee of the terms of a housing project has ever been attempted). Then the staff waited for word to get around and convened another meeting. They were persistent salesmen.

Housing program proposals were altered continuously, in a sequence that cannot be detailed here. Different projects were requested at different times, each with different building designs, different terms, and different contract regulations — until there were eighteen programs in all. This situation was thoroughly confusing, especially when Cherokees who did not understand that there was not one housing program but many attempted to compare notes. Meanwhile, the Cherokee Establishment was expanded by corporations attracted to Oklahoma by the prospect of housing contracts, the most active being the New York-based International Basic Economy Corporation (IBEC).

The Phillips Petroleum Company is keenly aware of the public relations benefits that accrue both to specific corporations and to the free enterprise system in general, when business helps American Indians (Phillips Petroleum Co. n.d.). The company's Special Cooperative Projects engineered "the tribe's" programs for developing jobs for Indians. The earlier programs involved creating a package of subsidies, such as those available through the Bureau of Indian Affairs On-the-Job Training Program, which might tempt employers to locate in the Cherokee area. The first taker was a Phillips subsidiary company. Soon, Special Projects changed its tactics; instead of trying to attract companies, it used available subsidies to attract contracts that the Cherokee nation could set up a factory to fulfill. Cherokee Nation Industries, Incorporated (CNI) was established in March 1969 to produce electronic components under a training grant from the Great Western Electric Company of Oklahoma City. As new contracts are brought in, CNI has expanded its facilities in Tahlequah and Stilwell. Although creation of CNI made it appear that Cherokees were shaping their own development, in reality Cherokee employment became increasingly contingent on the good will of Phillips Petroleum, with no assurances that its future resources or knowledge of past contracts would be available to future Cherokee chiefs and administrations.

The Cherokee Establishment was embarrassed when television networks featured poor tribal Cherokees in documentary films on poverty,

particularly when it was revealed that the affairs of these thousands of Cherokees were managed by a federally appointed chief and a committee of prominent citizens who qualified as Cherokee only through a legal technicality. Hearings on the Study of the Education of Indian Children, presided over by Senator Robert Kennedy in a Cherokee settlement in 1968, produced testimony highly critical of the tribe's "leadership" (Special Subcommittee on Indian Education 1968). Something had to be done about the obvious lack of articulation between the Cherokee Establishment and Cherokee settlements.

In addition to underwriting television specials of its own, the Cherokee Establishment responded to criticism by setting up a system of "democratically elected community representatives" to link Cherokee settlements to the tribal government, and by working—through the Department of the Interior and the Oklahoma Congressional delegation—toward the drafting of laws authorizing a Cherokee election (on terms it could accept).

A Cherokee-speaking community worker was assigned to organize the tribal Cherokee settlements. (In the vocabulary of the Cherokee Establishment, this employee was called a "Cherokee tribal field specialist" until 1971 and a "community development officer" thereafter; the tribal Cherokees were called "field traditional Cherokees" [Special Subcommittee on Indian Education 1968: 984].) At meetings that were usually held in Cherokee Indian Baptist church houses, residents of Cherokee settlements were encouraged to elect community representatives and assistants, who were then invited to meet as a body at the tribal offices. Although publicity statements about the community representatives emphasized their role as advisors to Cherokees' administrators, their main function was to serve as a pipeline through which tribal programs could be "explained" to residents of Cherokee settlements.

The community representatives had difficulty in understanding that they were intended to be powerless. After discussing the fact that their wishes and work were not being heeded by the tribe's directorate, they voted to draft their own bylaws and to define and clarify their own existence. In 1970 they were granted voting privileges within the Cherokee executive committee, whose meetings they are now allowed to attend. (Simultaneously, the tribal chief suggested that he might appoint vice-chiefs in each community, thereby moving to contain this brief rebellion by creating higher ranking community representatives under his personal control.)

Concurrent with the development of a system of community representatives, the Cherokee Establishment, together with its counterparts in other civilized tribes, set about obtaining legislation authorizing an election, on terms that would least upset the existing distribu-

tion of power. Five features in the resulting legislation were critical. First, at least some of the Five Tribes Chiefs would not consent to legislation that committed them to holding election. An Oklahoma congressman introduced a bill in 1969 authorizing each tribe to *select* its principal officer. The bill was revised to state that the principal chief be *popularly selected* (after the Department of the Interior had suggested that such officials should be *popularly elected*). Second, existing claims payment rolls were established as the official basis for voting lists, ensuring that the electorate would consist of legal Cherokees, not just tribal Cherokees. Third, the "officially recognized tribal spokesman and/or governing entity" was charged with writing the election rules and regulations, which were then to be subject to the approval of the secretary of the interior. Fourth, it was specifically stated that "Nothing in this Act shall prevent any such incumbent... as being selected as the principal chief." Fifth, the legislation bound tribes only to "popularly select" a principal chief, without stipulating the means of organizing, staffing, or operating the tribal government (Jordan 1972b).

In an election held on August 14, 1971, W. W. Keeler was popularly selected principal chief of the Cherokee nation by an overwhelming 7,495 votes out of 10,086 cast. Two features of the election were notable. Tribal Cherokees passively resisted the election by not registering to vote; and a remarkable amount of money and energy was spent by non-Indian businessmen on behalf of "their" candidate. In February 1971, businesses and organizations in eastern Oklahoma received letters stating, "First, let me say that I am not writing this letter in my official capacity as secretary-manager of the Tahlequah Chamber of Commerce. I am writing it as [personal name]." The letter continued, "it seems imperative to me that we, as residents of Northeastern Oklahoma Cherokee Country, both Indian and non-Indian alike, need to insist that Bill Keeler continue on as leader of the Cherokee Tribe...."

In similar style, the *Tahlequah Times* reported on May 6 that "Members of Citizens Concerned for Cherokee Leadership met with Keeler last Wednesday (April 28) and presented him with a petition urging him to run for re-election" (*Tahlequah Times* 1971). An officer of one of the largest banks in northeastern Oklahoma (himself a legal Cherokee) sent out personal letters in support of Keeler to customers who had heavy obligations to the bank (Jordan 1972b). And at the end of June, Green Country, Incorporated (the promotional group whose executive vice-president is supplied by Phillips Petroleum) staged a television ceremony at which Keeler, who was presented an award, was described as "a person who can talk business with one of the biggest oil executives in Australia one minute: meet with the President of the

United States the next minute: and eat and mingle with a fullblood Cherokee at Bull Hollow" (*Cherokee Nation News*, June 29, 1971). Keeler's victory was a victory for the Cherokee Establishment.

In these five years the Cherokee Establishment has come a long way from the legal fiction which once hid behind the BIA and had so little sense of its own autonomy that it didn't even have checks with its own name to its present position as *the* establishment of eastern Oklahoma.

With Keeler's election to a four-year term as principal chief, the development of the Cherokee Establishment has entered its fourth and latest stage. Now "the tribe" is *the* power in eastern Oklahoma. An official of the tribe said, "Before his election, the Chief was kind of cautious in his programs. He felt like he lacked a mandate. But now he feels like he is 'the choice of the people'. He has bold ideas, and pretty soon the tribe will be dealing with fifty to one hundred million dollars." The bold ideas have yet to be announced, nor is there yet any indication that there exists a coherent economic plan for the future, but there are already indications of the direction in which the Cherokee Establishment is moving. There will be a greater appearance of democracy, a greater concentration of power, and heavier pressure towards assimilation.

In October 1971, Keeler began to restructure the Cherokee tribal government. The executive committee was finally dissolved. Keeler announced that he would appoint a cabinet of Cherokees familiar with tribal programs to act in its stead, but this was to be provisional, for he intended the Cherokee tribe to be governed under new bylaws and a newly revised constitution. The new constitution will define the manner in which Cherokees will be represented by their tribal government, and, when it is ratified, presumably the old pattern of concentrating power by direct appointment of tribal officials will appear to be ended. In reality, continuity of power will be ensured, because all twenty-four members of the new Cherokee Constitutional Revision Committee, announced in February 1972, were appointed directly by the present chief. No timetable for writing the new constitution has been announced.

Cherokee officials and BIA personnel formerly indulged in rituals of mutual congratulation, but the tribe is now cool toward the bureau, especially at levels above that of the local area superintendent. When students demonstrated against conditions at Chilocco Indian Boarding school, Keeler accused the BIA of "not only permitting outside militants to come to Chilocco, but apparently . . . encouraging them." In a long article reprinted in the Cherokee tribal newspaper, Keeler declared that "the majority of Oklahoma Indians, and most of the older Indians in other areas, do not buy militant programs. On the other hand, it appears the Bureau of Indian Affairs goes out of its way

to back up militant groups" (*Cherokee Nation News*, January 25, 1972). Several Oklahoma informants believed that the falling out between the Cherokee nation and BIA occurred when "young Turks" (as they were often called in bureau newsletters) appointed to high BIA positions called for the compulsory rotation of area superintendents, a reform that would have jeopardized one of the key relationships underlying the Cherokee Establishment. Whatever the reasons, the Cherokee nation is now proposing to administer services formerly entrusted to the BIA. The tribe is especially interested in taking over the Sequoyah Indian School, a BIA boarding school outside Tahlequah that serves children from the Five Tribes.

In the year since the election of the Cherokee principal chief, the Cherokee Establishment seems to have intensified its efforts to establish a definition of the Cherokee that, racist in the extreme, glorifies assimilation. Public honors are heaped on individuals with traces of Cherokee blood who have distinguished themselves in American life, no matter how distant their connection with existing Indian settlements. In 1972, a recently deceased admiral, who "remains the highest ranking person of American Indian descent in United States military history," was named to the Cherokee Hall of Fame. By request of Chief Keeler the tribal newspaper is now publishing articles "covering persons of Cherokee Indian blood who have achieved in the various fields of entertainment, industry, the professions, the arts, etc." A two-part profile featured Anita Bryant—singer, beauty contestant, author, and outstanding example of love, faith and trust in Christ and her religion—whose father is French and whose mother is "Dutch, Scotch, Irish, English and of Cherokee descent." These are the models of success revered today by the Cherokee establishment.

What kind of society shall Cherokees live in? The Cherokee Establishment has never prepared an explicit statement of its philosophy nor described its vision for the future. No overall economic or cultural plan exists, nor any criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of development. The Cherokee Establishment acts extemporaneously, convinced that any development is *de facto* good for tribal Cherokees so long as it does not violate the unwritten laws governing the relationship of tribal Cherokees to America. This set of laws, embodied in monuments, symbols, the content of interaction, and pervasive social expectations, defines a relationship in which tribal Cherokees are expected to utilize "opportunities" offered by the tribe as a means of advancing themselves toward "first class citizenship."

The first such law is that what is done is done. Cherokees are expected to accept unprotestingly their station in society and to repeat this acceptance to themselves as a catechism. On the eve of a visit from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the community representatives

worried about the possibility of a demonstration, although they did not wish to say so except by indirection. A tribal Cherokee who is also a strong supporter of the present tribal government orated before the group. He told the story of a man who buried his tomahawk, but the winds blew and the lands eroded. In time the handle of the tomahawk cropped up, and he had to bury it deeper, again and again. The orator said that the mission of the Cherokees is to bury the past deeper and to work for now.

Next, and perhaps most crucial, Cherokees are expected to internalize American ideas about the importance of one's individual status. They are to work their way up the ladder according to the rules that govern American social and economic behavior, and to accept, as Americans have, the consequent disruption of settlement and family.

Cherokees are also expected to agree that, with hard work, they can overcome their "racial inferiority." The point is seldom presented this nakedly, but it is clearly to be seen in the compulsion of the Cherokee Establishment to reassure the public, as though there were reason to doubt, that "The fact that Indians have excellent, inherent manual dexterity, eye-hand coordination, and an appreciation for fine detail equips them to become outstanding employees in a wide variety of occupations" (Phillips Petroleum Company n.d.). This point is over and over repeated to Cherokees.

Finally, Cherokees must subscribe to a monumentalization of their lives. Just as the Cherokee village and pageant reinterpret Cherokee history, making it appear that Cherokees improved on their savage situation by embracing the American ideals of education and toil, a Cherokee who is lucky enough to find work at Cherokee Nation Industries, thus bringing a paycheck home to his or her family, must also expect that his efforts will be on public display as living testimony to the progress that minorities can make under the American system of free enterprise.

While the Cherokee Establishment has been expanded considerably in size, power, and status, it has delivered to tribal Cherokee settlements principally houses and a few jobs. New houses are conspicuous everywhere. There is no doubting that the greatest part of the housing programed by the Cherokee Tribal Housing Authority is actually inhabited by tribal Cherokees. The complexity of the terms under which the houses have been acquired is staggering. By June 1972, 28 separate housing projects had been approved — each with its own set of terms involving from 10 to 150 housing units, for a total of 1,646. At this time 309 units were completed and occupied, 198 were partially completed, 588 were under construction — and the paperwork preceding construction was in process for an additional 551 units (*Cherokee Nation News* June 27, 1972).

The Cherokees who are acquiring houses (1,407 of them) through the twenty-one tribally sponsored mutual-help projects commit themselves to a twenty-year-long relationship with a federal-tribal bureaucracy. Although the Cherokee Nation Housing Authority (CNHA) never phrases the matter this way, tribal Cherokees realistically perceive the program in terms of their potential obligations within a new relationship. To acquire a house, an eligible Cherokee must provide an acre of land. The CNHA states that "How the participants acquire the acre is of no consequence to us, as long as it is clear of any encumbrances and is transferable to the Housing Authority." In practice, if the participant owns restricted land, he applies to the BIA to have restrictions removed from an acre, then deeds his land to the Housing Authority until such time as the house is paid for. On approval of these arrangements, the participant and the CNHA enter into a contract. The participant and/or any adult member(s) of his household make a "down payment" by working for 500 hours fabricating house panels in the factories of builders contracted by the CNHA. The labor is evaluated at \$2.50 per hour, and the value of the down payment is calculated at \$1,250. The down payment fulfilled, builders contracted by the CNHA then erect a prefabricated house on the participant's acre. For twenty years, the participant makes monthly payments that in no case are to exceed 20 percent of his monthly income, however little that may be, plus insurance and administrative fees. The rest of the cost of the house is provided by a subsidy supplied to the CNHA by the Indian Housing Authority of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. At the end of twenty years, the participant receives title to the house and land.

Through the CHNA mutual help program, a Cherokee can acquire a home that he would otherwise be entirely unable to purchase, but the principal beneficiaries of the program are the predominantly white contractors, suppliers, and subcontractors with whom CNHA does business. The 28 housing projects so far approved represent an expenditure of \$27,768,401 pumped into an impoverished economy. The Cherokee's first general manager estimated that contractors are making a profit of \$1,000 per house. Housing the Cherokees is big business.

A Cherokee friend recently greeted me by saying, "There's nothing new around here but the election and the houses." The houses are a divisive issue and a focus for Cherokee anxiety. Cherokees are certainly attracted by the prospect of better and cheaper homes, but their introduction to the program scared them. To begin with, it involved signing papers written in English — an act that for centuries has been the prelude to disaster. Cherokees said they had difficulty understanding the complex English in which the staff explained the program, and

there was no careful "authorized" translation of the terms of the program into Cherokee. Cherokees sensed that they were being given the hard sell, and they worried about it. People wanted to know what would happen if they couldn't keep up payments. What would happen if a man paid on his house for fifteen years and then died? Most of all, they worried that a person could lose not just his equity, but his land — and his children's land. The suspicion that in accepting a house, a man might be jeopardizing the land of his children and his children's children, was agonizing.

Seven years later, this agony has been neither recognized nor responded to. The same questions are asked, and go unanswered, today. People who do not have new houses are uncertain and anxious about the contracts, as are many people who now occupy new homes. The ambivalence is overwhelming.

Some residents of Cherokee settlements ask about taxes. They realize that until the house is "paid out," neither house nor land is taxable. By then, twenty years hence, land values will have greatly appreciated. At that point they will be handed their titles and become taxpayers. How will they earn money for taxes? Or can their lands be rerestricted? Other Cherokees insist that when they receive title to their house and one acre, they will be "living on their own land." This will mean, they say, that by definition they will not be living on the remainder of their holding of restricted land. To not live on restricted land, they say, causes the land automatically to be unrestricted, alienable, and taxable. In view of the amount of Cherokee land that has been lost by fraudulently adding it to county tax rolls and then selling it for nonpayment of taxes, these questions are crucial.

In addition to the overall tendency of the Cherokee Establishment to decide for tribal Cherokees what is good for them, there are two reasons why after seven years the deepest concerns of the tribal Cherokees are still unanswered by the CNHA. The first is that the CNHA is directed by legal Cherokees who are openly contemptuous of tribal Cherokees. The second is that CNHA is big business. Its personnel have been so busy promoting and selling houses that are self-evidently good for clients that they have not taken the time to deal with what seem to them distant and irrelevant questions. A very light-skinned and urbane Cherokee university graduate, who recently conducted interviews with Cherokee tribal officials, found that they related to her as being a fellow member of the legal Cherokee elite. Her interview with one prominent official of the CNHA was interrupted by a telephone call; concluding a lengthy conversation, he shook his head in exasperation, slammed down the phone, and said in a tone of voice that assumed the interviewer's empathy, "Damned little full-blood. Sometimes you just can't get a thing through to her."

When the interviewer asked for an explanation of the circumstances under which a CNHA house would be taxable once the owner received title, the official first maintained that the "tribe," not the CNHA, was at fault for the failure to explain these matters. He then said that before an Indian could lose his land, he would have to "go through the BIA" and "the BIA would not let that happen."

"You see," he said, "the Indians use the tribe as a mother hen. It's one of their characteristics. So whenever they get in trouble, they run to the tribe. This is probably what would happen if they got in trouble with taxes, and the tribe would work it out with the BIA." Nor was this official alone in his views. His assistant, too, in a separate interview, explained that the CNHA and the tribal government "were like a mother to the Indians," taking care of everything for them from building them a house to finding them a job.

If "the tribe" is a mother, she is a most negligent one. It would appear that "the tribe," the CNHA and the BIA are more than happy to assist a Cherokee in removing restrictions on his land, as necessary for participation in a CNHA program — but none of these agencies accepts the responsibility for preserving the restrictions on that Cherokee's remaining land, or for rerestricting his one acre after he has received title from CNHA. The Tahlequah Agency of the BIA states that,

The present procedure that we use for people who live on restricted land who want to participate in the mutual-help housing program is to issue a removal of restrictions on the one acre

This question came up quite a bit when this program was new whether or not they could put this acre back in trust status after the Housing Authority deeded it back to them, but we can find no authority under which this can be done. At the present time we are telling people that when the restrictions are removed in order for them to participate in the mutual-help program that the land will remain unrestricted. This would also apply to homestead allotments (Wahrhaftig 1972).

When interviewed, a prominent official of the CNHA said that all of a Cherokee's land must be removed from restriction in order to do anything with part of it. In order to deed one acre to the CNHA, all of the land must be unrestricted. He repeated the grafter's classic allegation, that most of the Cherokees who do have their land in trust are glad to get it away from the BIA anyway, because then they can do what they want with it. In response to a written request for clarification of this issue, the same official explained that "if a person has a number of acres from which restrictions were removed in order to secure the acre for the house site, the property, other than the one acre house site is taxable. There is a way for them to place the unrestricted land in trust to the Cherokee tribe, thereby making the land nontaxable once

more. Many Indian people do not understand this procedure and consequently must pay taxes or lose the property at tax sales."

In the case of the CNHA's contractors, the abdication of this responsibility is total. When an official of IBEC was asked at a "kick-off meeting" for a mutual-help housing project whether a Cherokee owner would have to pay property tax after receiving title to his house, he answered disparagingly, "That's twenty years from now." Reminded by the interviewer that twenty years is not such a long period of time, he said, "I won't hang myself from my thumbs over it."

A graduate of the management department of a university who has had considerable experience in residential contracting analyzed the CNHA's Mutual-Help and Occupancy Agreement and reported that "the Cherokee when entering into a contract with the Housing Authority does so only on a great deal of faith, for there are few avenues of recourse if difficulty arises." A point-by-point analysis of the contract convinced him that "the contract is designed not to help and protect the Cherokee, but to help and protect the Housing Authority." In addition to objectionable features in various of the specific articles of agreement, he finds,

... the lack of any statement which verifies that the house will be paid for in twenty years if the terms and conditions of the contract are met. Despite the personal assurances of [CNHA administrators] there is no clause which guarantees the ownership of the house and property after twenty years. The participant does sign a lease in which he agrees to lease his land and house from the Authority for twenty years, but nowhere in that lease or in the contract is there a guarantee or even hint of ownership in twenty years" (Paquin n.d.).

The houses, imposed from the top down as they have been, are a divisive force in Cherokee settlements. The Cherokees of modern times have evaded the factionalism that plagues so many Indian reservation communities. When faced with a matter that threatens to polarize them into one group that favors white ways and another group that rejects them, Cherokees simply withdraw from the whole issue. There has been no possibility of withdrawing from and avoiding the issue of houses. This program, unlike all others, has been brought right into the center of Cherokee settlements and "sold" persistently, over several years, from the pulpit of neighborhood churches. The three choices—accept, reject, or evade—that Cherokees have preserved for so long have been narrowed in this case to a fatal two—accept a house or reject it. On the basis of their acceptance or rejection of a house (and the twenty years of supervision by federal and tribal authorities, who can legally impose their standards of cleanliness and home maintenance on Cherokee clients) Cherokees are beginning to brand one another.

Further, there is a marked division of labor by sex within the Cherokee settlement. Women manage affairs within the household. Men determine the relation of the household to the world without. The issue of new housing invades a "gray area" between these jurisdictions, creating a new pressure on Cherokee male-female relations. Women apparently consider the acquisition of the new houses to be one of the workaday matters over which normally they have exclusive jurisdiction. Every Cherokee woman who talked with us about the new housing used the words "my house," never once "our house." Frequently, as a woman spoke glowingly of the house she would have, the man turned away and gazed silently at the corner. We found households—without knowing how common they might be—where the man was the breadwinner and the woman was the house earner. One family daily cared for two sets of grandchildren, whose fathers were earning wages while their mothers worked out their 500 hours at the housing factory.

Although women want the new houses and move to acquire them, the men, in their traditional role as bearers of the responsibility for looking beyond the affairs of the household, worried about taxes, and land, and the historical consequences of signing semiunderstood documents. An older man, asked what he thought about the situation, replied, "Most of the men know what's this house and what's happen after you take this house, but the women don't. All they think about is pretty house, big house. They don't think about what will happen after years."

This man's wife is fully convinced that he has already signed up for her house. She showed us where it is going to be. When his wife couldn't hear the conversation, he continued, "I think about this house [his present one], all I need is put a big room in front, and bathroom, and [running] water. That's all I need. I won't be owing nobody much. If I do owe, I'll be able to get out [of debt], come out some time."

Even after seven years, tribal Cherokees perceive the houses as a white man's program for Indians. One family, asked where they had applied for their house, they said they went to "that brick building next to Sequoyah school" (the palatial Cherokee nation's office). When asked to whom they made payments, a spokesman said, with a sort of a chuckle, "some rich man." When asked who that might be, he replied, "Rockefeller." Because Cherokees see the housing projects as something pressed on them by whites, it follows that the necessity to accept or reject a house—with no possibility of simply withdrawing and avoiding the decision—forces Cherokees to declare themselves unequivocally as white-following or white-rejecting. Divisiveness that has long been successfully avoided is now beginning to surface in Cherokee settlements. People who are convinced that they are doing the right

thing by accepting a house write off their Cherokee critics as "crossed-up people." Those who eschew a house, fearing loss of land and the connection to white authority, feel that they are resisting the temptations spoken of in Cherokee prophecy, and that those who accept houses are the Cherokees who are going to be "lost" — seduced away from the tribal fold. One man explained that the prophecies say that legal Cherokees ("they're Cherokee who won't be no Cherokee, but they'll say 'I'm Cherokee'") will collaborate with "the rich people," "And they're gone to grab the land. They're gone to stop this everything what belongs to the Indian, to Cherokees . . . They're going to take *everything* . . ."

And [the prophecies] just talk about this building, too, this new house. They didn't say "new house." They said they gone to give something good that the Cherokees think is good. They gone to see a pretty. They gone to believe that's what they want. That's what the Cherokees gone to say, [the prophecies] said. They gone to say "We got everything what we need. We got what we want." That's what [the prophecies] say the Cherokees gone to say. They gone to all agree, most of the Cherokees. Gone to agree to that. Go for it. But it's not going to do any good for the Cherokee. It's going to be belong to devil, this thing. That's what they said. [The informant laughed ironically.] Everybody's getting new house!!!

When tribal Cherokees are asked what they need most, the answer is not "houses" but "more jobs." They are grindingly poor and jobs are a clear and unarguable necessity. Cherokees must scabble for whatever is available in the way of employment. But their quiet desperation does not prevent them from being aware that their money is used to stimulate jobs for them without their knowledge or their control, that the jobs created are of the lowest order — often seasonal and degrading and brainlessly monotonous — and that such jobs exist because employers have been promised cheap and docile labor. As Cherokees see it, white people force Cherokees to work for Cherokee money, keeping the profits for themselves. The tribe's own Cherokee Nation Industries (CNI) is viewed no differently, for it perpetuates the low wages prevailing in the local economy and messianically imposes the white man's enthusiasm for property ownership, while disregarding traditional Cherokee work patterns.

It is impossible to say how many Cherokees receive jobs from the tribe's efforts to stimulate employment. G. E. Durham of Phillips Petroleum said, of the Phillips plastic plant at Pryor, "It's predominately Indian and God they've been real happy with them. They are real good employees." Sensitive to criticism that Indians are hired only in menial positions, he added, "Here's some good names for you: Tony Mouse and David Standingwater. They are supervisors at the plant"

(Personal communication). Yet, when asked how many of the plant's employees are Cherokee, Durham insisted that it is difficult to maintain statistics because of federal civil rights laws that forbid specifying race on job applications. Statistics may further obscure the situation, because legal Cherokees are included. Tribal Cherokees are tolerant, but they can reach the flash point when jobs that they regard as theirs are given to white men who are "technically" classified as Cherokees. These projects have been financed with Cherokee money — with the compensation extended for stolen Cherokee homeland. Hence, the bitterness of tribal Cherokees who see these jobs and moneys passing into the hands of whites is understandable. When the Cherokee tribal offices were being built, a contractor arrived with laborers recruited in the city of Muskogee, who had claimed to be Cherokees. Tribal Cherokees working on the job armed themselves with pick handles, refused to let the new workers get off their truck, and stayed away from work for a day to underscore their point. They said that, having already stolen the land and everything worth much, white men were now after the crumbs left for Cherokees.

The Cherokee Cultural Center was the first example of what tribal Cherokees are getting for their money. Through the efforts of the Cherokee tribe, the Cherokee National Historical Society, and the state of Oklahoma, nearly two million dollars were programed for development for the first phase of the center's operations. It is estimated that the amount of business drawn into eastern Oklahoma by the center will soon reach fifteen million dollars per year. In return for the investment tribal Cherokees receive work as laborers on the crews that built and maintain the complex, plus employment during the five months that the complex is open to tourists. No figures for the number of Cherokees employed by the village have been released; fifty would be a high guess. The drama hires 85 persons, 78 of whom are Oklahoma residents. Sixty-five percent of the cast and staff have "some Indian blood" and 47 percent were "of Cherokee descent," but it is widely known by local college students that when it comes to getting jobs at the drama, "everybody is a Cherokee."

Employment at the Cherokee Cultural Center re-creates and perpetuates the caste-structured society in which Cherokees are imprisoned. Dark-skinned, "Indian-looking," Cherokee-speaking people are hired as "villagers" for minimum wages. Younger, better educated, English-speaking, but Indian-looking people are hired at slightly higher wages as "guides," to direct tourists among the villagers. College students with legal claims to being Cherokee are hired at still higher wages as pageant actors, and the members of the old legally Cherokee elite fill managerial positions. Tribal Cherokees are in no position to decline employment at the center, but they bitterly resent

working as a source of amusement for white tourists. They call the village "the monkey house." The director of the Cookson Hills Community Action Program reported that a Cherokee mother came to him to ask him to find her son a job "where he could learn something." She did not want him out in the village "playing Indian." A Cherokee listening to this conversation commented, "If they come from Sequoyah [the local BIA Indian boarding school] they're encouraged to be dumb, so they'll do fine working there at \$1.60 an hour."

The basic economic pattern is repeated in other job-producing enterprises encouraged by the Cherokee tribe before the creation of CNI. Costs of establishing industry are high, returns to the general economy of the region are significant, and the benefits in terms of jobs for Cherokee are small.

For example, a South Carolina manufacturer negotiated with the tribe. A former Cherokee official reported that "his plant was run down, and he was faced with the cost of building a new one. Out here there are old buildings he could stick a factory into. He didn't need to put in any paved parking lot, or worry about unions, or fringe benefits, and he could get money at a full percent less interest. He said by coming out here, he could gain twenty years."

In a similar vein, the plant manager of Phillips Petroleum's factory at Pryor said,

We hire Indians here because of Mr. Keeler's interest in them, but also because it makes good economic sense. Your minority people, they aren't so transient. There are a lot of Indians living in this area with their families and all, and you know they aren't going to pick up and leave. I mean, if you train up a group of them, they aren't likely to go running off to a place like Chicago hunting a better-paying job with the skills you've given them. We hire a lot of Indians here because we have the kind of jobs they qualify for because of their lack of education. Now if we had a lot of jobs paying \$4.00 or so an hour, you'd see our ration of Indians to white workers flop right on over" (Collier 1970: 40).

In the summer of 1970, there were 60 employees at the Phillips plant, 40 of whom were to some degree Indians. Three quarters of these were referred by the BIA, which for the first six to eighteen months of employment reimbursed Phillips for 50 percent of their salaries (Collier, personal communication). The Cherokee and Creek tribes jointly made a loan to Stephens Manufacturing Company which permitted it to expand its facilities for the production of school heating and ventilating systems. The Cherokees' \$60,000 loan at the minimum prime rate of interest resulted in twelve jobs for Cherokees in 1969. The tribe's purchase of \$150,000 worth of bonds for Glassmasters Plastics in Grove, Oklahoma, resulted in the employment of fourteen

Cherokees (eleven of whom initially were subsidized by BIA on-the-job training programs), plus fifteen non-Indians.

With the creation of Cherokee Nation Industries, Incorporated in March 1969, the Cherokees formed an industry of their own. At present, CNI operates factories in Stilwell and Tahlequah, manufacturing electronic components for Western Electric and tailoring carpets for airliners. Seemingly independent, CNI actually represents a merger of the interests of the local establishment and of the Cherokee directorate. Its board of directors includes representatives of the region's largest banks, Phillips Petroleum, and the tribal government. The industry is dependent on contracts negotiated at higher levels of the corporate world by an executive of Phillips' Special Cooperative Projects division. CNI presently has no competitive product and no sales force and, in all probability, no means of surviving if Phillips Petroleum were to terminate its support.

When asked what makes CNI competitive when bidding on contracts, especially when Economic Baseline Reports for Adair County predicted conditions unfavorable to industrialization, the chairman of the CNI board of directors replied, "our performance record." Western Electric has found that work in the Cherokee nation is some 40 percent better in quality and in quantity than work performed in its own plants in Oklahoma City and elsewhere. Yet the Cherokees *had* no production record when their contract with Western Electric was negotiated.

Beneath an attractive-looking series of incentives, CNI perpetuates the region's usual employment practices. Workers are eligible for a 10¢ an hour incentive wage increase if they exceed production quotas, and there is an elaborate plan whereby stock is awarded to employees who complete a year's employment. Nevertheless, CNI policy is to "try to stay just a little above the prevailing wage." In the winter of 1972, workers at CNI's carpet-cutting plant were starting at \$1.65 and receiving raises of five cents every 60 to 90 days, until they reached \$2.15 an hour. Wages in the electronic assembly plant are comparable. There, a high proportion of employees are women and/or part-time workers; all workers must expect layoffs because of recessions in the electronics industry.

Although a Cherokee-run industry might take advantage of traditional Cherokee work habits, CNI disregards them entirely. An anti-nepotism rule forbids employment of more than one member of any family, thereby spreading job opportunities but also making it impossible for fathers, sons, and brothers or mothers, daughters, and sisters to work as teams. The regimentation imposed by a management that is dedicated to "instilling good work habits" conflicts with Cherokee

expectations of noninterference and sensitive cuing as the basic form of interaction when working together.

A young woman, sitting with her husband, told about her work at CNI. She said, "I worked one year at CNI and quit. I only missed one-half day in one whole year." She didn't want to say why she had quit, but when pressed did so.

The woman: "They got a new boss that thought he was real big. He thought he knew my job better than me. He thought he knew what I should do. He tried to tell me what to do. I knew what to do..."

Her husband: "Quit."

The woman: "Yeah, quit" (Wahrhaftig 1972).

The Cherokee nation is the scene of a one-sided battle over the shape of the Cherokees' future. On one side is the Cherokee Establishment, backed by heavy political and financial commitments from federal bureaucracies. It moves toward centralizing power, toward expanding towns into cities filled with industries and blue collar Cherokee populations, toward emptying the forests of farmers and transforming them into profitable vacationlands. The establishment insists that funds for the aid of Cherokees be expanded in projects that are tangible and showy, that attract a "good press" and can stand as monuments to responsible leadership and minority advancement. Its emphasis is on further development of a unitary society, in which each person has equal opportunity to make something of himself, so long as he compliantly starts from his existing position in the local caste structure.

Working in opposition to this current are occasional groups and persons with a different vision of appropriate development for the region. They suspect that one of the strengths of the region may turn out to be its inability to support industry and concentrations of workers, and that this limitation may eventually stimulate small communities, whatever their ethnicity, to support themselves through diversity of economic specialties. A society that is decentralized and culturally plural is intolerable to the Cherokee Establishment, for it implies that Cherokee settlements are viable and that tribal Cherokees now, without further leadership and grooming, are competent to make decisions for themselves. Whenever proponents of the autonomy and viability of small communities emerge, the Cherokee Establishment moves to neutralize their effects by discrediting them, buying them off, or coopting them.

The Cherokee Establishment will not countenance development that recognizes the economic potential and cultural permanence of Cherokee settlements, even when that development is entirely under its control. The Cherokee nation's first general manager, Ralph Keen,

was devoted to the philosophy of modest development of existing Cherokee settlements. He says,

This is a poor area and transportation costs are enormously high. It has been proven time and time again that it can't support industry. If you are going to develop it, you must capitalize on what it does have. There are two alternatives. Reliance on such agriculture as there is — chickens and cattle — or reliance on industry for which there is a permanent local demand — food processing. Setting up chicken houses is not hard at all, but you can tie up a lot of money and still only provide two or three jobs. A herd of cattle can easily tie up \$100,000 and only provide a very few jobs. Still, development here is going to have to be in terms of small and scattered projects. You just can't provide hundreds of jobs in one place. The tribe wants big, showy projects, but it won't work. They aren't economically viable (Ralph Keen, personal communication).

Keen claims credit for developing the tribe's system of community representatives. He saw these representatives not just as a link between tribal planners and rural Cherokee settlement-dwellers, but as the nuclei of community action programs based in the settlements. When he was manager, he says, the tribal government offered up to \$1,000 to any Cherokee settlement that wished to build or renovate a community building. Two accepted. The tribal government was always on the look-out for projects initiated by individual settlements and never turned one down. Keen says that he originally thought the development of adequate integration between Cherokee settlements and the existing tribal government would have to evolve in three steps. The first step was to encourage the settlements to elect representatives. He was certain, he says, that initially no settlement would elect either a militant or one of the older traditional opinion makers, but would choose "the safe person" who would go to meetings and report what he had heard. Keen went around from settlement to settlement pounding on doors. Settlements held meetings often with no more than fifteen people present, and always elected "the safe man." During the term of the first elected representatives, Keen hoped that people would realize that this could be a complex and important job, "one that demands alert and educated people." He suspected a different kind of person would be elected to represent settlements in subsequent annual elections.

Keen's proposals assumed the viability of Cherokee settlements, the legitimacy and the viability of the Cherokee government he had entered, and the eventual correlation of the interests of settlement Cherokees and that government. After a year and a half, however, the principal chief asked for Keen's resignation. Nothing remains of his plans for buttressing Cherokee settlements. There have never been

new elections, and community representatives have become self-perpetuating, like the executive committee. The "safe men" who were chosen by ten or fifteen of their fellows carry on, filling vacancies by appointment of *ad hoc* arrangement. No longer does the tribe stimulate projects in individual settlements. Instead, discussions among community representatives are directed toward consideration of tribe-wide programs planned at the top of the Cherokee-BIA hierarchy.

While the Cherokee Establishment proceeded with its arrangements for industrial employment in town factories, another organization, Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity (OIO), attempted to stimulate self-sufficiency in existing Cherokee settlements. Instead of considering the activities of OIO as a useful complement to its activities, the Cherokee Establishment has dealt with it as a rival. In a request for funding, OIO stated the premises for its rural development program in Cherokee country:

... if Indian communities are to survive in the non-reservation atmosphere of Oklahoma, then Indian people must have the opportunity to gain control of the economic situations that most vitally affect their daily existence. That is, they must have the opportunity to work in a business owned by themselves or by other Indians: they must be able to buy the goods they need in stores owned by Indians if they so choose: they ought to be able to borrow from an institution controlled by other Indian people... they ought to be able to live together, to preserve what they think is worth preserving, to discard what is not: they ought to be able to live in any way they please. But there must be an economic base for such freedom, and really one cannot talk about freedom to be different in our society unless one recognizes the need for the economic security of minority groups (Harvard Business School 1970a: 7).

OIO appears to have had modest success with programs developed along these premises. For example, the Lost City Cooperative Marketing Association supplies Cherokees in four counties with feeder pigs — young hogs that are fattened until they reach two months or 40 pounds: then the cooperative collects the hogs and ships them to grain-growing areas, where they can be sold for further fattening (Harvard Business School 1970b). As the Cherokee Establishment becomes an increasingly potent force in the local economy, it becomes less probable that these modest and rural-based projects can survive without its collaboration. One strongly suggests that the Cherokee Establishment is inclined to withhold support and to allow potentially beneficial projects sponsored by its rivals to fail.

The Miami Brick and Stone Corporation of Sequoyah County, a small business started by a former OIO field staff coordinator and a local landowner, received a direct loan from OIO and a loan of \$53,000 guaranteed by the Small Business Association. There are Cherokee-speakers on Miami Brick's board of directors, and the plant

provides employment for members of Cherokee settlements north of Marble City. Miami's management expanded the plant because the CNHA was about to begin constructing brick houses and it alleges that all four CNHA contractors (AZTEC, IBEC, Southern Construction, and Allen Construction) promised to buy Miami Brick providing the CNHA so directed. The company was confident of such a recommendation, because Section 3 of the Housing and Development Act requires that

... interagency cooperation with the Small Business Administration to award to locally owned and operated businesses contracts for work to be performed, including but not limited to planning, construction, and maintenance. The Indian housing authority should take the initiative in requiring preferential employment for Indians.... The area Director may also waive the competitive bidding and advertising requirements where such action is the only way of achieving the employment, training, and economic benefit objectives of the Indian housing authority. Such action might be necessary to actively support a fledgling Indian contractor (Indian Legal Information Development Services 1971: 21-22).

Although the management of Miami Brick insists that test results certify that its brick meets all applicable FHA and HUD standards and that these results were delivered to all contractors, CNHA refused to recommend the brick. Miami Brick was told to deal directly with the contractors, who then said that the brick did not meet FHA specifications. The company, denied the anticipated tribal market, fell heavily into debt. It then asked the Cherokee nation to buy a half interest in its operations, in the hope of preserving the jobs of local employees. As of February 1972, the managers of Miami Brick were pessimistic about future prospects. Although they said that Chief Keeler had formally directed the CNHA to work toward an agreement with their company, they also felt that local tribal officials have a long-standing hostility and suspicion toward OIO projects and would drag their feet until Miami's loans were no longer negotiable. They bitterly believed that CNHA's reluctance to do business with them was robbing Cherokees of jobs and profits that were delivered to white contractors.

On the rare occasions when they get a chance, Cherokees express their opinion of these recent developments. They clearly do not feel that the Cherokee tribal government is their government. They do feel that it ought to be. There is no doubt that they think that they ought to be running their own affairs in their own way. They are beginning to demand recognition.

A year ago, for example, federal investigators held hearings on the Adair County Community Action Program. Ordinarily only a few Cherokees come to silently observe such proceedings, which are reported back to consensus makers in their settlements. This time a

crowd of three hundred Cherokees showed up at the Adair County courthouse. The proceedings which were, as usual, conducted in English, were soon interrupted when a spokesman for a Cherokee settlement in southern Adair County took the floor. In an action that was recklessly aggressive (particularly by Cherokee standards of behavior), he declared that he had been given to understand that the meeting had been called to listen to Cherokees. He is a Cherokee, he said, and Cherokees speak Cherokee. They also expect to listen to Cherokee. He finished his statement in Cherokee. County officials, having failed to provide an interpreter for the benefit of non-English-speaking Cherokees, had to scramble to find an interpreter for the benefit of the investigating officials. This, then, like Cherokee participation in a welfare rights organization founded that year, was an act in open defiance of the white power structure. From the perspective of the white civil rights movement, such acts might seem to be token or even symbolic. It must be remembered, however, that when Cherokees had their nation taken away from them, their reaction was covert consistently and underground. Open and public actions, to them, bespeak reckless fury.

Cherokees are beginning to talk back through the system of community representatives. Although community representatives were installed in order that "the tribe" might communicate its wishes to Cherokee settlements, members of some Cherokee settlements are pressuring their representatives to "go to Tahlequah and speak up." Cherokee settlements have occasionally sent along extra observers, to make sure that their representatives say what they want said.

As a body, community representatives have spoken out against a number of "giveaways" proposed by tribal officials. Because the city of Stilwell wants a new airport, tribal officials included one in plans for an industrial site to be developed near the Cherokee settlement at Cherry Tree. Community representatives argued that the tribal government had already given the city of Stilwell a whole lake from which it draws its water supply. They could see no reason to give Stilwell white people an airport, too. An airport is something for rich people. No Cherokee is going to be able to make use of it, many Cherokees will suffer the nuisance of it, and the land ought to be devoted to something Cherokees can use.

Bearing in mind that Cherokees habitually refrain from public displays of hostility, preferring instead to express disapproval and displeasure by silent withdrawal, the events that are taking place in recent meetings of Cherokee community representatives are startling. In their open criticism of the actions of tribal officials, Cherokees are now reacting with behaviors that are traditionally tolerated only among warriors in battle. At a meeting of community representatives called

on February 3, for example, representatives of the Cherokee Establishment made an appearance to report on their travels to various meetings outside Oklahoma. After a longwinded description of a trip taken to discuss the reservation area program with the commissioner of Indian affairs, a special presidential assistant, and three Oklahoma congressional representatives, the community representatives pointedly interrupted to redirect the meeting to their own concerns. They began to discuss the Cherokee Constitutional Revision Committee, and were angered to discover that the committee had been single-handedly appointed by the chief. A representative rose to say that the people who should have been on that committee are the ones who know the most about everyday Indian life; they should be mostly from the counties that have large concentrations of tribal Cherokees, but his county has almost no representation. He said he is tired of things like that. "Maybe we should secede from the Cherokee Nation and make up our own district. Then we could demand equal representation. I won't accept this constitution unless I have a part in it." After further discussion, another representative commented, "Sometimes we let our respect for Keeler's helping us stand in the way of what is good."

Following this discussion, another representative brought forward a newspaper article and demanded that it be read. The article said that the general consul of the Cherokee nation had appointed a committee of thirty-five Cherokees to protest the construction of a dam being built in Tennessee that will flood the site of Sequoyah's birth. The representative argued hotly that once again he had read in the paper about what Cherokees were doing, having no voice in the matter himself. He asked by what authority the Cherokees' lawyer could go around doing things like this without the Cherokee people having any opportunity to have their say.

The representatives then passed a motion demanding that all Cherokee business be presented to them before action is taken by boards appointed by the chief, the general consul, or other officials. They decided to send a letter to appropriate bodies and individuals, informing them of the decision.

Toward the end of the evening, a representative who had not said a word during the meeting asked for the floor. Speaking in Cherokee, he said that things had been deleted from the minutes of the last meeting, among them a discussion of discrimination against Cherokees in employment, and a discussion between contractors and the community representatives concerning CNHA housing. He insisted that these discussions be restored, and he demanded a report on how many Cherokees are actually being employed by contractors building CNHA housing.

The behavior of Cherokee community representatives demonstrates

that Cherokees have not internalized their own powerlessness. They are a self-confident people who assume that if the white man were not "keeping them down" they would certainly be a well-educated and self-governing community. Recruited as window dressing, community representatives are reaching for the reins of government, believing it only natural that the authority of the Cherokee settlement has belatedly been recognized. Similarly, Murray Wax and his colleagues, who asked Cherokee parents how much schooling they would like their children to obtain, found that about half wanted the children to finish college. Wax (1971: 115) says, "For a people so impoverished, whose children experience such difficulties in the school system, this pattern of responses is phenomenal. At the present time, few of the children endure throughout the high school trials, and almost no one completes college. The hope for education is almost religious." It seems to me that tribal Cherokees believe that they, the so-called "full bloods," developed and ran the Cherokee nation in the past and that they can and will do so again. That is what power and education are for, as they see it.

At present Cherokees have neither power nor education nor much wealth. What they do have are strong, resilient, and intact communities, and a vivid sense of the kind of cultural and economic redevelopment they expect to attain. Cherokee settlements—socially cohesive, and rich in traditional motivations—are entities that could rapidly develop economically now as they did in the past. Yet Cherokee settlements cannot develop along these lines without jeopardizing the Cherokee Establishment's exploitation of Cherokee labor and the Cherokee presence. Until recently, the expansion of the Cherokee Establishment has been benign. Its further expansion will be against the grain of dogged resistance from Cherokee settlements, which are formulating independent views of development that do not include their own use as a natural resource. It looks as though the next chapter of Cherokee history will be grim.

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Dressing for the Window: Papago Indians and Economic Development

HENRY F. MANUEL, JULIANN RAMON, and
BERNARD L. FONTANA

The trouble is that Indians who get into big tribal jobs or tribal politics don't even talk to you anymore. You go to Sells [the tribal capital] and see them driving around in tribal cars or government cars with their noses stuck up. But what's sad is that the white men are really running things. These Indian people think they're important, but they're really not. To the whites they're just dressing for the window.
 (Papago Indian discussing tribal government in 1972)

INTRODUCTION

The saguaro cactus of southern Arizona is much more famous than are the humans whose ancestors inhabited this region in ancient times. Yet, like the saguaro, the unassuming and unpretentious citizens who today are known collectively to outsiders as the Papago Indians have also been influenced by the region's physical environment, and an understanding of their present situation requires familiarity with that environment as well as a knowledge of the past 250 years of their history.

The following report is the result of a study commissioned by the Economic Development Administration through a grant to the Center for the Study of Man, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. The concern of the EDA was with economic development on Indian reservations. To quote the introduction to the grant proposal: "Need has been expressed by EDA offices concerned with Indian reservation development projects for a research study to analyze components of different systems of production and distribution on the reservations. Traditional tribal organizations of production, distribution, and management of resources differ significantly from those of the white community. This study will consist of a comparative examination of the various organizational and value

ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES

Ward H. Goodenough, *editor*

5

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHEROKEE POPULATION OF EASTERN OKLAHOMA

Report of a survey of four Cherokee settlements
in the Cherokee Nation

Albert L. Wahrhaftig

American Anthropological Association

Washington, D.C.

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INTRODUCTION

This report presents basic information on socioeconomic conditions of country Cherokee settlements in northeastern Oklahoma. The data summarized were obtained by administering a questionnaire to a sample of households in four Cherokee settlements. The data were gathered during the last half of 1964 and the first three months of 1965.

The main purposes of the survey were to provide baseline information against which the effects of the Carnegie Cross-Cultural Project could be appraised by duplicating the survey in 1966 or 1967 and to provide Cherokees and other interested Oklahomans with accurate, current information. The survey also helped educate Carnegie Project personnel through discussions of survey procedures, problems, and results and provided an opportunity to make general observations of Cherokee settlements. Some of these have been reported (Wahrhaftig 1965a, 1965b), and others will be published soon. Further, the project provided an opportunity for Cherokees to participate in scientific research. As an interpreter and intermediary, Finis Smith received training in the techniques of sociological enquiry and analysis. Hiner Doublehead, G. J. Smith, and Wesley Proctor also assisted me, and I trust they learned as much as I did through our interaction in conducting and reporting the survey. Furthermore, the results of this study and of the survey of Cherokee population (Wahrhaftig 1965c) are now being printed in a serialized, bilingual version in the monthly *Cherokee Newsletter*. The Cherokee tribe will have followed this survey from interview beginnings to printed end results before even social scientists see the results in print. This survey, then, has not only yielded the data reported below but has also contributed to the general sophistication and self-awareness of the Cherokee tribe. As evidence of this I am pleased to report that Cherokees in the community of Hulbert are on their own initiative conducting a local economic survey as their part of the War on Poverty research.

THE SAMPLE

The communities surveyed were chosen after an earlier survey of Cherokee population and demography (Wahrhaftig 1965c) was completed. The population survey provided an overview of settlements in the Cherokee Nation and distinct impressions of community differences. Awareness of such differences facilitated selection of a representative sample of settlements on the basis of the following variables or axes:

- (1) Size--small or large
- (2) Degree of Cohesiveness

- (3) Degree of geographical isolation
- (4) Ceremonial affiliation--Cherokee Baptist or Nighthawk
- (5) Demarcation of settlement boundary--precise or vague
- (6) Reputation (among other Cherokees)--conservative or nonconservative

This is not an exhaustive list of the variables considered, but since one characteristic is often related to another, these incorporate the most significant factors guiding the initial selection of settlements to be surveyed.

As of March 1964 we had selected the following six Cherokee settlements (plus the rural White settlement of Bunch for comparison):

- Bull Hollow: large, cohesive, isolated, ex-Nighthawk, Baptist, vaguely bounded, conservative
- Marble City: moderately large, moderately cohesive, moderately isolated, vaguely bounded, Nighthawk, moderately conservative
- Jay: moderately large, fragmented, nonisolated (an urban population), vaguely bounded, Baptist, nonconservative
- Bell: moderately large, cohesive, isolated, Baptist, precisely bounded, conservative
- Hulbert: large, fragmented, nonisolated, ex-Nighthawk, Baptist, vaguely bounded, nonconservative
- Cherry Tree: of medium size, moderately cohesive, moderately isolated, Baptist, precisely bounded, nonconservative

Some settlements proved to be so vaguely bounded that it would have been impossible to delimit them geographically without being quite arbitrary. Since the surveys developed into miniature community studies and consumed more time than had been planned, the survey was finally reduced to four settlements.

HULBERT Hulbert is the largest Cherokee settlement, with ninety households. There are four Cherokee ceremonial institutions in and around Hulbert: New Hope, Keehner, and Swimmer Cherokee Baptist Churches and Hulbert Cherokee Methodist Church. Hulbert is an aggregate of settlements in the process of fission or fusion or possibly both. The survey in Hulbert concentrated on resident families affiliated with

New Hope Baptist Church on the assumption that the church community represented an extended family. When it was found that the church membership did not include all of the extended family, the survey was extended to include a few other related households affiliated with other local Cherokee churches. We have no reason to suppose that the sample is not representative of Hulbert as a whole.

CHERRY TREE Cherry Tree is composed of one group of related families who are rather generalized Cherokees (many adults were educated in boarding school and are less tribal in their self-conception) and a second block of related families who are far more tribal and closely associated with the conservative families at Bell and Salem. The former households tend to be located on the west side of Highway 59, while the latter intergrade with the settlement of Salem east of the highway. The Cherry Tree survey was confined to the more generalized segment because it is the group of related families that gives the settlement its particular tone and about which we wanted to know more.

MARBLE CITY The survey covered a cluster of households between the south boundary of Bunch and the north edge of the town of Marble City.

BULL HOLLOW The survey covered a cluster of households within approximately a two-mile radius of the Bull Hollow Community Building.

ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING THE SURVEY

Postulating that major elements in Cherokee social and economic organization would vary along a sort of folk-urban continuum, we assumed that the more isolated communities with a reputation for conservatism would be characterized by lower levels of education, lower incomes, more subsistence farming, and the like. In terms of such variables the settlements finally selected represented "type settlements" along such a continuum. We could then categorize settlements within the Cherokee Nation in terms of the following types:

Bull Hollow Type: Very closed, very cohesive settlements where members are extremely tribal in self-conception and are thought to be "real Cherokees" by other Cherokees.

Marble City Type: Less strongly closed, but very cohesive settlements, in which inhabitants are tribal in self-conception but interact somewhat more freely with Whites and do not have a reputation for extreme conservatism.

Cherry Tree Type: Still less strongly closed and less obviously cohesive; inhabitants are more generalized in self-conception, seemingly more acculturated, and more integrated within the general society.

Hulbert Type: Relatively open and lacking cohesion; more individuated, more freedom of interaction with Whites, and the most fully integrated within the general society.

Table 1 shows the categorization of Cherokee settlements by type, and Table 2 shows the percentage of Cherokee population represented by each type. It is noteworthy that both settlements and population are approximately equally distributed among the four major types representing stages along the hypothesized folk-urban continuum.

Table 1.1 Community Populations

<i>Type</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Number households ($\pm$ 10% error)</i>
Bull Hollow Type	Salem	23
	Bell	31
	Oak Ridge	13
	Echota	53
	Eucha	32
	Kenwood	55
	Wycliffe	36
	Bull Hollow	30
Marble City Type	Spavinaw	5
	Rock Fence	5
	Notchietown	14

	Nicut	30
	McKey-Evening Shade	13
	Chewey	42
	Mulberry Hollow	35
	Old Green	33
	Barber	43
	Wauhilla	22
	Welling	7
	Sugar Mountain	12
	Piney	35
	Cloud Creek	15
	New Jordan	37
	Salina	26
	Marble-Vian Creek	65
	Bellefont	21
	Gore	4
Intermediate Type I	Lyons	50
	Bunch-Malloy Hollow	31
	Park Hill	6
	Ballou	69
	Honey Hill-Elm Grove	19
Cherry Tree Type	Brush Creek	5
	Cherry Tree	46
	Sourjohn	16
	Greasy Creek (No. & So.)	41
	Peavine-Fairfield	30
	Briggs	58
	Blackgum	37
	New Greenleaf	12
	Rocky Ford	27
	Drowning Creek	47
	Ribbon	14
	Vian	17
	Little Rock	34
	Antioch	44
	Zion	6
	Oak Grove	28
	Honey Creek	3
Intermediate Type II	Twin Oaks	43
	Oaks	11
	Leach-Elm Prairie	30
	Little Kansas	22
	Westville	13
Hulbert Type	Hulbert	90
	Locust Grove	10
	Moody's	18
	Johnson Prairie	8
	Christie	1

	Tahlequah	100
	Jay	41
	Grove	3
	Stilwell	50
	Proctor	3
	Tyner Creek	4
	Qualls	13
Remnants of fully eroded communities	Ballard	1
	Watts	4
	Gans	3
	Muldrow	9
	Stoney Point	3
	Braggs	2
	Briartown	2
	Porum	4
	Webber Falls	2
	Disney	3
	Langley	6
Miscellaneous	Adair County	7
	Cherokee County	2
	Sequoyah County	3
	Mayes County	2
	Delaware County	1

Table 1.2 Cherokee Population by Community Type

<i>Type</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Bull Hollow	14
Marble City	25
Intermediate Type I	9
Cherry Tree	25
Intermediate Type II	6
Hulbert Type	18
Remnants of eroded settlements	2
Miscellaneous	1
	<u>100</u>

MAJOR INSIGHTS DERIVED FROM THE SURVEY

Many of the characteristics surveyed vary little among the settlements and do not correlate with degree of settlement isolation. For example, there is relatively little variation in income, occupation, or educational level. Uniformity in these respects indicated that Cherokees as a whole occupy a common socioeconomic position within eastern Oklahoma society. These observations suggest that Cherokees are becoming uniformly proletarian. In general, the differences among Cherokee settlements that seemed significant at first glance seemed less and less important with the accumulation of information. Other characteristics varied, but unpredictably and not along a folk-urban continuum. For example, there is great variation in household composition and in the percentage of people who speak Cherokee. The major insight derived from the survey is that the dynamics of Cherokee settlements are more complex than we had supposed. Families as "closed" and tribal as those characteristic of Bull Hollow can be found in any Cherokee settlement. The number of non-English-speaking individuals in Hulbert, which at first seemed to be a very acculturated settlement, is high. This seems paradoxical. What has happened to Cherokee settlements is that some have remained as viable but conservative little communities, some have become settlements of more generalized and more "acculturated" Indians, and others have become more fragmented and less cohesive. Fragmented settlements combine as aggregates of households and fragments of kin groups that are cut off from one another; some are participating members of highly conservative settlements elsewhere, while others are more oriented toward White society and appear to be assimilating. The differences in settlements and the differences in the processes whereby they are changing (that is, fragmentation as opposed to generalization) result from long histories of differing relationships and experiences within these communities. Variations in geographical and social isolation, sophistication of individuals at particular periods in settlement history, awareness of events in the wider society and their implications for Cherokees, and particular catastrophes (such as settlement relocation to make way for a dam) are the major factors contributing to contemporary differences in Cherokee settlements. We hope to elaborate upon these findings in future papers.

LANGUAGE

THE CHEROKEE LANGUAGE

At present, Cherokee is the language of Cherokee settlements. At community gatherings virtually all formal discourse and most informal conversation is in Cherokee. At Cherokee Baptist Churches hymns are sung and sermons are preached in Cherokee. At stomp grounds, ceremonial speeches and public deliberations are in Cherokee. At pie suppers, funerals, and other occasions when Cherokees gather, Cherokee is heard. When the matter is brought to their attention, most Oklahomans suggest that this is so because the "older generation wants to hang on to its language." Certainly younger bilingual Cherokees would not offend their elders by speaking a language that is not commonly understood by them. But beyond this, it is becoming apparent that Cherokee is spoken at such times not only because Cherokee-speakers exist but also because use of Cherokee defines the event as a Cherokee event. Whatever anxiety Cherokees feel about their identity as a people is likely to be expressed by more pressure to speak Cherokee rather than less. Lately, there have been several instances in which pressure to speak one language or the other has resulted in showdowns. From these it appears that when language becomes a conscious issue, Cherokee wins out. During the past year the congregations of Echota and Steeley churches have dismissed preachers who favored increasing use of English in the church, replacing them with preachers who use only Cherokee.

It is difficult to estimate the change through history in the proportions of Cherokees able to speak Cherokee and English, respectively. Nearly every publication on the Cherokees has predicted that their language was dying out; yet Cherokee is still indisputably the language through which Cherokees communicate. The relevant questions are not whether Cherokee is dying out, but to what extent Cherokees are learning English, at what age, and how.

The 1930 United States census reported that 19.7% of full-blood Cherokees were unable to speak English. This figure grouped together North Carolina and Oklahoma Cherokees, and probably more of the former spoke English than the latter. Since nearly half the population was then under twenty years old and had had some schooling in English, this figure suggests that about 40% of full-blood Cherokee adults were unable to speak English at all. It is strange that Hall (1934) collected no data on language usage while he carefully collected

information on so many other aspects of Cherokee life. He does mention that he often had to use an interpreter. The inference to be drawn is that all the households he visited were Cherokee-speaking and that consequently it did not occur to him to make a tabulation of English-speaking as against Cherokee-speaking households. Spoehr visited Oklahoma in 1938 to do research in Cherokee kinship and observed that "English is making very rapid inroads and is replacing Cherokee among younger individuals" (1947:186). This implies, of course, that the older people spoke Cherokee. The teenagers observed by Spoehr are now almost fifty, and in my observation persons of this age habitually speak Cherokee. Generational differences among Cherokees in English usage have existed for a long time, and presumably will continue as long as the social context of younger people encourages English usage more than does the social context of their adulthood.

In 1952 Cullum collected information on the language usually spoken in Cherokee households, reporting that of the home surveyed, 40.9% spoke more English than Cherokee, 58% spoke more Cherokee, and 1.1% showed no preference. Cullum's survey included all households with children who were Cherokee by the school system's definition (one fourth or more Cherokee by blood). In some settlements Cullum's survey undoubtedly included a number of families who were socially not part of the functioning Cherokee community and therefore not included in my survey. Apart from this, Cullum's data are questionable. In his survey parents were interviewed by the teachers of their children and may have felt that they would "look bad" or jeopardize their children's welfare in school if they did not seem to "encourage" the children by speaking some English at home. In Oak Ridge, the most conservative of all Cherokee settlements, Cullum records three out of eleven households spoke both Cherokee and English routinely. A Bureau of Indian Affairs community worker who visited this settlement in 1964 found very few homes where he could converse with adults without using children as interpreters. In Bell, another extremely conservative community in which Cherokee is spoken more commonly than in Cherry Tree, twenty-two out of ninety households reported to teachers that they customarily spoke English.

In my survey, particular attention was given to recording the language used in the household, and whenever possible language usage was observed rather than asked about. The results are shown in Table 2.1.

**Table 2.1 Language Usually Spoken
in Cherokee Households, 1963**

<i>Community</i>	<i>Cherokee</i>	<i>Cherokee and English</i>	<i>English</i>
Hulbert N = 30	53%	30%	17%
Cherry Tree N = 32	59	34	6
Marble City N = 18	72	17	11
Bull Hollow N = 18	83	11	6

For the great majority of Cherokees, Cherokee is the first language learned and the language customarily spoken in the home. Cherokee and English-speaking households are of two types. In some households included in this category all members are bilingual and conversation shifts from one language to the other with great fluidity. In other households English is spoken out of deference to one or more members who cannot or will not speak Cherokee. In both situations children are routinely exposed to Cherokee and the social conditions for learning or prelearning the language are present.

By comparing the percentage of people who speak Cherokee in each type settlement with the total population of Cherokees living in settlements of each social type, we can make some reliable estimates of the population of Cherokee speakers as a whole (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2 Estimated Cherokee-Speaking Population, 1963

In Cherokee settlements	7,800
Living in Cherokee Nation	8,600
Participating in Cherokee society	10,450

Several generalizations can be made about language use in Cherokee settlements:

- (1) Cherokee is spoken at formal and informal gatherings in Cherokee settlements.
- (2) In even the most acculturated settlements, Cherokee is the primary language used in more than half of all households. In the least acculturated settlements, Cherokee is the primary language in virtually all households.
- (3) The primary use of Cherokee in a household is no indicator of members' knowledge of English. In some Cherokee-speaking households no adult speaks English well while in others all adults speak it well.
- (4) In no settlement are there many households where English is primary. Under present circumstances, the fact that English is the primary language of the households may indicate only that the members of the household are marginal to the settlement as a whole.

Most Cherokees learn English outside the household rather than within it. This suggests that the two languages have socially different meanings. Cherokee is the language through which an individual is socialized and communicates with his kinsmen. Its use at present is primarily local and social. English is the language one learns in school and hears from non-kinsmen. Its use at present is primarily instrumental.

We have known many Cherokees who must have spoken English in their youth but who now speak it very poorly. One close friend of mine, for example, went overseas as a doughboy in World War I and was the only Cherokee in the regiment. During those years of isolation from the other Cherokees he learned English and a little French. He no longer can carry on even a simple conversation in English. It appears that once a Cherokee has abandoned the wanderings normal in youth and immerses himself in the social activities of his settlement, he seldom uses English and tends to forget the language. On this hypothesis, the use of English declines as individuals assume mature roles in the settlement. We included the following question in the original version of the survey questionnaire: "Do you speak English better now than when you were younger?" The question, however, turned out to be incomprehensible, even in translation. To answer the question requires one to make observations and temporal comparisons of one's self, and Cherokees generally are not self-aware in this way. The hypothesis remains untested.

There was no way to measure fluency in English usage in the survey. Cherokees are extremely good mimics. Thus, some Cherokees with a very limited stock of rote-learned English phrases can easily be mistaken for fluent English speakers. It was difficult to determine whether halting use of English resulted from inability to speak fluently, a preference not to converse in English, or merely from shyness and feeling ill at ease. Seldom were all members of the household present at the time of the interview, and when discussing absent members we lacked criteria for evaluating such statements as that a brother spoke English "well." The only fully reliable observation that could be made was of individuals who did not speak English at all. In the absence of means of adequately testing English fluency, Table 2.3 simply lists the number of heads of households who speak so little English that they are unable to participate in simple conversations.

Table 2.3 Number of Heads of Households Unable to Speak English

Community	Number of househeads*			Number unable to speak English			Total (%)
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Hulbert	19	25	44	6	12	18	40
Cherry Tree	28	28	56	5	3	8	14
Marble City	16	13	29	3	4	7	24
Bull Hollow	16	17	33	5	9	14	42

*Where both husband and wife were present in the household, both were counted as househeads.

It is difficult to determine how Cherokees learn as much English as they do. In the survey informants were asked when they began to learn English. Again, this question was hard for most Cherokees to conceptualize, and the replies were difficult and sometimes impossible to tabulate (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.4 Source of Cherokee
Adults' Knowledge of English

Source	Hulbert		Cherry Tree		Marble City		Bull Hollow	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
School	7	8	12	18	4	10	8	7
White neighbors or fellow workers	7	4	9	2	10	3	6	1
Spouse or other English-speaking family member	3	7	5	7	4	0	1	0
Armed service	3	-	1	-	0	-	2	-

In general, the answers of men were more certain and definite than those of women. Whereas the majority of women reported that they learned English in school, the majority of men reported that they learned it outside of school. Cherokee girls appear to learn more easily than boys do in the rigidly structured context of a school room. In observing Kickapoo and Chicasaw children in Operation Head Start classes, I observed that the response of young boys and girls was indeed very different, although the school system takes no account of sexual differences in the primary years. In any case, it does seem certain that most Cherokee males learn English through person-to-person interaction in some informal context. Some observations of Cherokee children support this notion. In some households in Marble City, there are preschool children who speak fluent English even though English is rarely spoken in the household. Their parents think they learn from watching television. However, in Bull Hollow there are non-English-speaking children of preschool age who have watched as much television but have learned no English. The children in Marble City play with first cousins (second brothers and sisters in Cherokee kin terms) who are the children of a White mother and who speak no Cherokee. Evidently children in Marble City either learn English from their playmates or learn enough to make sense of and learn from the English they hear on television. In the absence of direct language learning from English-speaking kin, the children in Bull Hollow do not learn English from television. In fact, a child who hears only

Cherokee may be unaware that the sounds heard on television are a language. It is also possible that for such children a school teacher is equally incomprehensible and that children must learn the rudiments of English through direct interaction on the playground before they can "decode" what the teacher is saying.

It is clear that language is not learned apart from personal interaction, at least not for tribal people. Language is an integral part of interaction with particular other people. The success of the United States Army techniques of teaching languages through imaginary interactions (dialogues and conversations) rather than through "grammar" and literature indicates that urban people also learn new languages in this way, although it might be supposed that urban people, being more individuated, are more capable of learning through imaginary mental interactions with themselves.

Although my data are not precise enough for tabulation, it is evident that Cherokees are learning English at an earlier age than formerly. In the 1930s children started school later, attended less regularly, and often did not become fluent in English until their teens, if they attained fluency at all. In those settlements classed with Bull Hollow, there are some teenagers who do not speak fluent English, but generally the present generation of youngsters speak serviceable English by the age of eight or nine. The age at which this knowledge of English is acquired varies among settlements. In settlements of the Bull Hollow type, many, perhaps most, preschool children neither speak nor understand English. At Kenwood school, for example, the teacher communicates with first and second-grade children by using older children as interpreters. In settlements of the Marble City type most preschool children understand basic English phrases, and a few speak English. In settlements like Cherry Tree, children usually understand and speak English before they enter school.

In order to determine English usage among the younger generation the survey took separate note of the language of children seventeen years of age or younger (see Table 2.5).

It is not safe to predict from these figures the language that children will speak as adults. There are some Cherokees who did not speak English at all when they were young, who presently refuse to speak Cherokee. Furthermore, there are some Cherokees who learned only English as children but learned Cherokee from their spouses and have raised Cherokee-speaking children. Table 2.5 indicates only what languages children use, not what languages they know. Many parents indicated that their children can speak Cherokee if they must but prefer to speak English. Table 2.6 distinguishes between children

who presumably do not know Cherokee (because only English is spoken in the household) and children who know Cherokee or could rapidly become Cherokee-speakers if there were a premium put on the ability to speak Cherokee. The latter children have been raised in households in which Cherokee is the primary language.

Table 2.5 *Language Use of Cherokee
Children Seventeen Years and Under*

<i>Community Currently bilingual (%) Currently English-Speaking (%)</i>		
Hulbert	41	59
Cherry Tree	56	44
Marble City	80	20
Bull Hollow	78	22

Table 2.6 *Language Knowledge of Cherokee
Children Seventeen Years and Under*

<i>Community</i>	<i>Bilingual (%)</i>	<i>Potentially Bilingual (%)</i>	<i>Know English Only (%)</i>
Hulbert N = 59	41	25	34
Cherry Tree N = 92	56	43	1
Marble City N = 44	80	18	2
Bull Hollow N = 42	78	22	0

In spite of past predictions to the contrary, at no time since 1930 has the Cherokee-speaking population failed to

increase from one generation to the next. The present generation might represent a breaking point in this trend, for although there are enough Cherokee-speaking youngsters to maintain or even increase the total population of Cherokee-speakers, young Cherokee-speakers are more bilingual than ever before. If Cherokee life is not greatly disrupted, if the pressure to speak Cherokee in Cherokee settlements continues, and if the Cherokee population *in situ* continues to grow at a moderate rate, I would estimate the Cherokee-speaking population in 1985 to number at least 7,060. In addition to 7,000 Cherokee-speakers twenty years from now, there would be, of course, several thousand more understanding Cherokee but not speaking it. Such an estimate involves enormous "ifs." As is already obvious, bilingual individuals can elect to speak either language. Even now, Cherokee children do not necessarily speak the language preferred by their parents. Use of language is very much influenced by social relationships with the household, within the settlement, and with the general society. Cherokee is a low prestige language in eastern Oklahoma, and as young Cherokees gain more experience of Whites, they become more aware of the low status ascribed to Cherokee-speakers.

However, the relationships between language learning, language prestige, and social relationships are very complex. The use of Cherokee in the household is also related to household composition. Because most Americans live in households containing nuclear families, they presume that children learn languages from their mothers and fathers. Among Cherokees few of the responsibilities of child rearing are assumed by parents, apart from financial support. Traditionally the oldest sister took care of her younger sister and brothers, and to the extent that this is customary, language learning is affected. Young Cherokee women are particularly status conscious and prone to cease speaking Cherokee when they perceive that it is a low-status language. When these girls take charge of their younger sisters and brothers, English is spoken. Thus, one sometimes encounters household groups in which parents can barely speak English and the youngest children can barely speak Cherokee. During the last twenty years, however, girls have stayed in school longer and have attended more frequently. In the absence of younger girls, grandparents, who traditionally had more responsibility than parents for rearing children, have assumed even more responsibility. Since the nuclear family is not the basic social unit for Cherokee society and children frequently spend more time with adults of the grandparental generation than with parents, as a result, in some homes children speak more Cherokee than do their parents. Table 2.7 compares households containing individuals of the grandparental generation with nuclear family households in an attempt to appraise the influence

of grandparents in socialization.

*Table 2.7 Percentage of Households
Containing Grandparents*

<i>Community</i>	<i>Households with children under 17 and parents only (%)</i>	<i>Households with children under 17 and grandparents (%) (with or without parents)</i>
Hulbert	57	43
Cherry Tree	79	21
Marble City	50	50
Bull Hollow	31	69

Roughly half of all Cherokee children are reared directly by grandparents. Most people old enough to be grandparents are far more fluent in Cherokee than in English. Language and person are, especially to these tribal people, inseparable. Thus, language is an inseparable part of the relationship between child and grandparent. To the extent that Cherokee becomes defined as a low-status language, the total relationship between child and grandparent is redefined, and the authority of grandparents in socializing children is correspondingly weakened. Given the situation, the hypothesis is warranted that as Cherokee children become more aware of White disapproval of Cherokee as a language, basic socialization relationships within the household will deteriorate and child delinquency will increase.

In summary, the present linguistic situation of the Cherokees is as follows:

- (1) Cherokees in general are not self-conscious about language. To be Cherokee is to speak Cherokee. There are whole tribes of English-speaking Indians in the United States that have maintained their separate identities although they no longer speak their native language. Cherokees do not know this. Most Cherokees equate loss of their language with loss of Cherokeeness. They see in the extinction of the language the extinction of the Cherokee people

- (2) Whites disapprove of speaking Cherokee. In response to this disapproval young people who have more frequent interaction with Whites speak less Cherokee. The less isolated the settlement, the more this is the case.
- (3) Young people who refuse to speak Cherokee still have kinsmen who prefer to speak Cherokee. Through such relationships, Cherokees are becoming conscious of a "language problem." Many conclude that the language will die out unless something is done. This generates considerable anxiety. Furthermore, there are Cherokee prophecies that predict the Cherokee people will be reduced until only a few "true Cherokees" are left. The remaining few then will be favored by God and the Cherokee people will flower in strength and purity. As the issue of language becomes more conscious, pressure on their own children to learn Cherokee is likely to be increased and non-Cherokee-speaking Cherokees are likely to be fatalistically shut out as among those destined no longer to be a part of the "true Cherokee people."
- (4) Cherokee settlements are social units. They must have a common language if they are to continue to function as they do. Rural settlements like Bull Hollow and Marble City can easily maintain themselves as Cherokee-speaking communities. Less isolated Cherokee settlements now contain large numbers of young Cherokees who do not speak Cherokee. The future of these settlements is difficult to predict.
 - (a) These communities might split into separate Cherokee and English-speaking groups. Separate ceremonial institutions could evolve in the process.
 - (b) These communities might adjust to the numbers of English speakers within them and rapidly become English-speaking Cherokee communities, perhaps retaining Cherokee as a ceremonial and symbolic language.
 - (c) Social boundaries might evolve such that Cherokee speakers would consider English-speaking Cherokees to be "not really Cherokee." If this were to happen, Cherokee speakers would interact more among themselves and push non-Cherokee-speakers out of the community. The result would be rapid assimilation of non-Cherokee-speakers into the general society

and the persistence of a reduced but more self-consciously Cherokee speaking community.

- (d) Since less isolated communities, particularly those evolving in towns, have more English speakers than do isolated settlements, Cherokee speakers might concentrate in the country and English speakers concentrate in urban areas. This would result in an even more conservative rural Cherokee population than now exists, while at the same time urban Cherokees would become more conscious of the possibility of maintaining themselves as an English-speaking community of Indians. Under these circumstances, roughly half the total population of Cherokees would continue to speak Cherokee and would more consciously resist efforts to induce them to speak English.

LITERACY IN CHEROKEE

It is well known that after Sequoyah's perfection of a Cherokee syllabary in 1821 the Cherokees rapidly became literate in their own language. Prior to the Civil War, literacy in Cherokee was almost universal, largely because of its general utility. Printed material in Cherokee included laws, treaties and other legislative and judicial proceedings, Bibles and other religious books, newspapers and notices, and school books. In addition to published materials, personal letters, accounts, minutes and organizational records were all recorded in Cherokee.

~~Since 1907 there has been no new printed material in Cherokee.~~ Since about 1890, school has been taught exclusively in English and children have been taught to write only English in the secular school system. There has been a reduction in the general, secular utility of Cherokee literacy.

Currently, the only printed material readily available in the Sequoyah syllabary are an edition of the New Testament and a Cherokee Hymnal. Withal, literacy in Cherokee has become an art for the Cherokee adult involved in ceremonial activities. Cherokee churches are conducted in Cherokee, and Sunday School classes are taught from the Cherokee Testament. To be a functional adult participant in a Cherokee Baptist Church, it is extremely desirable to know how to read Cherokee.

Many churches keep records in Cherokee, and even where such records are now kept in English, it is necessary for church officers to be able to read records of membership and baptism previously inscribed in Cherokee. Cherokee doctors use "medicine books" in which the sacred formulas and prayers for curing are written in Cherokee. In order to become a doctor, one must first learn to read and write Cherokee.

Cherokees ordinarily do not learn to read Cherokee until they become interested in ceremonial activities. They rarely develop a strong interest in such matters until they are at least thirty years old. Children seldom learn to read and write the language, although once in a while parents will try to teach them. This does not mean that Cherokee literacy is dying out. It simply means that the age at which one becomes literate is deferred.

The amount of Cherokee literacy in the communities surveyed is shown in Table 3.1. Literacy is defined as ability to read Cherokee, since there is less occasion now to write the language. Figures are given separately for the age group 30-50 years. It is evident that Cherokee adults born after statehood are almost as literate as those born before statehood, particularly inasmuch as some of those in their thirties who

are presently literate in Cherokee might still learn to read.

Table 3.1 Literacy in Cherokee

<i>Community</i>	<i>Adults over 30 (%)</i>	<i>Adults 30-50 (%)</i>
Hulbert	36	26
Cherry Tree	43	44
Marble City	46	28
Bull Hollow	65	53

Men and women do not differ significantly in their degree of literacy in Cherokee.

Whereas in the 1920s and 1930s Cherokees taught the Sequoyah syllabary to children in organized classes at stomp grounds and at Baptist Sunday schools, such classes are rare now. Most young adults literate in Cherokee are either self-taught or have learned from a literate relative. Since commonly someone in the learner's household teaches him, the survey ascertained the number of households with one or more members literate in Cherokee able to teach Cherokee or read the Carnegie Project's Cherokee newspaper to other members of the household (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Literacy in Cherokee Households

<i>Community</i>	<i>Households containing one or more members literate in Cherokee (%)</i>
Hulbert	40
Cherry Tree	63
Marble City	83
Bull Hollow	83

EDUCATION

TRIBAL CHEROKEES AND FORMAL EDUCATION

Almost immediately after their removal to Oklahoma the Cherokees established their own national school system. From the date of its establishment in 1841 until the very last years of the Cherokee Nation, the Cherokee national government ran the school system with complete autonomy. Indeed, no Cherokee school was ever supervised or even visited by agents of the United States government until after June 30, 1898. The school system was a celebrated success and was reputed to be the finest school system west of the Mississippi River.

Today Cherokee children receive an extremely low level of education. The survey data on Cherokee scholastic achievement show that Cherokees now simply do not stay in school very long. Before citing data from the survey, however, it would be well to dispel the notion that disinterest among traditional Cherokees in the present school system is a consequence of the replacement of the Cherokee national school system. The alienation of Cherokees from schools came about long before the dissolution of the Cherokee school system.

Through the history of the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma there were two major factions within the tribe, known in the latter years of the Cherokee Nation as the "mixed-blood" and "full-blood" factions. The fine reputation of the Cherokee national school system rests on its success in educating members of the mixed-blood faction. There were periods when the school system also was welcomed in full-blood settlements depending on the success of full-bloods in keeping the aims of the school system consistent with the aims of the full-blood community.

Initially, in all schools of the Cherokee school system English was the language of instruction. Literacy in English was taught, and English textbooks were used. After the invention of the Sequoyah syllabary in 1821 Cherokees very rapidly became almost universally literate in Cherokee. Nearly universal literacy in Cherokee preceded the establishment of the school system. The syllabary was easy to teach, and upon entering school, children already were literate in Cherokee, having learned at home. To learn to read and write in English, then, was not a new art but rather a repetition in a second language of an art already learned in Cherokee. It seems likely that during this period the full-blood community may have regarded the system of education in English

promoted by the national government as an alternative to their own unrecognized system of education in Cherokee. In any case, by the 1850s the full-blood community was disillusioned with the Cherokee school system's inflexible insistence on an all English curriculum. In 1851, of twenty-two day schools, only one was conducted in the Cherokee language (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1851:381). In 1857, the Superintendent of the Cherokee schools reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that:

It is true that thousands are now and have long been awake to the importance of education and are making great efforts to bring the rising generation under the influence of the schools. Yet the mass of the real Cherokees remain supine, if not opposed to a civilizing education (Thornton 1926:35, italics mine).

He went on to say that some of the Cherokees even considered an English education a national evil if not a personal calamity. These Cherokees said that it made their young people proud and led to national dissipation.

The issue of education solely in English versus education in Cherokee as well as English was suspended during the Civil War. Through the 1860s the schools were shut down, but with their reopening in the 1870s the dispute was renewed. For the duration of the Cherokee national school system's history, there were about thirty schools located in full-blood settlements. After the Civil War, and perhaps before as well, there were approximately thirty bilingual school teachers. The curriculum was officially in English, but all teachers in full-blood settlements probably used the Cherokee language as a vehicle for teaching English. Clearly even this did not satisfy the full-blood faction. A traveler through Salina in those days reported that the question of which language should be used in school was being heatedly discussed. In 1873, the year in which this issue finally became a crisis, Chief William P. Ross reported the following in his annual message:

If the public schools have not been attended with all the success that might have been wished or expected, no deliberate, candid mind, it appears to me, can deny that they have been productive of great good and are still the means of imparting much knowledge to the children of our country. No one denies benefits derived from public schools by that portion of our people who have a knowledge of the English language. But there are those who contend that the present system has been a failure so far as those are concerned who have not that knowledge (quoted in Thornton 1926:36; italics added).

By 1874 the full-bloods had won, and the Cherokee schools in full-blood settlements were reformed. It appears that the reforms were threefold:

- (1) The use of the Cherokee language as a vehicle of instruction was permitted.
- (2) Some technique approximating the contemporary notion of teaching English as a second language was used. *The Cherokee Advocate* reported in 1874 that "in the Cherokee speaking schools one entire morning and evening was devoted to teaching common English words, with their meaning" (*italics added*).
- (3) Cherokee texts were used. It was during this decade that arithmetic and music text books in the Sequoyah syllabary were published; a text on geography was in preparation but was never printed.

The reforms must have been successful, for from 1875 until the 1890s the Cherokee Male and Female Seminaries were crowded with full-blood students who had graduated from primary schools in full-blood settlements.

When in 1889 the mixed-blood faction finally gained control of the Cherokee government, they conducted the Cherokee school system for the benefit of their own faction and insisted that schools for full-bloods be taught in English. After less than a decade of this high-handed treatment, the full-blood faction gave up on education. In 1897 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported that the "conservatives" thought the tribe was spending too much on education (1897:145). And with good reason they thought so. When in 1898 the federal government sent John D. Benedict to supervise the Cherokee Nation's schools, he reported that the Male and Female Academies were serving only the children of mixed-bloods and wealthy full-bloods. The academies received a disproportionate share of school funds, he said, while the neighborhood schools, designed primarily for full-bloods, had to struggle along with what was left (Annual Report, Department of Interior 1899:88). In an independent report, Benedict's colleague Benjamin Coppock gave a similar assessment.

By 1905 there were thirty-four schools for full-bloods only, "maintained in districts where both parents and pupils used the Cherokee language and very little English was understood. All school work was done in English" (Thornton 1926:46). The transition to English resulted in a disenchantment with education that continues to the present day. From then on

few full-blood students enrolled in the Cherokee Academies of higher education. Whereas in the 1880s the full-blood parents literally drove their children into the schools, in the 1890s and thereafter they stopped encouraging their children's attendance.

Certainly by then the condition of the school system was intolerable. The following remarks of Angie Debo were based on the memoirs of Alice Robertson, a Presbyterian missionary who helped establish schools in the Creek Nation at the turn of the century:

Perhaps it would have been wiser to conduct the day schools in Creek, for they were almost a complete failure in teaching English. The a-b-c method in vogue at the time was bad enough for the English-speaking children, but it was worse for the young Creeks. They learned to pronounce nonsense syllables like parrots, and to read rapidly in the First and Second Readers before they dropped out of school in disgust without knowing the meaning of a single word. Some of the teachers tried to work out a technique of their own by the use of objects, but they were under such strong pressure to show results in the glib reading of meaningless sentences that few were able to resist it. To make matters worse, none of the white teachers and few of the mixed-blood Creeks were able to speak the native language (Debo 1930:309).

And educational technique was no better in the Cherokee Nation. A Cherokee who attended school on Blackgum Mountain in the 1890s reported that the teacher whipped children who were unable to master words written on the blackboard in English. After this had gone on for some time, a group of Cherokee adults entered the school with whips of their own and wrote words on the blackboard in the Sequoyah syllabary. They told the teacher to read the words. When he could not, they told him that if he intended to whip their children for being unable to read words in his language, then they intended to whip him for being unable to read words in their language . . . and they did.

In the 1890s Cherokees found active means to express their hostility toward forms of education they considered inappropriate. That such incidents no longer occur does not mean that hostility has ceased but rather that Cherokees finally have become totally alienated from the school system. The tribe has surrendered to the school bureaucracy, but tribal opinion is unchanged. When a "progressive" young Cherokee preacher at Echota Baptist Church insisted on teaching Sunday

school in English from English tracts, members of the congregation approached members of the Four Mothers Society (Nighthawk) and proposed that they join in building a mutual Sunday school where instruction would be in Cherokee and the Sequoyah syllabary taught to children. Only when the offensive preacher had been dismissed did members of the congregation abandon this coalition and return to the Baptist Church. The Cherokee community at Salem is presently considering initiating an adult Cherokee literacy course using the Sequoyah syllabary. They are insisting that the course be taught in the church and not in the schoolhouse, as had been originally proposed. The church "belongs" to Cherokees; the schoolhouse does not.

PRESENT LEVEL OF EDUCATION AMONG CHEROKEES

The following assessment of the level of education of the tribal Cherokee community is based on schooling data carefully recorded in the course of the survey.

- (1) The majority of Cherokees receive very little education. The median number of school years completed by the adult Cherokee population as a whole is only 5.5 (see table 4.1). Cullum's data (Table 4.2) provide independent corroboration of this figure.

**Table 4.1 Median Grade Completed by Cherokees
over Eighteen Years of Age***

Community	Males	Females	All
Hulbert	6.5	5.6	6.0
Cherry Tree	7.0	7.8	7.5
Marble City	4.0	6.0	6.0
Bull Hollow	5.5	5.0	5.0
ALL	5.3	5.8	5.5

*The median for all communities was not calculated from the median for each community. To arrive at the most accurate figure possible, the data from each community were converted into equivalent figures for a community of 100 households (in order to represent a balanced population from a sample in which each community was actually represented by a different number of questionnaires). A median was then calculated for the combined data.

Table 4.2 Median Grade Completed by Age*

Age group (Cullum) [†]	—	18-19	20-29 [†]	30-39 [†]	40-49 [†]	50-59 [†]	60-69	70+
Age group (CP survey)	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+	—
Median grade (Cullum)	--	7	7	6	5	5	3	3
Median grade (minus 1) (Cullum)	--	6	6	5	4	4	2	2
Median grade (CP survey)	11	10	8	4	4	4	0	--

*Cullum and Carnegie Project Surveys

[†]Correction of Cullum's figures: Cullum carefully collected data on education in his survey. Inasmuch as there is obviously a wide differential between the education attained by people who are functionally White and those who are functionally Cherokee, we must look at the composition of Cullum's sample more carefully in order to evaluate his data. Of the 2189 individuals in Cullum's sample for whom data on the degree of Indian ancestry were available, 5.2% had no Indian ancestry (intermarried Whites, rarely participating in Cherokee community life), 3.4% were less than one-fourth Cherokee (probably children of "half-breeds" and Whites; rarely functional members of Cherokee communities). In addition, 18.2% of the sample were of less than full Cherokee ancestry (some of these would be "full-blood" Cherokees who were enrolled as being actually five-eighths or three-fourths Cherokee and "in" the community; some would be children of "full-bloods" and "half-breeds" who were enrolled as being actually of slightly less than full blood, and would, for the most part, be "in" the community.

In terms of functional participation, roughly one-fifth of Cullum's sample was "White" and would at that time have completed a median of seven school years. This minority would raise the median of school years attained by the whole sample by roughly one full year over the figure that would be obtained from a sample population similar to the sample

on which the CP survey is based.

[†]Verification of CP Survey: Individuals who were between 20 and 29 years of age when Cullum made his survey were between 30 and 39 years of age when the CP survey was made ten years later. For the equal age spans marked, two agree, one agrees within one year, one agrees within two years. Considering that the figures in each survey are rounded to the nearest year, Table 4.1 indicates a high degree of correspondence and suggests that the CP survey was quite accurate in spite of the smaller sample.

- (2) Cherokees of forty years and older, the age group providing leadership in Cherokee settlements, have completed a median of four years of school. Cherokees under forty are relatively better educated (see Table 4.2).
- (3) The educational level of the population has increased very little since 1933. The increase has been from 3.3 school years completed to 5.5, an increase of 2.2 school years completed in the last thirty years (see Table 4.3)

Table 4.3 Median Grade Completed by Cherokees
from 1933 to 1963

Source	Men	Women	All
Hall (1933)*	?	—?	3.3
Cullum (1952)	5.6	6.3	5.9
Cullum minus 1 yr. [†]	4.6	5.3	4.9
CP Survey (1963)	5.3	5.8	5.5

*This figure is for the total population over 18 in the sample. Taking Hall's data for "parents" only, the median is 3.5.

[†]See remarks under Table 4.2.

- (4) Forty percent of adult Cherokees are functionally illiterate in English (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Functional Illiteracy of Cherokees
Over 18*

Community	Men	Women	All
Hulbert	48%	25%	37%
Cherry Tree	29	28	28
Marble City	48	25	37
Bull Hollow	47	47	47
All	42	38	40

*It is commonly supposed that most persons who have completed no more than fourth grade are functionally illiterate, that is, can "letter through" a piece of written material but are unable to fully comprehend the contents of an ordinary book or newspaper.

(5) During the last thirty years, the decrease in functional illiteracy has been small—from 59 percent in 1933 to 40 percent in 1963 (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.5 Functional Illiteracy from 1933-1963

Source	Men	Women	All
Hall, 1933*	62%	55%	59%
Cullum, 1952 [†]	44	37	40
Survey, 1963	42	38	40

*Figures given for "Parents" group only.

[†]No correction for "Whites" in sample. See remarks under Table 4.2.

(6) The percentage of Cherokees who have at least an eighth-grade education is only 39 percent (see Table 4.6) and this percentage has grown slowly since

1933, when 22 percent had finished at least eighth grade (Table 4.7).

Table 4.6 Completion of Eighth Grade or More

<i>Community</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>All</i>
Hulbert	45%	47%	45%
Cherry Tree	44	47	47
Marble City	37	40	38
Bull Hollow	38	30	34
All	38	43	39

Table 4.7 Completion of Eighth Grade or More from 1933-1963

<i>Source</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>All</i>
Hall (1933)	---	---	22%
Cullum (1952)*	---	---	34
CP Survey (1963	38%	43%	39

*No correction for "Whites" in sample.

- (7) The level of education obtained by Cherokees is not only well below the average for the state of Oklahoma but is also below the average for rural and non-White populations in the state (Table 4.8). Insofar as can be determined from the 1960 United States census, Cherokees are the least educated group of people in the state with the possible exceptions of Choctaw Indians and small populations of Negroes along the Oklahoma-Texas border.

Table 4.8 Comparative Levels of Education*

Date	Population	Source	Median school years completed
1950	State of Oklahoma	1950 Census	9.1
1950	Oklahoma rural	" "	8.5
1950	Oklahoma rural white	" "	8.5
1950	Oklahoma rural nonwhite	" "	6.4
1950	Cherokees	Cullum	5.9
1950	Cherokees	Cullum (minus 1 yr.)	4.9
1960	State of Oklahoma	1960 Census	10.4
1960	Oklahoma rural	" "	8.8
1960	Oklahoma rural white	" "	8.9
1960	Oklahoma rural nonwhite	" "	7.8
1960	Cherokees	CP Survey	5.5

*An estimate from 1960 United States census data of the median number of school years completed by functional Cherokees is 6.0 to 6.5 years. The median is raised by inclusion of self-identified Cherokees who are not functional members of the Cherokee tribal community, especially in Tahlequah. The data are shown in Table 4.9

- (8) The category of people with least education in the state of Oklahoma in 1950 was the rural non-White, non-farm population, with a median of 6.4 school years completed (see Table 4.9). The non-White population of the state is overwhelmingly Negro. The figures cited in the census for non-White populations in the state as a whole are very close to being figures for the Negro population of the state.¹ The Cherokees now have an educational level which is lower by nearly one school year than the Negro population of the state ten years ago and lower by 2.2 school years than the Negro population of the state now. As a community of people, Cherokees are at a considerable disadvantage.
- (9) The low educational level of the Cherokee tribal community could be due either to the failure of all Cherokee students to progress through school or to the loss through migration of highly educated Cherokees, or to both. This will be discussed below.

Table 4.9 Median Number of School Years Completed, 1960 U.S. Census*

County	Rural	Non-White
Adair	8.0	5.8
Cherokee	8.3	7.7
Delaware	8.5	6.3
Sequoyah	8.2	7.1
Mayes	8.7	6.9

*The census figure given for the rural population of a county includes the non-White population of the county. There are no separate figures for Indians. The percentage of Indians in the non-White population of these counties are: Adair, 100%; Cherokee, 99%; Delaware, 99%; Mayes, 94%; Sequoyah, 50%. The Cherokee county figure is higher owing to the urban Indian population of Tahlequah. The figure for Mayes county is similarly raised by a small urban Indian population in Pryor. The figures for Adair and Delaware are closer to "true" for Indians. The high figure in Sequoyah county, where the social life of Indians differs very little from Adair county, suggests that Sequoyah county Negroes are much better educated than Sequoyah county Indians.

- (10) The low educational level of Cherokees is not a uniquely "Indian" phenomenon. Insofar as it is possible to estimate, others of the Five Civilized Tribes (Creek, Choctaw, Chicasaw, Seminole) have roughly the same educational level as do Cherokees (see Table 4.10). Among some other isolated tribal Indians such as the Navajo, the level of education is as low or lower than among Cherokees. However, among tribes of western Oklahoma and of Indians of the United States in general the level of education, while low, is higher than among the Cherokees (see Table 4.11). It should be noted that many of the tribes with a higher level of education than Cherokees have had one hundred years less contact with educational institutions but under different circumstances.

Table 4.10 Non-White Population and
Education in Southeast Oklahoma*

County	Tribe of Indians in non-White population	Negroes in non-White population (%)	Median school years completed [†]	Urban areas in county
Adair	Cherokee	0	5.8	---
Cherokee	"	1	7.7	Tahlequah
Delaware	"	0	6.3	---
Mayes	"	6	6.9	---
Sequoyah	"	505	7.1	--- †
Atoka	Choctaw	95	7.1	Atoka
Bryan	"	64	8.0	Durant
Coal	"	26	---**	---
Choctaw	"	79	7.0	Hugo
Waskell	"	20	---**	---
Latimer	"	16	---**	---
Le Flore	"	52	7.7	---
McCurtain	"	69	6.1	---
Pittsburg	"	70	9.0	McAlester
Pushmatsha	"	24	---**	---
Creek	Creek	72	8.1	Sapulpa
Hughes	"	34	7.1	---
McIntosh	"	59	6.8	---
Muskegee	"	86	9.6	Muskogee
Okfuskee	"	71	7.4	---
Okmulgee	"	81	7.6	Okmulgee
Tulsa	"	85	9.6	Tulsa
Bryan	Chickasaw	49	8.0	Durant
Carter	"	82	8.2	Ardmore
Garvin	"	80	8.1	---
Johnston	"	36	---**	---
Marshall	"	57	---**	---
Murray	"	48	---**	---
Pontotoc	"	49	6.9	Ada
Stephens	"	80	8.1	Duncan
Seminole	Seminole	54	7.3	Seminole

*This table generally confirms the CP survey data. We know that urban populations are generally better educated than rural populations, and we know that Indian settlements in the Five Civilized Tribes are rural. Therefore,

the figures in Table 4.10 for counties with neither large numbers of Negroes nor large urban populations should be a fairly accurate indication of the educational level of tribal populations in the county. In the Cherokee Nation, Adair, Delaware, and Mayes counties fulfill these conditions. The range of figures for median school years completed is from 5.8 to 6.9. This coincides closely with the range between communities in the CP survey of 5.0 to 7.5 years. Under these conditions, then, the census figures provide a rough rule of thumb for estimating educational levels of Creeks, Choctaws, Chicasaws, and Seminoles. Unfortunately, the census does not give data for the counties with high Indian and low Negro populations. On the basis of Table 4.10 and personal impressions, I would make the following estimates (plus or minus 0.5 years): Creeks, 6.5; Choctaws, 6.0 or less; Chicasaw, 7.0; Seminole, 6.5.

† There is little difference in level of education among the Five Civilized Tribes. This table bears this out, if one keeps in mind the effects of large Negro populations and of urban Indians no longer participating in tribal communities.

† Pryor is an urban area in Mayes county, but most of the Mayes county Cherokee population is rural.

§ Negroes seem to be better educated than Indians. I know from observation that Indian communities and social conditions in general are very similar in Adair and Sequoyah counties. It is logical to suppose that Negroes have pushed up the median figure for non-White education in Sequoyah county. Similarly, the presence of Negroes might account for the difference between Pontotoc and Garvin counties. This point is not made convincingly in this table, but the data tend to support the assertions made on page 31 of this report.

**No data in census tables.

Table 4.11 Comparative Educational Level
of Selected American Indian Tribes*

<i>Tribe</i>	<i>Median number school years completed</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>State</i>
Navajo	less than 2	various	New. Mex., Ariz., Colo.
Cherokee†	6.0†		
Creek†	6.5†		
Choctaw†	6.0†		
Chicasaw†	7.0†		
Seminole†	6.5†		
Caddo	8.6	Caddo	Oklahoma
Osage	9.2	Osage	Oklahoma
Ponca	9.3	Kay	Oklahoma
Sac and Fox	8.7	Pottawatomie	Oklahoma
Pottawatomie }			
Shawnee }			
Apache	7.1	Gila	New Mexico
Blackfoot	8.8	Glacier	Montana
Chippewa	7.8	Cass	Minnesota
Chippewa	8.1	Becker	Minnesota
Chippewa	8.8	Bertram	Minnesota
Chippewa	7.5	Rolette	North Dakota
Crow	8.5	Big Horn	Montana
Cheyenne	8.2	Rosebud	Montana
Sioux	7.9	Shannon	South Dakota
Sioux	8.3	Todd	South Dakota
Sioux	8.5	Sioux	North Dakota
Shoshone	8.7	Fremont	Wyoming
Ute	8.2	Unitah	Utah

*For uniformity, these figures are gathered from the data on non-White populations in the 1960 United States census. Because such data are published only for selected counties, and because it is desirable to have figures for counties with few Negroes in which the non-White population consists principally of Indians, few tribes could be included in the table. All counties in Oklahoma for which there is data on non-White populations contain Negroes as well as Indians. Only counties with 50 percent or more Indians are included in this table. The proportion of Indians in the non-White population is as follows: Caddo, 80%;

Kay, 67%; Osage, 69%; Pottawatomie, 59%.

†This figure is an estimate based on the census, not on the CP survey. See remarks under Table 4.10.

†These figures are estimates based on general experience. See remarks under Table 4.10.

CHEROKEES IN SCHOOL

The survey questionnaire included questions on when and under what circumstances children left school. Since most interviews were conducted during the day when young people, especially those with jobs, were not around, the information had to be obtained from adults in the household. Generally, they could tell me very little. Informants were painstakingly precise in answering questions when they knew the answer, even delicate questions about the income of people on welfare. Their vagueness about questions relating to the education of their children was not motivated by a desire to withhold information. They simply knew very little about why children stay in or drop out of school. The degree to which adult members of the Cherokee community are alienated from the school system is impressive.

Thus, the survey did not produce many "hard data" on this subject, but from the conversations that arose while administering the questionnaire and from my observations while living in two Cherokee settlements, I can note some trends.

- (1) Cherokees are staying in school longer. The median number of years completed by youngsters rose from seven to ten in the past decade.
- (2) Increased school attendance has no demonstrable relationship to anything that goes on inside the school. Cherokees now find it easier to get to school since there are very adequate school bus facilities. As recently as the 1940s many Cherokees had to walk as much as three or four miles to school. There is more enforcement of truancy regulations than formerly. This is especially true of households supervised by the Bureau of Indian Affairs or state social workers since they are likely to make school attendance a condition for welfare payments. There is less employment for young people. In the 1930s children were needed for farm work. Now teenagers are largely unemployed, although their help is sometimes urgently needed around the house.

Although I have met Whites in this region who stayed in school simply for the athletics, I rarely have heard this from Cherokees. Cherokee girls seem a little more interested than boys in school, and some girls are enthusiastic about being on girls' basketball teams. Young men obviously enjoy playing on Cherokee settlement softball teams, but few are attracted to high school sports. When I lived at Cherry Tree, I met boys who had turned out for football in the ninth grade and quit after a few weeks because it was "too rough." What "too rough" implied, I am not sure.

Although I have heard of Indians elsewhere in the United States attending school simply for the free lunch, I have never heard this reason given by Cherokees.

Teenagers here, as everywhere, are style conscious. I do not know how many Cherokee youngsters dislike going to school for lack of the "right" clothes, but I do recall that the two Cherokee boys I knew who were most determined to make it through school would stay up and iron a fresh, sharp crease into their sport shirts and unfaded blue jeans every single night.

Finally, school must compete with other activities. Whereas a Chicago youth has relatively few opportunities for spending a pleasant day if stone broke, a Cherokee boy playing hooky has his choice of some of the best hunting and fishing country in the Southwest.

Incredibly few Cherokees ever graduate from high school. The number is so low that it is probably misleading even to talk about "Cherokee dropouts." It seems to me that to call a youngster who does not finish high school a "dropout" is realistic terminology only when not dropping out is a norm. Such is not now the case among Cherokees. In Delaware county, where by the school system's definition nineteen percent of the residents are Indian (one-fourth or more Indian blood), an estimated two percent graduate from high school (Underwood, 1965). This would mean that the number of functional Cherokee students who graduate from high school is under one percent. In Cherokee county in 1965 there was a school-age population (six to eighteen years) of 1050 Indians (one-fourth or more Indian blood). Of this number, twenty-four graduated from high school in 1965 (Underwood, 1965).

Whereas high school dropouts generally leave school during the eleventh and twelfth grades, the majority of Cherokee dropouts leave school before or during the first year of high school (see Table 4.12).

Table 4.12 Last Year of School Completed
By Age Group 20-30 Years

Grade completed:	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	12+
Men	0	1	12	12	2	0	7	1
Women	1	2	7	17	8	7	5	0
All	1	3	19	29	10	7	12	1

The transition from grade school to high school means for Cherokee youngsters a transition from a school in their home community to a school outside of it. The transition involves not only going a greater distance to school but also adjusting to a new peer group. Given the tendency to drop out at the end of grade school, those Cherokees who continue have to face the new educational environment alone. Most high schools are urban (Sallisaw, Muldrow, Stilwell, Westville, Tahlequah, Hulbert, Kansas, Jay, and Salina), containing many children of middle-class backgrounds. Thus Cherokee students find themselves suddenly among classmates with relatively little previous contact with Indians and, to put the matter politely, a higher level of cross-cultural ignorance.² With relatively little social support, Cherokee adolescents are confronted for the first time in any personally significant way with major class differences within their own peer group. A large number are able to stand no more than a year of this and drop out during or at the end of the ninth grade.

This uncomfortable social environment is evidently not the whole explanation for Cherokees dropping out of school. Cave Springs High School, located within the rural Cherokee settlement of Bunch in Adair county, has a similar dropout rate despite the more homogeneous student body. One could argue from this that dropping out in ninth grade is not a result of the high-school environment but of inadequate academic preparation in the country grade schools. However, rural school principals seem convinced that the preparation is comparable to that offered in urban grade schools, and I believe that comparison of high school performance of White students from urban and rural grade schools would support the principals' evaluation.

A hypothesis worth investigating but not testable with

present data is that dropping out of school results from difficulty with English. By and large, Cherokee teenagers are fluent only in the dialect of English spoken in rural Oklahoma.³ I have observed Cherokees fluent in this dialect having grave difficulty when conversing with strangers who spoke the English common to middle-class urbanites. Success in grade school rests primarily upon mastery of mechanical procedures (arithmetic, spelling, grammar, rote memorization of geography, etc.), while success in high school increasingly depends upon mastery of more sophisticated English.

In addition to the eighth and ninth grade dropouts, a high number of dropouts also occur in the late eleventh and twelfth grades. This is not clearly evident in Table 4.12 because of the small sample and because many Cherokees, especially boys, who have gone beyond the eleventh grade have migrated and therefore do not show up in the sample drawn from local Cherokee settlements. Some of the factors that contribute to dropping out at this point are:

- (1) Pregnancy and/or marriage. A considerable number of Cherokee girls marry and/or become pregnant while still in high school. This is in part due to the high percentage of Cherokee young people who are eighteen years or older by the eleventh and twelfth grade and does not suggest that Cherokees reach sexual maturity any earlier than Whites.
- (2) Family responsibilities. Cherokee families are close knit and poor. Sickness is frequent and accidents are common among workers, and temporary incapacitation of a wage earner frequently jeopardizes his family's welfare. In addition, where grandparents or elderly relatives are raising grandchildren, they occasionally become too old to care adequately for the children before the latter finish school. Hence, some students drop out of school in time of financial crisis or to take care of older relatives and younger siblings.
- (3) Passing eighteen years of age. Many students come from households under the supervision of social workers who made staying in school until eighteen a condition for receiving welfare benefits. Students have no choice but to stay in school, but drop out as soon as this "string" can no longer be pulled. I have heard of cases where, ironically, a child could afford to stay in school only by virtue of the dependancy allowance in the welfare payment. Upon passing eighteen, the allowance ceased and the family could no longer afford to keep the child in school. Such cases, however, are probably quite rare.

- (4) Recruitment. Perhaps the major cause of so many dropouts in the twelfth grade is the necessity for spending the entire last half year bargaining with recruiters. All the armed services visit high schools and attempt to recruit enlistees. The BIA representatives begin to discuss a student's "plans" with him. He is tempted with relocation in Chicago or Los Angeles, or with a vocational course in Dallas or Okmulgee, or with a course at Haskell Institute. He is offered college scholarships. But no one ever considers discussing with him a way in which he can settle down near his kinfolk and use his high school degree to earn a decent living locally. To the youngster who wants to "bug out" of the Cherokee community (and there are a number who want to do just that) the high school degree is a golden gateway. To the Cherokee youngster who wants to stay in the place he calls home and earn a decent living, however, the high school degree is not perceived as an advantage. On the contrary, it is a liability, for to earn the degree is to open the door to the salesman.

There is no doubt that high school graduates tend to migrate away from Cherokee settlements and that settlements are handicapped by the loss of this talent (see Table 4.13). Yet undetermined are the proportions of high school graduates who leave voluntarily and permanently because they want to escape from Cherokee life; voluntarily but temporarily, having yielded to the high pressure salesmanship only to become disillusioned with their new life and anxious to return home; or involuntarily because they cannot make a living at home or cannot get a job commensurate with the amount of education they have had.

Most of the Cherokee high school graduates who remain within Cherokee communities do not have jobs different from those held by workers with a fourth-grade education. For those many Cherokees who do not want to leave home and wish to see their home community prosper, there is as yet no demonstrated advantage to a high school education. Cherokees know that White people say a good job and a good living depend upon a good education, but they see no indication that this is true for Cherokees. They see only too well that a high school education is a ticket to far off places, and for most Cherokees this is irrelevant.

Table 4.13 Education of Cherokee
Migrants, Ages 20-30*

School years completed: [†]	8	9	10	11	12	12+
Men	1	4	2	6	14	2
Women	0	1	2	1	8	3
All	1	5	4	7	22	5

*Twelve of the men in this sample are in the armed services. I have included them as migrants because it is my impression that the percentage of Cherokee servicemen who resume Cherokee community life is very low. There are two reasons for this. First of all, the armed services are an easy escape from Cherokee life, and many Cherokees become "career men" for this reason. Within authoritarian military life social status yields to rank and life is clear cut. Furthermore, if one enlists at eighteen, one can retire at thirty-eight, return to Cherokee country in the prime of life, and enjoy a pension. Few people who enter the urban bluecollar class can aspire to such security at so early an age. Second, very often Cherokees marry non-Cherokee women while in the service. Quite a few Cherokees married German girls while serving in Germany. Few of these women are willing to settle for a life in rural Oklahoma.

Parenthetically, the number of Cherokees accepted for military service is surprisingly small. I do not know whether selective service finds them physically unfit, unfit because of deficient education, or whether Cherokees have hit upon some clever way to evade the draft.

[†]Median = 12.2

LITERACY IN ENGLISH

Figures on the high rate of functional illiteracy (i.e., completion of less than four years of school) among Cherokees have already been cited in this report. Literacy is not a function of schooling alone. It is a function of reading, and what Cherokees read is in part a function of what there is to read in this part of the country. Eastern Oklahoma is

not a reader's paradise. It manages to get along quite nicely without books. In a typical county seat such as Stilwell the available literary resources are:

- (1) Newspapers: An Adair county paper is published weekly at Stilwell. Newspapers from Muskogee, Tulsa, and Oklahoma City are available daily.
- (2) Magazines: The usual drugstore assortment is available for sale. These are largely "pulp" types featuring romance, true confessions, crime, men's adventures, and sports. News magazines are rarely stocked.
- (3) Books: Again, there is the usual drugstore selection of paperbacks, heavy on westerns and detective stories. The prestige lines of literary paperbacks are not available. There is no place in Adair, Cherokee, Delaware, or Sequoyah counties that sells hardbound books other than the Bible. To my knowledge, there is no library.

In an effort to gather some data on reading habits the following questions were included in the survey questionnaire: Do you take a newspaper? Do you take any magazines? What books do you have? These questions were asked during the pretest of the questionnaire and in the first community surveyed but were later excised, in part because the questionnaire was too long and in part because the questions seemed unproductive. A single Cherokee word serves usually for "newspaper," "book," and "magazine." In English, Cherokees refer to magazines as "books." This made the survey questions difficult to translate.

Very few Cherokee families subscribe to a daily newspaper. Slightly more families subscribe to weekly county newspapers, and still more people buy copies in town. County newspapers carry no national or international news and very little state news from outside the county. They are full of church news, neighborhood events, and announcements of births, marriages, deaths, and hospital admissions and dismissals. While I lived at Cherry Tree, it seemed to me that Cherokees read all accounts of automobile accidents, fires, thefts, etc., but neither read nor talked about anything abstract or organizational, such as local politics, accounts of city council meetings, and the like.

A great number of families receive agricultural magazines such as "Grit" and "Farmer and Stockman," but they are not paid subscribers and do not read them with much attention. Romance and true confession type magazines are very popular. Women buy them, read them, and pass them on, so that the

same copy makes its way from household to household. While the titillating, romanticized, yet moralistic view of life presented in these magazines is compatible with some of the fantasies and aspirations that young Cherokee women have, I think the attractiveness lies not so much in content as in style. These magazines and comic books are the only American publications that communicate in the personal, direct, concrete style of folk people. There is lively circulation of comic books among youngsters. Men read little and do not buy "men's" magazines.

Hardbound books other than Bibles are very seldom found in Cherokee homes. Bibles are universal and are read diligently. Many Cherokees read the Bible for a little while every evening, and Cherokees who are literate in both Cherokee and English will often compare passages from the Cherokee and English versions of the Bible to ferret out the real meaning of a verse. Children bring textbooks home from school, and I know of some children, especially girls, who bring library books home from school and read them with great enjoyment. Religious pamphlets, tracts, and newsletters are very popular among those who have been influenced by younger "progressive" Cherokee preachers. Time after time I have noticed that Cherokees are generally curious about books. Adults pick up their children's school books and leaf through them at home. When public meetings are held at school houses, adults will quietly leaf through whatever literature is within arm's reach while they listen to the discussion. Apart from school material, however, what is there in print in a direct, simple, forceful English prose style that would interest or be useful to most Cherokee readers?

I conclude that Cherokee's disinterest in reading is more a commentary on the available literature than on Cherokee ability. I sense a potential interest in reading that remains latent for lack of books.

NOTES

¹The non-White population of the state of Oklahoma in 1960 was 70.0% Negro, 29.2% Indian, and 0.8% other non-White. The Five Civilized Tribes are less well-educated than the non-White average. Insofar as there are figures for other Indian tribes in the state, they have an educational level very close to the average for all non-Whites.

²Such ignorance can be horribly painful for a Cherokee adolescent. A Cherokee friend of mine, an exceptionally mature and intelligent young man in the tenth grade at Stilwell High School, who was earning good grades, decided to demon-

strate the Sequoyah syllabary for an oral report in his Oklahoma history class. He brought copies of the syllabary and Cherokee Primer and, having just taught himself to read and write Cherokee, demonstrated the system by writing and pronouncing Cherokee words on the blackboard. At the end of the report the teacher, much pleased, encouraged the class to ask questions. No questions were asked about the syllabary, but rather the student was forced to respond to a humiliating flood of impertinences. He first was asked if he could recite the Lord's Prayer in Cherokee. This he patiently did. He then was asked if there really were Cherokees who could "witch" people. He replied that there were. When asked if he were a witch (!), he replied that this was a power attainable only by older people. The incredulous students then asked whether he "really believed in all that superstition." Endowed with remarkable self-confidence, he was able to explain that this was exactly what he believed. Few indeed are the fifteen-year-olds of any society who could withstand such an inquisition! The teacher, by the way, never intervened in this exchange.

³This is a distinctive dialect but not highly regional nor conspicuously "substandard" as is the "Pine Ridge dialect" spoken by Sioux. See Wax and Wax 1964.

INCOME

LEVEL OF INCOME

The results of the Carnegie Project (CP) survey make it very clear that Cherokees are extremely poor. The median income of Cherokee households falls \$700-\$750 below the so-called "poverty level" of \$3,000 per rural household. Considering that Cherokee households are larger than White households, the per capita income is even lower (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 CP Survey Data on Cherokee Income,
1963

Community	Median income per household	Median income <u>per capita</u>
Hulbert, Cherokee Co.	\$2300	\$500
Cherry Tree, Adair Co.	2300	500
Marble City, Sequoyah Co.	2250	650
Bull Hollow, Delaware Co.	2250	450

The Bureau of Business Research of the University of Oklahoma publishes Oklahoma income figures each year. Comparison of income of Cherokees with the average income in the counties in which they live reveals that in no county do Cherokees enjoy even half the average household income (see Table 5.2).

When the income of Cherokees is compared with the income of Whites, the difference is even more extreme. Nor have the CP figures on Cherokee income been distorted by the small sample size. They agree remarkably well with data released by the Bureau of Business Research (Tables 5.3 and 5.4). There is an enormous gap between White and Cherokee earnings.

Table 5.2 Cherokee and County Average
per capita Income, 1963

Community	Median Cherokee per capita income*	Median county per capita income	Cherokee income as percent of county income
Hulbert, Cherokee Co.	\$500	\$1510	33%
Cherry Tree, Adair Co.	500	1310	38
Marble City, Sequoyah Co.	650	1456	45
Bull Hollow, Delaware Co.	450	1783	25

*Source: CP Survey

Source: Bureau of Business Research, University of Oklahoma,
1963

Table 5.3 Median Family Incomes of
Cherokees, Whites, Negroes*

County	Average	Cherokee	Negro	White	Cherokee as percent of White
Adair	\$3543	\$2279		\$3930	59%
Cherokee	4251	2898		4570	63
Delaware	4404	2720		4750	58
Sequoyah	3708	2189		3940	56

*Source: Bureau of Business Research, University of Oklahoma,
1963. The BBR cites figures only in the following categories:
"Total," "Negro," and "Indian." I approximated the income

of Whites by the following formula:

$$\text{White median income} = \frac{(TP)(TI) - (\text{Ind. } P)(\text{Ind. } I) + (\text{Neg. } P)(\text{Neg. } I)}{(\text{Wh. } P)}$$

where I = median income

P = population (from 1960-census)

T = total

Table 5.4 White and Cherokee per capita Income*

County	White per capita income	Cherokee per capita income	Cherokee income as percent of White income
Adair	\$1090	\$465	43%
Cherokee	1270	590	47
Delaware	1320	555	42
Sequoyah	1090	445	41

*Data in this table are based on the Bureau of Business Research figures cited in Table 5.3. Per capita income was derived by dividing the figure for White family median income by 3.6, the 1960 U.S. census figure for Oklahoma rural nonfarm families. If allowance were made for the number of rural farm families and urban families, the White per capita income would be even higher. Per capita income of Cherokees was derived by dividing the Bureau of Business Research figure for Indian family median income by 4.9, the average number of inhabitants per household in the CP survey.

The figures in this table do not agree with the per capita income figures from the Bureau of Business Research used in Table 5.2, which were released by the BBR as cited. In my opinion, the figures in Table 5.3 and 5.4 are more accurate, particularly in view of the startlingly close correlation between BBR and CP figures for Cherokees,

This gap is no less great in Adair county with its small urban, middle-class White population than it is in Cherokee county where there is a large urban, middle-class population. It is obvious that Cherokees are consistently underemployed.

and underpaid.

During the past decade, Cherokee per capita income has increased due to the transition in eastern Oklahoma from subsistence farming to a cash economy. In 1952 Cullum estimated Cherokee median income as \$231 and \$195 on the bases of two different sets of data. Per capita income is now two to three times higher. This difference in per capita income does not mean that Cherokees are any better off; if anything they are less well off than they were a decade ago. Dependency upon wage earnings is relatively the same. Cullum reported that 130 out of 479 households, or 27 percent, received income only from wages or salaries. In communities surveyed in 1963, between 13 and 47 percent of households were limited to wages and salaries. The number of households depending on welfare is relatively the same. In 1952 Cullum reported upon welfare payments. In communities surveyed in 1963, in between 21 and 33 percent of households welfare was the sole source of income. Whereas in Cullum's survey a full quarter of Cherokee households were supported by self-employed farmers, almost no Cherokees farm now.

At present, hardly a third of Cherokee households are able to support themselves, and more than half of all Cherokee households are wholly or partially dependent upon welfare (see Tables 5.5 and 5.6).

Table 5.5 Sources of Household Income, 1963

Community	Wages	Wages + Welfare	Welfare + Soc. Sec. and/or pension	Social Sec. and/or pension
Hulbert N = 30	13%	27%	33%	17%
Cherry Tree N = 32	47	22	22	6
Marble City N = 19	32	32	21	2
Bull Hollow N = 20	40	25	25	5

Table 5.6 Dependency upon County Welfare, 1963

County	Indians on Welfare rolls*	Indians in county population†
Adair	31%	23%
Cherokee	23	20
Delaware	36	19

*One-fourth or more Indian blood.

†Self-identified on 1960 census.

Cherokees are now able to earn only 57 percent of the total amount of money flowing into Cherokee households; 29 percent comes from welfare (see Table 5.7).

Table 5.7 Source of Total Income of Community

Community	Wages	Welfare	Soc. Sec. + Pensions	Miscellaneous
Hulbert N = 25	39%	42%	18%	0%
Cherry Tree N = 30	64	19	11	5
Marble City N = 17	60	29	10	1
Bull Hollow N = 17	64	25	8	1
All*	57	29	12	2

*Weighted. See remarks under Table 4.1.

In 1952 Cullum was startled to discover that 30 percent of the heads of families were not in the labor market and that another 30 percent were unskilled laborers. In the communities surveyed in 1963 between 42 and 66 percent of heads of families were not in the labor market, and from 12 to 58 percent of males between eighteen and fifty-nine years of age were unskilled laborers (see Tables 5.8 and 5.9).

Table 5.8 Heads of Households in Labor Force

<i>Community</i>	<i>Househeads in labor force</i>
Hulbert N = 29	34%
Cherry Tree N = 36	58
Marble City N = 19	53
Bull Hollow N = 20	50

Table 5.9 Occupational Status of Cherokee Males, 18-59 Years of Age

<i>Community</i>	<i>Unskilled</i>	<i>Semi-skilled</i>	<i>Skilled</i>	<i>Self-employed</i>	<i>Unemployed</i>	<i>Not in labor force</i>
Hulbert N = 27	41%	0%	7%	0%	37%	15%
Cherry Tree* N = 33	58	9	6	12	6	6
Marble City N = 17	12	24	12	2	24	24
Bull Hollow N = 16	44	19	2	0	0	31

*Plus 3% professional in Cherry Tree.

Less than 60 percent of Cherokee wage earners hold steady jobs. The rest are employed on an odd-job, short-term, or seasonal basis (see Table 5.10). Cherokees working within the six counties of the Cherokee Nation seldom are able to find semi-skilled or skilled jobs apart from work on "Indian project" road crews. Cherokees in skilled jobs at prevailing wages for skilled labor commute to Ft. Smith, Arkansas, or Tulsa.

*Table 5.10 Status of Employment of
Cherokee Male Workers*

<i>Community</i>	<i>Steady employment</i>	<i>Seasonal, odd-job, or short-term employment</i>
Hulbert N = 12	54%	46%
Cherry Tree N = 23	53	47
Marble City N = 9	78	22
Bull Hollow N = 11	64	36

EMPLOYMENT AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Unemployment among Cherokees is extremely high. Because of Cherokees' willingness to accept short term employment at low pay figures presented in Table 5.9 actually minimize the degree of unemployment in Cherokee settlements. Although only six percent of the men working in Cherry Tree are listed as unemployed, a number of men in that community listed as unskilled laborers take jobs at which they barely break even. Several of them depend on a local straw boss to tell them when there is work at a chicken packing plant in Lincoln, Arkansas. On the two or three nights per week when there is such work, they commute many miles to work all night at \$1.00 per hour. In the same community several men work full days at a local fruit orchard for \$4 to \$6 per day. Some men in Bull Hollow work in a chicken packing plant in Missouri for comparable pay. Throughout Adair and Cherokee counties many men are irregularly employed by nurseries and orchards at \$0.85 to \$1.00 per hour.

If Cherokees refused work paying less than the federal minimum wage or not providing minimum provisions for the safety and insurance of employees, the unemployment rate among Cherokees would be from fifty to a hundred percent higher than it is at present.

Within the population surveyed, there was only one professional (employed by the Carnegie Project), no white-collar workers, no sales personnel, no foremen, and only one entrepreneur (the proprietor of a hamburger stand). No Cherokees in the sample except for the one individual employed by the Carnegie Project, hold jobs for which a high school diploma is a necessity. Illiterate Cherokees and high school graduates share the same end of identical shovels.

In spite of the generally low level of education among the Cherokees, it is apparent that there are more skilled and educated Cherokees within the communities surveyed than there are jobs to utilize these skills. The unemployment rate is highest among educated Cherokees in their twenties.

CHEROKEE ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT

The survey results reveal that as an ethnic group the Cherokees subsist on the crumbs of the regional economic "pie." The Cherokees constitute part of this larger economic system, but the Cherokee economy is a unique subsystem within it. Cullum mentioned that "conditions such as those here reported have prompted the questions 'How can they manage to live on so little income?' . . . These questions have been put frequently by the writer to those who live along side [the Cherokees]. The answer invariably has been, 'I don't know' or 'that's something I've never been able to figure out'" (1952:15).

The answer is simple and twofold. First, as the regional economy of eastern Oklahoma moves rapidly from subsistence farming to a cash base, the Cherokees lag behind. At any point in time since the 1920s the Cherokee economy has been relatively more dependent upon subsistence farming than the wider region. Second, the Cherokee economy is, in its own terms, a highly efficient economy based on the maximum utilization of known resources and sharing among relatives (see Wahrhaftig 1965a:7). It is difficult to use wages and dollars to illustrate the working of this economic system, but if we consider where and how Cherokees build their houses, the mechanics of the system are clear.

For most Americans housing is a major expense. Cherokees are able to avoid the bulk of this expense, paying little or nothing for land, usually nothing for labor, and perhaps fifty

percent of the "normal" expenditures for materials. In rural Cherokee settlements, between half and two-thirds of all houses are built on the remnants of lands allotted to Cherokees in 1907 (see Table 5.11). About a quarter of the remaining houses are built on land that has been purchased and "restricted." In the majority of cases (an estimated 75 percent) land is purchased on land allotments elsewhere. In many of the remaining cases neighboring Indians sell land to Indian purchasers at low prices. The motive for such sale and purchase is to live closer to one's kinfolk. In rural settlements about 80 percent of households are rent free. Since Cherokee settlements are located in marginal lands and are generally very isolated, the rent paid by the remaining 20 to 25 percent of households is low.

Table 5.11 Status of Cherokee Residential Sites

Community	Allotted	Purchased & restricted	Being purchased through welfare	Rented	Tribal property (former "government land")
Hulbert N = 30	46%	6%	3%	40%	0%
Cherry Tree N = 32	66	16	0	11	11
Marble City N = 17	48	24	12	13	0
Bull Hollow N = 18	61	33	0	0	5

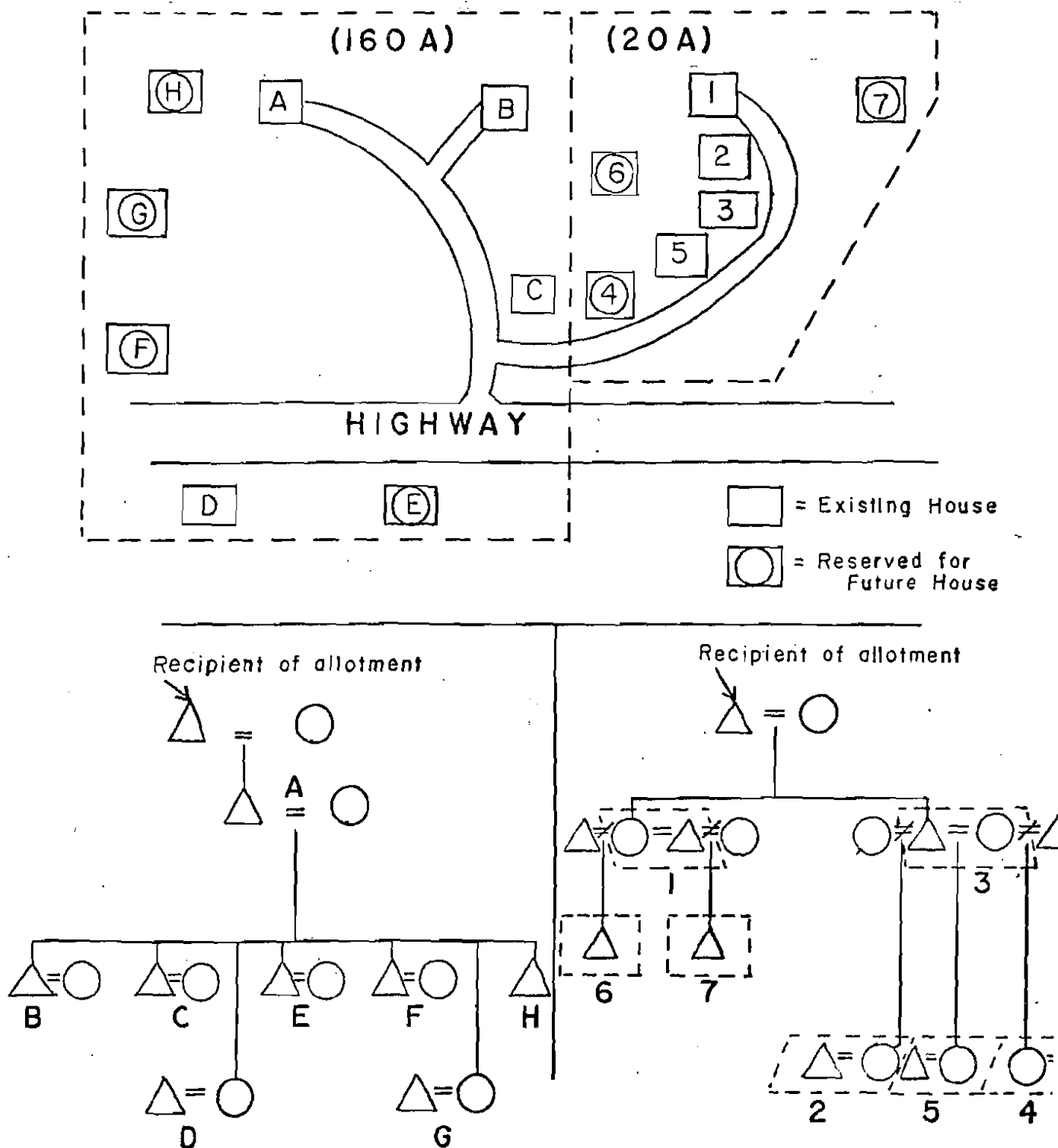
Traditionally, and as recently as the 1930s, homes were built by a *gadoogi*, a community work group. This was a little like an old-fashioned barn raising. At present, an estimated 75 percent or more of Cherokee homes are built by the owner and his close kin. Skilled workers in the settlement either contribute their time or provide it at a discount. Sturdy second-hand material is often used, culled and trimmed so as to be as structurally sound as new. Frequently, attractive and livable houses are built from fifty-year old log houses, torn down, reassembled, and sheathed with modern materials.

Cherokees are able to house a great number of people on their remaining land allotments by sharing them. The array of people living on any given tract of allotted land is likely to be bewildering. A typical example is shown in Figure 5.1, based on an actual and very typical arrangement in Adair county. On this tract are situated the household of the elderly heir of the tract, the households of two married sons and one married daughter, and sites that have been chosen by the remaining sons and daughters, all of whom are "temporarily" either in Chicago or Dallas. On the neighboring tract of land are located households of the widow of the original allottee and her present husband, the daughter of the allottee by an earlier marriage and her husband, the son of the widow of the allottee by a former marriage and his wife, and the allottee's widow's son's stepdaughter and her husband. In addition, a site has been reserved for the children of the widow of the allottee by her present marriage. Confusing as this may sound, the principle is clear and characteristically Cherokee. The residents on a given tract of land will "lend" any unoccupied portion of it to any relative who requests it and will reserve portions for any offspring who might want it in the future.

The economic adjustment of the Cherokee tribe is as viable as can be expected under the circumstances. This economic adjustment is made possible by marginality in terms of the general regional economy and the cohesiveness of Cherokee settlements. Both of the factors that contribute to the effectiveness of the Cherokee tribal economy also contribute to its vulnerability.

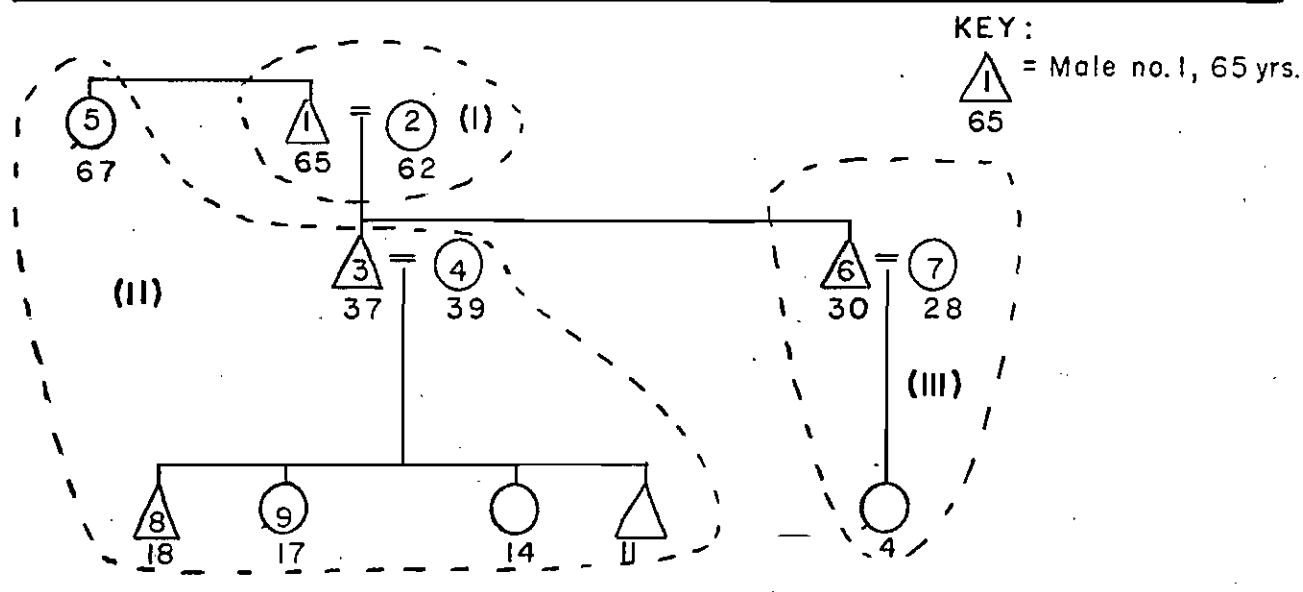
It is paradoxical that a community should benefit by general economic marginality, but even the case of housing illustrates this point. First of all, if the community as a whole were less marginal, land values would increase. Rents would be higher, fewer families would be able to live rent free, and a greater percentage of income would be spent for rent. Purchase prices would be higher, possibly so high as to prohibit land purchase by poor kinfolk, and there would be more inducement to sell allotted lands in moments of financial crisis. Second, decreased marginality would imply a higher income for skilled labor. With increased housing costs, fewer skilled builders could afford to donate their time to building houses for their poor neighbors, and the cost of constructing and maintaining houses would increase. If the sharing patterns of the settlement were not disturbed in the face of decreasing marginality, the distribution of higher wages might offset increasing costs. At present, however, marginality and cohesiveness are mutually supportive and the effectiveness with which Cherokees deploy their limited economic resources depends upon settlement cohesiveness.

Figure 5.1 Utilization of Two Tracts of Allotted Land by Two Kin Groups, Adair County, 1963.



The present cooperative arrangements of Cherokee settlements are not only efficient but also elastic and intricate. Examination of a typical Cherokee economic unit is illustrative (see Figure 5.2). For most purposes this social and economic unit is composed of three separate households. Two of the households contain nuclear families and the third contains a nuclear family plus the father's elderly aunt. The three households constitute a single cohesive unit, or a patrilineal, patrilocal extended family. Household I lives on a tract of land. Household III lives in a trailer house fifty yards from household I. Both wives cook together in household I, and the families eat together.

Figure 5.2 Characteristic Cherokee Economic Unit,
Delaware County, 1963



Source of Income

Household	Individual	Income
I	1	Welfare/Old age
	2	None
II	3	Road construction crew
	4	Cannery worker, seasonal
	5	None
III	6	Steel plant labor (Tulsa)
	7	Office work (Pryor)

On a typical summer day this socioeconomic unit functions as follows. After breakfast the head of household III and his wife commute to work, leaving their daughter in the care of her grandmother at household I. The head of household II drives to work (taking his wife's brother, who does not figure on the diagram). His aunt takes care of his children if they are at home. The head of household I drives to the home of household II to take his daughter-in-law (and other kinfolk who do not figure in the diagram) to her job at a distant cannery. He waits at the cannery and drives her back in the evening.

The above pattern is not an old arrangement. Household III lived in Tulsa and moved back to the settlement only a few months ago.— They find that by commuting to the jobs they had, they can live as well and participate more fully in the settlement. They have been incorporated into an effective arrangement with respect to the other two households in a very short time. From this example, several general principles emerge.

- (1) Every adult performs a useful economic role. If elderly women #2 and #5 could not care for children and watch over the household, the earnings of women #4 and #7 would be lost.
- (2) Economic arrangements are flexible and can incorporate new households with ease.
- (3) Individuals are more or less "rationally" allocated in households where they can be most useful and best cared for. Elderly woman #5 could move into household I or III if the women therein were incapacitated.
- (4) The arrangement promotes maximum security for all concerned. If the young men in households II and III were to relocate with their families, woman #5 would have to be added to the welfare rolls. Similarly, if the children of household II were to relocate, their parents eventually would be on welfare. The members of household I never needed welfare assistance until they were too elderly for wage labor. Had they had jobs that had provided pensions or social security, they would not be on welfare now. Finally, it is obvious that as long as Cherokee settlements retain their cohesiveness, there are no nuclear families or "broken" homes. None of the three households illustrated have any independent economic functions. The combined earnings of all members of the extended family are barely enough to maintain a simple, decent life.

Actually, the settlement as a whole constitutes an economic unit; everyone in the settlement is kin to everyone else. The arrangements that bind these three households at the moment could be extended to include any other household and at secondary levels do so. Individuals #3, #4, #6, and #7 all pool rides to work with members of other households. In times of need, members of the settlement use the settlement church for distributing food, clothing, firewood, labor, and cash to other needy households.

Of the four settlements surveyed, Hulbert is the least marginal and least cohesive. It illustrates well the cost Cherokee settlements pay for decreased marginality. Many young workers have migrated into the city and, bereft of their support and care, many of their elderly dependents have had to move into town. As a result, there is less cash income, less "helping out" in the settlement, and many more households that have had to request welfare assistance.

The elasticity associated with economic marginality is bound to diminish in the future. Since the progression into a cash economy is probably irreversible, Cherokee settlements will not continue to lag behind the general population of the region in this respect. As this happens, Cherokees will be more vulnerable to fluctuations in wages and employment. With this growing dependency on fluctuating cash incomes, there will be increased need for the communal support provided by cohesive settlements. This is to say that unless cash can be channeled into settlements and distributed according to traditional sharing patterns, Cherokee households will be in for serious economic troubles.

The economist Karl Polanyi said of just such situations as this:

Not economic exploitation, as often assumed, but the disintegration of the cultural environment of the victim is then the cause of degradation. The economic process may, naturally, supply the vehicle of destruction, and almost invariably economic inferiority will make the weaker yield, but the immediate cause of his undoing is not for that reason economic; it lies in the lethal injury to the institutions in which his social existence is embedded. The result is a loss of self-respect and standards, whether the unit is a people or a class, whether the process springs from so-called "culture conflict" or from a change in the position of a class within the confines of a society (1944:157).

THE CHEROKEE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN
RELATION TO OTHER TRIBES

Cherokees living in country settlements within the Cherokee Nation have considerably less income than neighboring Whites but considerably more income than neighboring Negroes. Both Whites and Negroes are better educated than Cherokees. This suggests that the poverty of Cherokees is not directly attributable to lack of education. Negroes in the area are somewhat less a rural population than Cherokees, and Cherokee resources are no greater than those of Negroes. Such comparison of income and educational levels of the regional ethnic groups suggests that social status accounts for the difference in income, with discrimination causing greater unemployment and underemployment of Negroes.

There are no great variations in income among the Five Civilized Tribes (see Table 5.12). The median income of all five tribes is much higher than that of Negroes in the region. The income of Choctaws appears to be somewhat higher than that of Cherokees, and the income of Chicasaws considerably higher or considerably lower, depending on the county under consideration. It is likely that isolated rural communities in each tribe have much the same level of income. Creeks and Chicasaws are closer to industrial jobs in cities than are Cherokees, and Choctaws have more access to regional extractive industries, particularly lumber mills. The Cherokees are the poorest of the five tribes and are most marginal to the developing industrial economy of the state. This differential ability of the tribes to benefit from growing industrialization may well widen this gap in median income.

It is difficult to obtain fully comparable figures, but in most cases the income of western Oklahoma Indians is substantially above that of the Five Civilized Tribes (see Table 5.13). Western Oklahoma Indians have more access to jobs in Oklahoma's larger cities and benefit from the higher wage scale of this more developed area of the state. In addition, western Oklahoma tribes have more resources than do Cherokees. They have retained more land, and in Osage county, where the land has great value, this is an enormous asset. The 1960 median family income from tribal land resources was reported by the respective Bureau of Indian Affairs offices to be as follows for the tribes of the area: Cheyenne, \$400; Kiowa, \$720; Pawnee, \$200; Pottawatomie, \$600; Shawnee, \$200. The Cherokees have been stripped of all such resources.

Cherokees are poorer than most Indians in the United States. Some large, isolated tribal groups, such as the Navajo, have a much lower per capita income, but in comparison with a cross section of "reservation" Indians, Cherokees are

**Table 5.12 Income of Indians and Negroes
in Five Civilized Tribes Area***

<i>County</i>	<i>Tribe</i>	<i>Total Income</i>	<i>Indian Income</i>	<i>Negro Income</i>
Adair	Cherokee	\$3543	\$2279	--
Cherokee	"	4251	2898	\$1635
Delaware	"	4404	2720	1535
Mayes	"	5191	2638	1488
Sequoyah	"	3708	2189	1235
Atoka	Choctaw	3503	2803	1582
Bryan	"	3790	3148	1776
Coal	"	3927	2883	1627
Choctaw	"	3162	2891	1635
Haskell	"	3729	2677	1511
Latimer	"	4585	2549	1438
LeFlore	"	3747	3339	1883
McCurtain	"	3743	3498	1973
Pittsburg	"	3381	2936	1656
Pushmataha	"	3739	3056	1725
Creek	Creek	5044	2571	2099
Hughes	"	3497	2810	1585
McIntosh	"	3257	2735	1543
Muskogee	"	4097	2478	2003
Okfuskee	"	3302	2419	1365
Okmulgee	"	4127	2837	1600
Tulsa	"	5794	3365	2723
Bryan	Chicasaw	3790	3148	1776
Carter	"	4036	1838	1490
Garvin	"	5517	3261	1840
Johnston	"	4506	3237	1826
Marshall	"	5037	3825	2158
Murray	"	4287	3015	1701
Pontotoc	"	4219	2637	1488
Seminole	Seminole	4630	2807	1842

*Source: Bureau of Business Research, University of Oklahoma. "Family Median Incomes" Oklahoma, 1963

Table 5.13 Income of the Five Civilized Tribes
and Tribes of Western Oklahoma, 1963*

Tribe	Income
Cherokee	\$2189-2898
Choctaw	2677-3148
Chicasaw	1838-3825
Creek	2419-3365
Seminole	2807
Caddo	2682
Osage	10,236
Ponca	3466
Comanche }	
Kiowa	3988
Sac & Fox }	
Pottawatomie }	3595
Shawnee }	

*Source: Bureau of Business Research, University of
Oklahoma, 1963

nearly at the bottom of the list (see Table 5.14). The Cherokees live in a rich environment and participate in a regional economy within which most find employment. By comparison, the Sioux live in economic isolation, far from work in towns and cities, and derive most of their income from federally subsidized jobs. Furthermore, it appears that Sioux have a higher rate of unemployment than Cherokees. Yet, despite the fact that the Sioux have a reputation of being an impoverished tribe, there is very little difference between Cherokee and Sioux per capita income. The comparison indicates that Cherokees gain no advantage from their proximity to urban centers and employment in the general Oklahoma labor pool. Bluntly, it indicates that a few Sioux employed by the government at federal minimum wages and careful exploitation of limited tribal land resources bring the Sioux more per capita income than the Cherokees can earn despite a larger percentage of their available manpower employed at prevailing wages.

*Table 5.14 Family Income of Selected
American Indian Tribes, 1960**

<i>Tribe</i>	<i>Median Family Income</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>State</i>
Navajo	In rural settlements, less than \$750	Various	N. Mex., Ariz.
Cherokee	\$1530	Adair	Oklahoma
"	1941	Cherokee	"
"	1653	Delaware	"
Apache	1718	Gila	New Mexico
Blackfoot	2716	Glacier	Montana
Chippewa	2198	Cass	Minnesota
"	1654	Becker	"
"	2928	Bertram	"
"	2281	Rolette	North Dakota
Crow	2278	Bighorn	Montana
Cheyenne	1972	Rosebud	"
Sioux	1775	Shannon	South Dakota
"	1338	Todd	"
"	2000	Sioux	North Dakota
Shoshone	2801	Fremont	Wyoming
Ute	2756	Unitah	Utah

**Data selected from United States census for 1960 as indicated in remarks under Table 26.*

MIGRATION AND RELOCATION

In the discussion of Cherokee population, I argued that loss of Cherokee population through migration has been sustained by fragmented, marginal settlements and those settlements displaced by creation of lakes and dams, not by the cohesive settlements constituting the core of the Cherokee Nation. The gross figures on population already presented tend to bear this out, as do the results of the survey itself.

Cullum collected data on the "relocation of household members," and relevant Carnegie Project survey data have been arranged to make comparisons possible (see Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Relocation of Household Members

<i>Community</i>	<i>No. of households</i>	<i>No. persons 18 yrs. of age or more</i>	<i>No. households having adult former members permanently away</i>	<i>No. adults permanently away</i>
Hulbert	30	72	8	14
Cherry Tree	31	85	5	11
Marble City	18	50	4	9
Bull Hollow	18	50	2	2
Totals	97	257	19	36
Totals (adjusted)*		1060	74	142
Cullum	479	1091	83	190

*Above data "scaled up" to 4 communities of 100 families each.

Cullum's figures showed that only seventeen percent of Cherokee households had lost membership. Our survey shows a

comparable loss, suggesting that there has been no substantial increase in migration in the past decade. Each survey shows that fewer than two of every one hundred adult Cherokees relocate. Even this estimate may be too high, for there is no test of the permanency of "permanent relocation." I met many Cherokees during the course of the survey who had lived in distant states for ten years or longer before resettling on their homeland.

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION--SETTLEMENT ORGANIZATION

The questionnaire devised for this survey contained questions on a variety of subjects, including intermarriage, household composition, marketing and visiting patterns, children's peer groups, and so on. Informants found these questions hard to deal with, and the data obtained were not uniform enough for compilation. I brought to the Carnegie Project survey a number of ideas and assumptions from previous experiences in administering questionnaires in Middle and South America. One such assumption was that the household is a basic social unit and that something of the relationship of household to settlement can be learned by inquiring about the interaction that members of the household have with members of other households within and outside the community. Among Cherokees, however, the household is not a meaningful social unit. This I discovered by asking questions that turned out to be inappropriate.

The term "broken home" has been much used recently. The term describes a household in which children are living without one or both of their biological parents. It is often assumed that socialization within a broken home has deleterious effects on the child. To the extent that the nuclear household is the basic social unit of a community, this might possibly be so. Among Cherokees the nuclear family is not a basic unit, and there is so much interaction among related households in a settlement that, in effect, every neighboring adult is a "parent." This is reflected in current Cherokee kinship terminology and is plainly visible when one lives in a Cherokee home and observes the interaction. In any such culture where the basic social unit is the extended family, the concept of a broken home is misleading.

While Cherokee settlements function as large kin groups composed of one or more extended families, the majority of Cherokee households do contain nuclear families. Extended family households are rare, especially if childless households are included. If one defines a nuclear family with one or more parents missing as a broken home, then broken homes are common. The high percentage of "broken homes," however, does not indicate breakdown of the family group. It indicates only that in a cohesive Cherokee settlement, the household group is of so little importance (that is, so little differentiated from other households) that there is little necessity of bringing into the household a new spouse or other adult who could function *in loco parentis* (see Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 Relationships within Households

Community	Childless households	Immediate family only	Immediate family plus others	Broken homes
Hulbert N = 30	7 (23%)	13 (43%)	2 (7%)	8 (27%)
Cherry Tree N = 32	5 (16%)	19 (59%)	2 (6%)	6 (19%)
Marble City N = 19	3 (16%)	8 (42%)	1 (5%)	7 (37%)
Bull Hollow N = 20	6 (30%)	9 (45%)	3 (15%)	2 (10%)
All	21%	47%	8%	23%
Cullum		68%	16%	16%

When only households containing children are tabulated, Cherokee household structure is seen more clearly. Sixty percent of households with children are nuclear. Almost one-third are extended households, either in the sense that both parents are present together with other relatives or in the sense that other relatives within the household care for the children in the absence of one or both parents. Only seven percent of Cherokee households are, in fact, "broken" (see Table 7.2).

Table 7.2 "Broken" Households

Community	Nuclear	Extended	Extended— one or more parents missing	"Broken"
Hulbert N = 23	13 (57%)	2 (9%)	6 (27%)	2 (9%)
Cherry Tree N = 27	19 (70%)	2 (7%)	3 (9%)	3 (7%)
Marble City N = 16	8 (50%)	1 (6%)	6 (37%)	1 (6%)
Bull Hollow N = 14	9 (64%)	3 (21%)	1 (7%)	1 (7%)
All	60%	11%	20%	7%

INTERMARRIAGE

Because most Cherokees in their fifties or older have been married more than once, because Cherokee households are very mobile, because children sometimes leave their parents to live with other relatives, and because parents occasionally "give" children to other relatives to raise, it proved very difficult to gather information on Cherokees living outside Cherokee settlement households. Information on intermarriage was particularly difficult to obtain. The information gathered in the survey suggests the following:

- (1) Very few intermarried couples manage to remain functional members of Cherokee settlements. Of the one hundred households surveyed, one household in Bull Hollow contained a White wife and one household in Cherry Tree contained a White husband. Intermarried couples tend to be pulled out of Cherokee settlements by Whites and pushed out by Cherokees.
- (2) There is some, but not much intermarriage. In the absence of accurate genealogies, which we could not take the time to collect, it is impossible to say how much intermarriage takes place. There is evidence to suggest that Cherokees marry whoever is near and attractive upon becoming of age. Young people in Cherokee settlements have little interaction with non-Cherokees, but many Cherokees who are away from home in government boarding schools in their teens and early twenties marry Indians of other tribes, and Cherokee servicemen often marry girls where they are stationed.
- (3) A young Cherokee away from home will marry a White with considerably more freedom than he would in his home community. Within the Cherokee Nation, the tendency is for all siblings to marry Whites or for none to intermarry. Whole families may thus "disappear" into the general population, but individual "assimilation" through intermarriage is rare. Local intermarriage is indicative of the circumstances and social experience of whole kin groups rather than of individuals.

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THE TRIBAL CHEROKEE POPULATION OF EASTERN OKLAHOMA

by *Albert L. Wahrhaftig*

IN 1956, Robert K. Thomas, Samuel Stanley, and Bruce McLaughlin, then at the University of Chicago, began to determine under the direction of Sol Tax some of the basic facts regarding population trends among American Indians. The rationale of this research and the first of a projected series of maps based on the findings were published in 1960. (Tax *et al.* 1960, Thomas 1960.) Their findings made it evident that the American Indian population of the United States has grown considerably since the beginning of the century. The published map, based on the most inclusive of their proposed classificatory criteria, showed a total of 609,821 individuals in the United States and "overlap" sections of Canada and Mexico who have a legal or political claim to being Indian and a population of 75,000 individuals in Oklahoma who, by the same criteria, have a claim to being Cherokee. The investigators expected to continue their work by producing a series of maps at three time-levels (1910, 1950, 1960) utilizing three criteria for the classification of individuals as Indian: (1) legally Indian; e.g., individuals enumerated on tribal rolls, individuals who are within the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, etc., (2) Indian by residence; e.g., legal Indians who reside within Indian reservations or Indian communities, and (3) societal Indians; e.g., Indians who are functional participants in an on-going Indian society. This procedure would have yielded definitive material on the processes of cohesion, fusion, assimilation, expansion, and disintegration underlying the gross changes in Indian population.

The published data dramatized what some anthropologists had begun to suspect. In the case of the Oklahoma Cherokee, as among many tribes, there is a large discrepancy between the population of individuals who have legal and political claims to being Indian and individuals who are participants in functioning Indian communities. As regards the Cherokee, there was reason to suppose that only about one tenth of the population classified as Cherokee by the first

criterion actually resided in Cherokee communities or participated in Cherokee communal life. Further, there was reason to suppose that many of the assertions made about Cherokee political, social, and economic advancement were based on the record of individuals who by a more social or cultural definition of "Indian" ought to be considered as "white Americans of Cherokee ancestry."

Since 1962, the old Cherokee Nation area of Oklahoma has been the locus of a major program of action anthropology which is the experimental field part of a general project of understanding processes of cross-cultural communication and pervasive difficulties in cross-cultural education which go far beyond North American Indians.¹ The field project necessitated a general economic-educational-social survey as a baseline against which the effects of its activities could be measured. This, in turn, involved a demographic study which was carried out mainly in 1963. The author spent over two years in participant observation in the Cherokee Nation living mainly in Lyons Switch, Cherry Tree, and Tahlequah while traveling throughout Adair, Cherokee, Delaware, Sequoyah, and Mayes counties (Map 1). The demographic study provides a model restricted to a small area for the procedures first suggested by Tax, Thomas, and their colleagues.

DEFINITION OF "CHEROKEE"

This report of the tribal Cherokee population of eastern Oklahoma is based on a detailed survey of the tribal Cherokee population of Adair, Cherokee, Delaware, Sequoyah, and Mayes counties. The data were gathered in 1963 and are augmented by the author's experience as a participant-observer during two years in the Cherokee Nation.

This report treats the contemporary Cherokee as a functioning Indian society.

¹ Supported by a five-year grant of the Carnegie Corporation to the University of Chicago, directed by Sol Tax. Robert K. Thomas is the field director.

The Cherokee Tribal Executive Committee and in some instances the Bureau of Indian Affairs are required by law to treat as Cherokee all individuals, and their descendants, whose names appear on the Cherokee tribal rolls of 1907. School officials are required to consider as Cherokee all individuals who are one-fourth or more Cherokee "by blood." For determination of federal aid to Indian students and schools with large Indian enrollment, all such individuals are legally Cherokee. But not all members of either of these populations are socially Cherokee. This report deals with those individuals who are Cherokee *in terms of social participation*. Such individuals live as Cherokees, in Cherokee settlements, and interact with one another as members of a Cherokee tribal community. This particular population tends to be "full-blooded" and is the social group Oklahomans generally refer to when speaking of "the full bloods" or "the full-blood element." The criterion defining this population, however, is sociological, not biological. The Cherokee community as thus delimited in this report is a specific social group within a larger social context. This community does not include Cherokees who are cut off from Cherokee social life and assimilated into the general American population regardless of how full-blooded they may be. Such individuals are considered members of the larger social context. Therefore, the data presented in this report for the tribal Cherokee population represent neither the entire population of individuals who are legally Cherokee nor the entire population of individuals who are Cherokee "by blood."

Considerable material has been published on the Cherokee of Oklahoma, but virtually all publications fail to distinguish Cherokees who are socially "Cherokee" from Cherokees who are socially "white." Only two recent publications employ this distinction. Hall (1934), with the assistance of an interpreter, surveyed one hundred Cherokee families in Cherokee county. Although Hall never defined precisely the population he was studying, it is clear from the descriptive passages of his thesis that these were families from typical Cherokee settlements. Robert M. Cullum (1953) devised a questionnaire which was administered in 479 Cherokee households of 14 school districts by local school teachers. Thirteen of the 14 school districts coincided roughly with established county Cherokee settlements.

Considerable data on Indian populations can be derived from the decennial censuses of the United States. The censuses of 1930 and 1960 generally are considered to present the most reliable data on American Indians. Again, such data do not coincide exactly with the population of individuals participating in

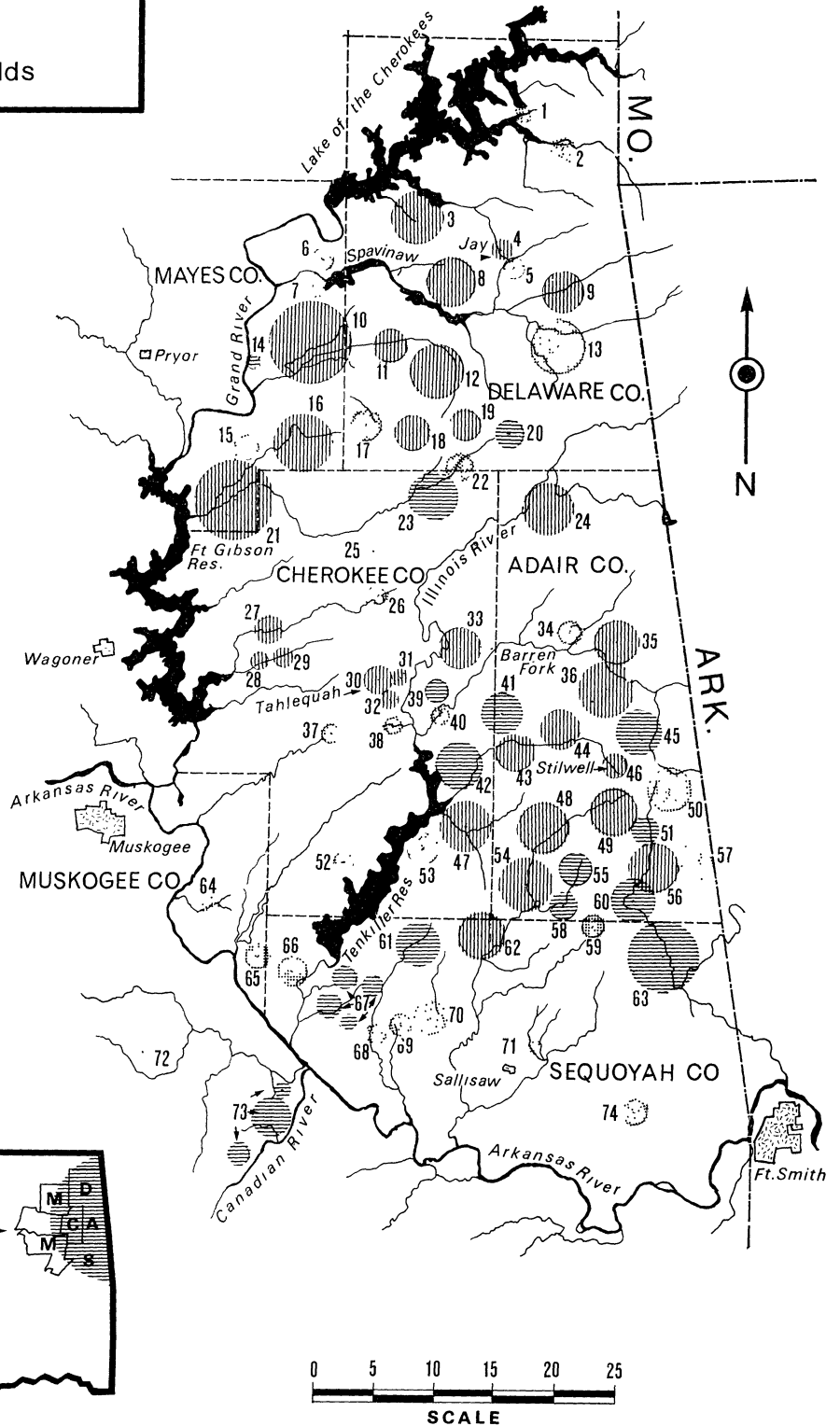
CHEROKEE SETTLEMENTS NORTHEAST OKLAHOMA

KEY

-  less than 20 households
-  20 to 30 households
-  more than 30 households

CHEROKEE SETTLEMENTS IN NORTHEAST OKLAHOMA, 1963

1. Grove	38. Park Hill
2. Honey Creek	39. Welling
3. Drowning Creek	40. Barren
4. Jay	41. Wauhilla
5. Brush Creek	42. Sugar Mountain
6. Ribbon	43. Echota
7. Spavinaw	44. Mulberry Hollow
8. Eucha	45. Fairfield
9. Piney	46. Stilwell
10. Wycliffe Creek	47. Barber
11. Kenwood	48. Lyons Switch
12. Bull Hollow	49. Cherry Tree
13. Cloud Creek	50. Honey Hill
14. Salina	51. Salem
15. Locust Grove	52. Qualls
16. Little Rock	53. Cookson
17. Snake Creek	54. Bunch
18. Rose	55. Greasy Creek
19. Leach	56. Bell
20. Twin Oaks	57. Oak Ridge
21. Bittle Kansas	58. South Greasy
22. Ballou	59. Rock Fence
23. Oaks	60. Nicut
24. Rocky Ford	61. Vian Creek
25. Chewey	62. Marble City
26. Johnson Prairie	63. Bellefont
27. Moodys	64. Braggs
28. Fourteen Mile	65. Sourjohn
29. Creek	66. Notchietown
30. Hulbert	67. Blackgum
31. Spring Creek	68. Mountain
32. Tablequah	69. Vian
33. Red Oak	70. Sycamore
34. Elm Tree	71. McKey
35. Briggs	72. Prices Chaple
36. Christie	73. Warner
37. Old Green	74. Oak Grove
38. Peavine	75. Muldrow
39. New Greenleaf	



Cherokee social life. In the 1930 census individuals were reported as Indians when the *enumerator so identified them*. In the 1960 census informants identified themselves as Indian. The returns therefore include all individuals *self-identified* as Indians, regardless of social participation.

CHEROKEE POPULATION IN 1963

Cherokees always have lived in distinct settlements of small groups of people related by kinship and participating in a common ceremonial institution. The most reliable way to determine the membership of such settlements is to place the burden of decision upon the established members of the settlements.

All Cherokee ceremonial sites (Cherokee Baptist Churches, Cherokee Methodist Churches, and Stomp Grounds) were accurately located by Cherokee informants on detailed county maps. Plotting the location of ceremonial institutions gave the locus of each Cherokee settlement. With the help of an interpreter, older Cherokee-speaking informants were chosen in each settlement. Where possible we chose preachers, deacons, and officers of the ceremonial societies at each stomp ground. These informants were then asked to identify Cherokee households within their settlements. In this way, the identification of households functioning within Cherokee settlements was left to the Cherokee informants.

The resulting number of households was multiplied by 4.9 (the average number of inhabitants in a sample of 100 Cherokee households) to estimate the total population. These figures were increased by 10% to allow for informant error and to compensate for several "eroded" areas where households are widely scattered and relatively more people are "out of sight and out of mind." Rechecks in five large, cohesive settlements indicated the allowance of 10% for undercounting was conservative. The only exceptions to this procedure were

TABLE 1
BASE CHEROKEE POPULATION
IN CHEROKEE SETTLEMENTS

COUNTY	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	ESTIMATED POPULATION
Adair	615	3012
Cherokee	420	2058
Delaware	375	1838
Mayes	244	1197
Sequoyah	243	1191
Muskogee	40	196
TOTAL	1937	9491

TABLE 2
1960 U.S. CENSUS AND SURVEY FIGURES FOR CHEROKEE POPULATION

COUNTY ¹	SURVEY	1960 U.S. CENSUS	% DIFFERENCE
Adair	3012	3055	less than 1%
Cherokee	2058	3159	35%
Delaware	1838	2093	12%
Mayes	1197	1682	29%
Sequoyah	1191	1195	less than 1%

¹ Census figures for Muskogee county include large numbers of Indians of other tribes.

estimates based upon my knowledge of the towns of Tahlequah and Stilwell.

As seen in Table 1, nearly 9,500 Cherokee Indians live in Cherokee settlements. To Oklahomans assuming that Cherokee society is dying out, this figure will seem high. However, if anything the figure is conservative, and the number of individuals within eastern Oklahoma who function as Cherokees is yet higher.

Comparison of these figures with the 1960 United States census reveals the discrepancy between individuals who function as members of Cherokee settlements and individuals who identify as Cherokees (Table 2).

Several observations explain the variation between the figures in Table 2. First of all, three types of people are identified in the United States census as Cherokees who are not counted in my survey of Cherokee settlements:

1. Individuals who are functional members of Cherokee society, but who reside outside Cherokee settlements.
2. Individuals who were reared within Cherokee settlements, who perhaps can speak Cherokee, but who are socially isolated from Cherokee settlements and function as members of white society. Most Cherokee spouses of mixed marriages and some of their children are in this category.
3. Individuals who are functionally white Americans, who neither participate in Cherokee society nor were reared in it, but who identify as Cherokee because of descent from families of prestige in the Cherokee Nation. This category includes some descendants of families who were marginal to the "full blood" faction of Cherokees in the 1890's as well as some families from the "mixed blood" faction.

The less than 1% difference between census and survey figures in Adair and Sequoyah counties is to be expected given the very few "mixed blood" families who now identify as Indians, and the relatively few Cherokees living in social isolation from Cherokee settlements. We know that the survey did not count Cherokees living in geographic isolation from Cherokee settlements, of which

there are a few in each county, and we know that there would have been a slight growth in the Cherokee population in the five years between the census (1959) and the survey (1963-64). We surmise that these factors would just about offset one another. The correspondence between census and survey figures in Adair and Sequoyah counties suggests both the accuracy of the survey and the variables explaining the differences in other counties. For example, in Mayes county there are many Cherokees near Adair and Strang as well as some scattered west of the Grand River who are functional members of Cherokee settlements. These populations are marginal to my survey area, and had they been included, the difference in figures for Mayes county would be only 10-15%.

Three counties have substantial populations of individuals who identify as Cherokees but are not functionally Cherokees. Cherokee county has a large concentration, especially around Tahlequah and Ft. Gibson, of "full blood" families who live as marginal participants in the "full blood" faction of the Cherokee Nation. That large numbers of these individuals still identify as Cherokees although they no longer function in Cherokee society suggests that to be able to identify as a "Cherokee" still yields prestige in this part of the country. By comparison, very few such families in Adair and Sequoyah counties so identify themselves, suggesting that far less prestige accrues to individuals of "Cherokee" identity in these counties. Such differences in figures reveal a status boundary between regions of the Cherokee Nation where Cherokee identification is nurtured and regions where such identification is sloughed off by participants in white society. This indirect evidence suggests that Cherokees constitute more of a caste in Adair and Sequoyah counties.

To the core Cherokee population of 9,500 can be added an estimated 10% or 900-1,000 individuals who are marginal to Cherokee settlements either geographically or socially, but who were raised within these settlements. Some of the former participate in settlement activities and reside close enough to the

ettlement to be considered "residents."

These figures for "residents" still do not account for the total number of Cherokees who function within contemporary Cherokee society, for we know that a considerable number of Cherokees living in such places as Muskogee, Tulsa, and Ft. Smith, are active participants in Cherokee institutions and thus are members of the Cherokee tribal community.

It is this Cherokee tribal community with which the Carnegie Project is dealing. An estimation of the total tribal population must utilize the insights into bases of social integration obtained from the survey of rural Cherokee settlements. One such insight is that the existence of a functioning ceremonial institution is a better indication of a functioning Cherokee settlement than the concentration in a given area of several Cherokee habitations. The survey revealed several places in which a church is the center of a Cherokee community, the members of which live outside the area surveyed and "commute" to services every week-end. We can generalize from the number of ceremonial institutions to population if we can estimate the number of households which a Cherokee ceremonial institution represents. To do this we can bring together several lines of evidence.

Cherokees seem to be very conservative in their settlement patterns. In the east in the 1700's there were sixty-four towns and villages with a total population of about 20,000, an average population of 300 per settlement (Gearing, 1961). From lists of the numbers of Cherokee warriors and the settlements from which they came in 1760 (see Timberlake's map of Overhill Settlements in *Old Frontiers*), we have been able to estimate the approximate population represented by that quantity of warriors and find an average population of 200 per settlement. Probably 200 is a good minimal estimate for the population of a typical Cherokee settlement. In the 1930's, Gilbert estimated the population of Big Cove, North Carolina, at about 300 individuals living in 35 households (Gilbert 1943).

Given the average population of households in this survey (4.9), a population of 200 would be represented by about 41 households. Cherokee settlements in Adair county seem to be more stable than elsewhere. The average number of households per Cherokee Baptist settlement in the larger, stable settlements in Adair county is 34. It is likely, then, that each Cherokee church represents a functional population of about 165 Cherokees. From estimates of memberships of existing Nighthawk societies—the Keetoowah, Four Mothers, and Seven Clans societies—each stomp ground seems to represent about 50 households or about 300 persons. From this we can estimate the popu-

TABLE 3
CHEROKEE POPULATION ESTIMATED FROM CEREMONIAL INSTITUTIONS

NUMBER AND TYPE OF CEREMONIAL INSTITUTION	ESTIMATED NUMBER OF RELATED HOUSEHOLDS	ESTIMATED POPULATION
42 Churches in Cherokee Indian Baptist Assoc.	34 per church	6997
9 Cherokee Methodist Churches	34 per church	1500
5 Cherokee-Creek Baptist Churches	34 per church	833
3 Other Cherokee Churches	34 per church	600
6 Stomp Grounds	50 per stomp ground	1764
TOTAL		11694

lation that Cherokee ceremonial institutions are geared to serve (Table 3).

It would appear that Cherokee institutions are geared to accommodate some 11,000 to 12,000 members. On the one hand, it can be argued that a society need not run at full capacity, and that no allowance has been made for churches which are failing for lack of membership; on the other hand, the figures assigned for the population of Cherokee settlements are very low. Even granting the possibility that Cherokee settlements are declining in size through time, the estimate of 165 per settlement is substantially below the lowest estimate made for Cherokee settlements in the past. Therefore, 11,000 to 11,500 is a reasonable estimate of the functional population of northeastern Oklahoma Cherokee society. This indicates roughly the extent to which Cherokees outside the area surveyed participate in Cherokee society.

In summary, we arrive at these basic estimates of Cherokee population:

Estimated Functional Population

Functional Cherokee population in Cherokee settlements
9500

Functional Cherokee population participating in local Cherokee society, regardless of location of residence
11,500

Estimated Aggregate of Individuals Reared as Cherokees

Reared in Cherokee settlements and resident in Cherokee Nation
10,500

Reared in Cherokee settlements but not necessarily participants in Cherokee society, regardless of residence
16,000 or more

CHEROKEE POPULATION IN DEMOGRAPHIC CONTENT

The Cherokees, concentrated within the bounds of the arc of the Grand River and the Oklahoma-Arkansas border, constitute a large component of the population of northeastern Oklahoma. Where once all of this territory and more was the Cherokee Nation, and *all* its legal inhabitants were Cherokee citizens, the Cherokees now form a large but inconspicuous minority within the region.

While unique in having been part of Indian Territory, this region now is not dissimilar from other "back woods" regions of the United States. Upon removal to Oklahoma, the Cherokees rapidly settled in locales of their own choosing within the territory. Thereafter, until the beginning of World War II, increasing numbers of whites filled in the areas surrounding the "hollows" inhabited by Cherokees, forming communities and rural trade centers of their own. The population of the Ozark highland counties reached a peak in the late 1930's, but since then has dropped markedly and steadily. The Cherokees have been profoundly affected by these changes in the white population surrounding them (Table 4).

By contrast with a rapidly growing national population, Table 4 reveals that population has declined in these counties of northeastern Oklahoma during the last twenty years. Rural population loss has been especially great. The growth of such towns as Tahlequah in Cherokee county, Pryor in Mayes county, and Sallisaw in Sequoyah county disguises the loss of rural base population which averages about 20% for the region as a whole. The loss of rural population in some townships from 1940 to 1960 is staggering, exceeding 40% in Chance and Christie townships of Adair county, and 50% in Long and McKey townships of Sequoyah county. These figures represent loss of absolute population only. The natural increase which emigrants would have contributed to the local population is also lost.

TABLE 4
NORTHEASTERN OKLAHOMA POPULATION AND POPULATION CHANGE:
1940-1960

COUNTY	POPULATION			PERCENTAGE OF CHANGE IN POPULATION		
				RURAL	TOTAL	TOTAL
	1940	1950	1960	1950-1960	1950-1960	1940-1960
Adair	15755	14918	13112	- 12.1	- 12.1	- 17
Cherokee	21030	18989	17762	- 16.3	- 6.5	- 16
Delaware	18592	14734	13198	- 10.4	- 10.4	- 29
Mayes	21668	19743	20073	- 10.9	+ 1.7	- 7
Sequoyah	23138	19773	18001	- 13.3	- 9.0	- 22

Only two cities within this region have grown notably: Tahlequah's population increased 94%, from 3027 in 1940 to 5840 in 1960. The combined population of Tahlequah and two townships from which Tahlequah made annexations grew 33% in the same period. Sallisaw increased 36% from 2140 to 3351, again partly by annexation, and the combined population of Sallisaw and Sallisaw township grew 40%.

In the counties with the largest Cherokee populations, the major towns have barely held their own. Stilwell in Adair county increased 9.5% from 1717 to 1916, less than would be expected through natural increase. Jay in Delaware county grew 34% from 741 to 1120, but this was partly through annexation.

With a summary observation that the Cherokees constitute a fairly stable, isolated, rural population in this area, the demographic and social changes in the white population are as follows:

(1) A viable agricultural society lying at the Cherokee doorstep has disappeared in the space of a generation. This has meant that a countryside full of folk whites with neighborly, personal relations is evaporating. As the country depopulates, white communities are breaking up and market centers are disappearing. In the few surviving trade centers and rural institutions (such as square dances, turkey shoots, hunting associations, and some agricultural tasks), Cherokees still participate with whites on equal footing in a common and mutually understandable society. For the most part, however, the ebb of white population has left the Cherokees geographically and socially isolated.

(2) The decline of country white population has not left a surplus of land available for Cherokee expansion. On the contrary, departing whites are selling out to ranchers with sufficient capital to consolidate "spreads." For example, in Adair county Texas ranchers gradually are buying tracts of land, in some instances as large as 10,000 acres. The government also has bought land for

numerous lakes, game preserves, flood control, and recreation grounds.

(3) The shift in population presumably reflects more the movement of marginal farmers, but there also has been some emigration of the country well-to-do. We are in need of a study to document the extent of this latter migration, but it seems reasonable to suppose that much of the country aristocracy has moved to town. The countryside is now visibly more homogeneous. Places such as Moodys and Wauhillau in Cherokee county were once relatively large settlements of farmer-tradesmen. Perhaps these people resembled the old stereotype of the southern white squire, and lived on the periphery of Cherokee and white settlements. Now these places are largely deserted as the better business opportunities in towns attract the more affluent farm families. Many town proprietors seem to stem from the "better class" of farm family.

Counter to the exodus of the country squire, there is a movement of the newly rich into the countryside. Tahlequah, Stilwell, and similar towns are developing suburbs which extend far into the country. These are populated in part by whites native to the area who migrated elsewhere, "made good," and returned to the country to retire. These suburbs are also inhabited by newcomers, mostly from urban centers of Oklahoma and Texas who have been attracted by the beauty of the Ozarks. Urban middle class people moving into the country tend to redefine the class status of reputable country families who formerly were the country elite.

To Cherokees, the prestigious whites in the country are no longer the familiar type of people who "grew from the soil." Comparison of the annual Redbird Smith stomp ground celebrations in the 1920's with games, races, and dinner on the ground, with the traditional festivities of wealthy country whites, and consideration of the style of life evidenced in old family photographs owned by many Cherokee families, suggest that there was

then much interaction and modeling between prestigious whites and prestigious Cherokees. As the country aristocracy is replaced by immigrants from another social world, Cherokees are being cut off from this type of experience, too.

(4) The surviving white rural population is a revolving population. Again, we lack good data on country whites, but it is clear that the major commodity exported by northeastern Oklahoma is manpower. White families assume that some or all of their children will have to live far from home in order to "make good." This acceptance among whites of the necessity of leaving home is now part of the Cherokee environment. Unskilled Ozark whites now receive training and employment in different parts of the United States. As a result, another kind of white model, the skilled laborer, is removed from the Cherokee environment. In the Ozark subsistence economy, there was considerable technological sharing between whites and Cherokees. Cherokees were mentors of whites in such matters as hunting and fishing, and perhaps the handling of stock, but since many of the pictures of early farm machinery show mixed work crews of Cherokees and whites, one gets the impression of mutual technological advance. To the extent that the white labor force has moved out of the region, new knowledge of how to deal with urban society has little chance of being transmitted back to white families, much less beyond them into the surrounding Cherokee community.

(5) Not only is country white society becoming impotent and interacting less with Cherokee settlements, but the regnant and growing sectors of Oklahoma society are becoming both geographically and socially more distant. The "lights of the city" in Stilwell and Jay are dim in comparison to those in Tahlequah, Muskogee, Tulsa and, across the state line, Ft. Smith, Arkansas. Not only for employment, but also for shopping, northeastern Oklahomans are relying increasingly upon growing urban centers. Cherokees, too, must use these cities to obtain some necessary goods and services, but as such centers become larger and more complex, Cherokee utilization of them lags and becomes more differential. If one watches the pattern of Cherokee use of smaller towns, such as Vian or Sallisaw, within the arc of Cherokee settlement, one can see that the level of Cherokee and white trade and sophistication is equal. But in more populous centers such as Tahlequah, the populations are becoming segregated in this respect; some establishments deliberately cater to Cherokee and country white trade while others "modernize" and forge on to capture the trade of the growing middle class. This is another

indication of the local redefinition of the class structure.

(6) Cherokee society is becoming increasingly more visible as the former white rural population is replaced by urban middle class whites with a more conspicuously different style of living. Although boundaries of Cherokee settlement intergrade with white settlement, and Oklahomans become confused about who is or is not a Cherokee (of Cherokee descent), the distinction between who is living as an Indian and who is not is becoming increasingly evident. Probably only the peculiar self-involvement of Oklahomans with Cherokee prestige keeps the distinction from being hammered home more strongly. Cherokees in the past few decades have been relatively isolated within the general American society and inconspicuous as an ethnic group. Now they appear destined to be not only isolated but also highly visible in terms of distinctive social characteristics.

(7) The flow of people and goods through this portion of Oklahoma has also changed correspondingly. At the turn of the century, the Cherokee Nation was unified by internal commerce with major ports at Ft. Smith and other points along the Arkansas River. By the depression years, the network of roads linked local communities to county seats and market centers. Now the major roads reflect a new emphasis. First, there is accommodation to traffic moving through the country to and from points outside of it, as from Tulsa to Ft. Smith or Tulsa to Siloam Springs and beyond. Second, there is accommodation to traffic moving from minor centers within the region to major ones, as for example, from Locust Grove and Jay to Tahlequah via newly paved roads. Third, there is accommodation to the circulation of tourists to recreation facilities. The roads in the first two categories skirt the hills and hollows most inhabited by Cherokees, and roads of the third type are directed toward man-made lakes and other public lands; hence traffic effectively circumvents the areas most heavily settled by Cherokees. Few Oklahomans or others traveling through the country are likely to drive

TABLE 5

CHEROKEE POPULATION RELATIVE TO WHITE POPULATION

COUNTY	PERCENT CHEROKEE IN 1940	PERCENT CHEROKEE IN 1960
Adair	19%	23%
Cherokee	10%	13%
Delaware	10%	14%
Sequoyah	5%	6½%

TABLE 6

CHEROKEE "CORE" POPULATION RELATIVE TO WHITE POPULATION IN SELECTED TOWNSHIPS

COUNTY	TOWNSHIP	TOTAL POPULATION			CHEROKEE POPULATION	
		1940	1960	1964	% in 1940	% in 1960
Cherokee	Briggs	1164	782	272	23%	35%
Cherokee	Hulbert	2951	1601	442	15%	28%
Adair	Bunch + Lees Creek	3316	3298	1162	34%	35%
Sequoyah	Marble + Marble City	1059	952	300	28%	32%
Sequoyah	Long	1667	817	234	14%	28%
Delaware	Saline	2977	2315	876	29%	38%

through the large Cherokee settlements.

It is true that one major theme in the history of the tribal Cherokees since statehood has been withdrawal from whites. Accompanying this have been basic changes in Oklahoma society which either physically isolate whites from Cherokees or socially separate the two societies.

THE DYNAMICS OF CHEROKEE POPULATION

The Cherokee population has grown slightly since the turn of the century. On the basis of the Cherokee tribal rolls of 1907 and a general knowledge of the composition of Cherokee society at that time, an estimate of 8000 functioning members of conservative Cherokee society seems reasonable. No matter which of the estimates of Cherokee population calculated from this survey is employed, it is clear that there has been a small absolute increase in Cherokee population.

In the face of Oklahoma's population decline, this means that the population of Cherokees relative to whites is increasing rapidly. Relative growth of the Cherokee population is shown in Table 5. The use of the 1964 survey figures for Cherokee population in determining percentages unavoidably de-emphasizes the rate of growth.

Cherokees constitute a sizeable minority in several counties of northeastern Oklahoma. For example, almost ¼ of the children in the Adair county school system come from Cherokee-speaking homes. Since the Cherokee population is not evenly distributed throughout these counties, the proportion of Cherokees in some school districts or election precincts is often considerably higher. Table 6 lists the proportions of Cherokees in a sample of townships in which the boundaries of Cherokee settlements roughly coincide with the boundaries of townships. Again, the proportions are de-emphasized since

we are forced to compare 1940 and 1960 census figures with the presumably higher 1964 figures for Cherokee population.

These figures do not reflect the concentration of Cherokees within the boundaries of the actual Cherokee settlements; nor do they reflect the concentration of Cherokees in meaningful administrative units such as school districts where concentration would be higher or lower depending on the correspondence of school district boundaries with the boundaries of Cherokee settlements. The figures approximate the population composition of the large arbitrary territories which include Cherokee settlements. Saline township, for instance, is simply the southwest ⅙ of Delaware County. Without as yet discussing Cherokee settlement patterns, a comparison of the difference between county and township population figures (see Table 4) indicates that the Cherokee population is concentrated geographically within certain portions of these counties. It should also be said that there are virtually no Cherokee settlements not interspersed with varying numbers of white households. The salient point is that, even by these minimal estimates, there are large portions of northeastern Oklahoma where functional members of Cherokee settlements constitute substantially over ⅓ of the total population.

In summary, the contemporary Cherokee population is large, has grown slowly in absolute numbers over the last half century, and relative to white population has been growing rapidly over the last quarter century.

Most Oklahomans claim that Cherokees are disappearing, that they rapidly are losing their language, and that through intermarriage the Cherokees are "breeding out." If the Cherokee population is growing, why is it that Oklahomans are so convinced that Cherokees are dying out? While most Cherokee settlements are Cherokee-speaking and the rate of intermarriage of

TABLE 7
CHEROKEE SETTLEMENT TYPES

COUNTY	STABLE SETTLEMENTS	EMERGING SETTLEMENTS	ERODING SETTLEMENTS
Adair	Bell Bunch Cherry Tree Chewey Echota Fairfield Greasy Creek Greasy Creek, South Lyons Switch Mulberry Hollow Oak Ridge Old Green Peavine Salem Wauhillau	Stilwell	Christie Honey Hill Proctor
Cherokee	Barber Briggs Cookson Elm Tree Fourteen Mile Creek New Greenleaf-Park Hill Rocky Ford Spring Creek Sugar Mountain Welling-Barren Fork	Hulbert Tahlequah Red Oak	Johnson's Prairie Moody's Qualls-Burnt Cabin
Sequoyah	Bellefont Blackgum Mtn.-Vian Marble City McKey Nicut Notchietown Sourjohn Vian Creek-Evening Shade	(none)	Price's Chapel
Delaware	Brush Creek Bull Hollow Drowning Creek Cloud Creek Eucha Kenwood Oaks Twin Oaks Piney	Jay Leach Little Kansas Rose	Grove Honey Creek
Mayes	Ballou New Jordan Little Rock Ribbon Snake Creek Spavinaw	Locust Grove Salina-Pryor	(none)
Muskogee	(none)	(none)	Ft. Gibson Braggs Warner Oak Grove Briartown
TOTAL	48	10	14

individuals raised in Cherokee communities is low, some Cherokee settlements do break up. Individuals from these disintegrated settlements tend to assimilate into the general population more often than they tend to move into other Cherokee settlements. Consequently, there are always a fair number of individuals merging with the general population, and in view of the isolation of most Cherokee settlements, these "assimilating" Cherokees are more visible socially than are members of cohesive settlements. Oklahomans meet "full bloods" who are the products of the erosion of some settlements and take these individuals to be representative of the group. What they fail to see is that the Cherokee birth rate is very high and individuals are "replaced" faster than they are "lost." In addition, they are not aware of the number of stable settlements and of new settlements which are emerging and becoming cohesive social units. Whole settlements can be "lost" and "replaced" just as can individuals. Table 7 gives the present distribution of Cherokee settlements in terms of social cohesion.

In addition to the settlements listed as "eroding," several others have completely disappeared in the last 30 years through the creation of lakes in the drainages in which these settlements were located. In the 1940's, Cherokee settlements along Greenleaf and Drowning creeks were covered by Lake Greenleaf and the Lake of the Cherokees. In addition, the Cherokee community at Braggs was dislodged by Camp Gruber. In the 1950's a large Cherokee community at Yonkers was covered by the Fort Gibson Reservoir, Lake Tenkiller covered a Cherokee settlement at Linder Bend and another along the Illinois River bottom, and Lake Eucha covered a Cherokee community at Eucha. During these same decades, Cherokee settlements at Proctor, Briartown, Moodys, Johnson Prairie, and near Row and Colcord broke up. All except Proctor were located on or near flat, farmable terrain rather than in steep hollows; therefore Cherokees in these settlements were in intimate contact with white farmers who characteristically avoid hollows and prefer to settle on small prairies.

The population of any tribe fluctuates over time. It is perhaps too soon to determine whether the disintegration of a few more Cherokee settlements than have emerged in recent years indicates any significant change in the state of the tribe. From this discussion of Cherokee settlements, several generalizations follow:

(1) There has been an absolute increase in Cherokee population in spite of the disintegration of several Cherokee settlements and the assimilation of members of these settlements into the general

population. Fifty years ago, there were Cherokee settlements on the flat Arkansas River bottomlands of Sequoyah and Muskogee counties and on small prairies in Adair, Cherokee, and Delaware counties. At present, all of the Cherokee settlements on flat lands have disintegrated and eroded. The more characteristic Cherokee settlements in deep hollows have been far more resistant. These latter settlements have remained at least stable in population. Many of them, especially those in southern Adair county, have grown and have become more cohesive. These settlements have tended also to be socially more conservative. It appears that the erosion of Cherokee settlements has slowed and that the existing Cherokee settlements will persist, barring drastic changes in the surrounding environment. Given the Cherokees' high birth rate and the decreasing death rate now expected in such underdeveloped areas, a rapid increase in the population of Cherokee settlements is predicted. With no offsetting losses due to community disintegration, the growth of the Cherokee population in this part of Oklahoma is likely to increase sharply, both absolutely and relatively. Inasmuch as this population growth will occur largely in settlements which traditionally have been "conservative," the Cherokee population will become relatively more "conservative" in its overall composition.

(2) That flat land settlements have disintegrated while settlements in hollows have survived is a clue to the conditions under which Cherokee settlements are viable. In the flat lands, white farmers bought tracts of land in the midst of the Cherokee settlements. As a result of this interspersing of whites, Cherokee households were dispersed relative to one another. Such Cherokee settlements disintegrated through intermarriage and migration within a generation or two rather than through "acculturation" over a long period. This suggests that constant person-to-person interaction among Cherokees is necessary for settlement cohesiveness and that Cherokees have developed little resistance to constant person-to-person interaction with white neighbors. It is, at present, social isolation rather than ideology that keeps the Cherokee intermarriage rate low.

(3) As the flow of socially visible "full bloods" from eroded Cherokee settlements into the general society slackens, there will be proportionately few "full bloods" functioning successfully in the general society. At present virtually any local Oklahoma white man, given a fitting conversational context, will comment on "full bloods" he knows who occupy positions of acceptable status in the general society. Oklahomans assume from such individuals that the Cherokees as a whole are "progressing." If such in-

dividuals dwindle in number, the assumptions of Cherokee "progress" might be questioned. The result is likely to be a sudden massive effort to "assimilate" country Cherokee settlements.

CHEROKEE POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND GROWTH RATE

Barring major changes in social conditions, it is safe to predict that the Cherokee population will increase much more rapidly in the future as the disintegration of marginal settlements diminishes. It is also likely that internal factors will combine with this to cause a Cherokee population explosion. American Indians as a whole are the fastest growing population group in the United States (Hadley 1957). Table 8 combines survey data on the age distribution of Cherokees in 100 households with information from earlier sources to show relative Cherokee population distribution over time.

It is apparent from the differences over the years between the Cherokees and whites that the Cherokee birth and death rates are relatively much higher. The Cherokee figures for 1950 and 1960 are virtually identical, suggesting considerable stability in population distribution of recent years. Compared with the figures for 1930, they suggest that either the Cherokee birth rate is going up or infant mortality is decreasing. Probably both are happening. The figures also suggest that between 1930 and 1950 the Cherokee population became "younger."² In short, the characteristics of the Cherokee population are the characteristics of the populations of many so-called underdeveloped countries. The experience of such countries in recent times has been that modern medical technology and treatment reduce infant mortality rates drastically and adult mortality rates to some extent while the birth rate remains high. The consequence is a "population explosion."

The figures on Cherokee population distribution in 1952 and 1963 are virtually identical even when calculated by five year age intervals. This suggests that the impact of modern medical treatment has not been felt by Cherokees and that they have yet to experience population

² Cullum commented that "this concentration in the younger ages appears to be typical of Indian population. Explanation is not provided in the information secured by this study, although negatively, the small numbers of adults who have left the districts would appear to eliminate resettlement as a major factor. . . . It might be speculated that high mortality rates, as shown by state health statistics, may provide a partial reason for this variation" (1952, p. 6). My survey shows an equivalent population distribution and an equivalent lack of resettlement.

TABLE 8
COMPARATIVE AGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF CHEROKEES AND WHITES

YEAR	POPULATION	AGE GROUP			
		0-19	20-39	40-59	60 +
1930	Cherokees ¹	49.9%	34.2%	17.5%	1.5%
1930	American Indians ²	50.9%	27.9%	15.6%	5.3%
1930	American Whites ²	43.8%	30.7%	18.0%	6.0%
1950	Cherokees ³	53.8%	22.1%	17.3%	6.8%
1950	Okla. Rural Farm ⁴	43.0%	23.4%	22.8%	10.9%
1960	Cherokees ⁵	51.5%	21.2%	17.6%	10.0%
1960	Okla. Rural Farm ⁶	39.3%	20.8%	24.0%	15.7%
1960	Okla. State ⁶	36.7%	29.8%	22.1%	12.5%

Sources: ¹ Hall, 1934; ² Bureau of the Census, 1930; ³ Cullum, 1953; ⁴ United States Census, 1950; ⁵ Survey, 1964; ⁶ United States Census, 1960.

explosion. Such an increase in population will be in addition to the rate of increase the Cherokee population has experienced over the last 50 years.

We have estimated that the Cherokees participating in conservative Cherokee society in 1902 totalled about 8000. Extrapolating from available figures the rate of growth expectable from this base population, there should now be 15,000 to 16,000 descendants of the Cherokee population of 1902. Speaking only of the Cherokee population resident in present Cherokee settlements, it would appear that the rate of assimilation of Cherokees into the general society has been roughly $\frac{2}{3}$ of the rate of natural increase. However, roughly $\frac{1}{3}$ of the individuals thus lost lived in settlements which have disintegrated. Discounting these, the rate of assimilation out of stable Cherokee settlements is only about 40% of the rate of population increase. If present conditions prevail in

the future, Cherokee settlements should retain at least 50% of their natural increase. Many external factors, for example the Bureau of Indian Affairs' relocation program and the "War on Poverty," would affect this situation, and their influence is imponderable. As regards demographic factors, however, there seems to be only one imponderable. Many of the emerging Cherokee settlements are on the fringes of urban areas. There is, for example, in addition to the old Cherokee settlement around Elm Tree church in Tahlequah, an emerging Cherokee settlement at Red Oak on the eastern edge of the city, and a distinct dispersed settlement emerging in the center of town. We do not know yet much about population growth and loss of Cherokee settlements in urban areas. In Tahlequah the boundaries between Cherokees and whites seem to be growing more distinct, the status ascribed to Cherokees in the town

population seems to be getting lower, and the settlements show some signs of increasing cohesion. These factors certainly would tend to reduce the rate of intermarriage. Their effect on migration is unpredictable.

The probabilities are that the Cherokee population not only will grow rapidly in the future, but also that more of the growing population will be retained in local Cherokee settlements in eastern Oklahoma.

SUMMARY

There are now about 9500 Cherokees residing and participating in Cherokee settlements in eastern Oklahoma and at least 11,500 Cherokees residing either in Cherokee settlements or within commuting distance of such settlements. These estimates were made from a house by house count within Cherokee communities and by using general knowledge of Cherokee social structure to extrapolate from the survey data.

The Cherokees reside in a region of Oklahoma in which rapid changes of population and social structure are occurring. The white population is becoming thinner, more urban, and more separated from country Cherokee settlements.

Cherokee population is increasing absolutely while white population is decreasing, resulting in rapid Cherokee increase relative to white population. Cherokee population growth has been checked by the disintegration of some Cherokee settlements and by high mortality rates. The remaining settlements are more resistant and it is not likely that they will disintegrate. Moreover, new Cherokee settlements are evolving. Medical technology is likely to result in rapid population growth within these established and emerging Cherokee settlements.

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ALBERT WAHRHAFTIG

We Who Act Right: The Persistent Identity of Cherokee Indians¹

In the generation that has passed since anthropologists resolved that the study of acculturation is legitimately their concern, a literature rich in description and analysis of the effects of, and processes of, culture change has accumulated. The more anthropologists have pursued this interest, and pursued it with increasing sophistication, the more a fundamental fact about man in the modern world has become obvious. Even under extreme and dramatic conditions, some human beings have demonstrated a remarkable ability to continue to believe they are who they think they are and to maintain an unfragmented community. From the decades of concern with acculturation, culture contact, and processes of cultural adaptation and transformation has arisen a renewed appreciation for the forces of persistence and continuity that often underlie human lives.

The Cherokee Indians of eastern Oklahoma are a notable example of the persistence of a people. After centuries of contact and intercourse with foreigners, and after repeated exposure to programs for directed culture change, they remain a traditional and socially cohesive people. After some preliminary consideration of the state of anthropological thought on this issue, I will discuss the Cherokees as a specific case of a persisting people. Focusing on the Cherokee identity system, I will propose that the concepts and symbols fundamental to Cherokee identity store models for proper and effective relationships the enactment of which constitute the Cherokees' adaptation. I will propose, too, that symbols central to Cherokee identity integrate a cybernetic mechanism which draws the attention of Cherokees to the meaning of their experience, causes them to monitor the quality of their life, and induces them to refashion their adaptation, the better to persist. In brief, to account for persistence, I look at meaning, and see identity as a system of meanings which both emerges from and supports a people's continuing adaptation.

THE STUDY OF PERSISTENCE

In the past 20 years, the persistence of peoples has been amply documented by anthropologists.

In the United States, Tax, Stanley, and Thomas (1956) overturned a national myth of Indian assimilation when they prepared maps showing the population and location of American Indian communities. Their research demonstrated that the "vanishing" American Indians were as numerous as in aboriginal times and that their population is increasing. Since then, a host of studies has explicated the chronology of American Indian survival and, in many cases, recuperation from the aftermath of their conquest. Studies of Indians in urban settings (Ablon 1963, Waddell and Watson 1971), of pan-Indianism (Hertzberg 1971, Thomas 1965), and of militant Indian political movements (Buchanan 1972, Steiner 1968, Witt 1965) have recorded the adaptability of traditional Indian individuals and communities within new environments in situations of direct involvement with American institutions. Discussion of "emergent Native Americans" (Walker 1972) and of "an American Indian renaissance" (Lurie 1965) suggest that, outside reservations and away from traditional communities, Indians have not simply maintained traditional behavior, but have made it the basis for the emergence of new, but distinctively Indian, identities.

Studies elsewhere in the world demonstrate that this persistence is not an artifact of the American Indian's geographic and social isolation. Indeed, ongoing and old peoples are a phenomenon of worldwide importance. The Catalans' sense of identity and separateness is more pronounced and culturally codified in a postindustrial environment (Pi-Sunyer 1971); the Basque sense of separateness flourishes in an environment of urbanism and decreased isolation (Douglass and da Silva 1971); and Breton nationalism has been augmented by a regional increase in economic productivity and marketing activity (Fortier 1971). Kuper and Smith (1969), with their colleagues, find the persistence of ethnic sectors intrinsic to the structure of plural societies in Africa and the Caribbean, while for Geertz (1963) persisting primordial identity accounts for the unique character and dynamics of new states emerging throughout the modern world.

The study of persistence by anthropologists is curiously lacking in unity. While scattered anthropologists have reported on peoples who have persisted in one way or another, they have yet to agree on a theoretical framework for the treatment of this phenomenon. Indeed, the few authors who have attempted to define concepts pertinent to the study of cultural persistence seem to have been working independently and

seldom cite one another. Yet they participate in a relatively old inquiry, and in many cases their theoretical concerns (as evidenced by Barth's [1969] concern with the maintenance of ethnic boundaries, Kuper's [1969] with tendencies toward cohesiveness versus individuation among members of ethnic sectors of plural societies, and Spicer's [1971] with persistent identity systems) reflect themes elucidated by Sol Tax as early as 1952 in a pathbreaking, though rarely cited, paper.

Tax's 1952 paper, on acculturation, conceptualizes persistence.² For colleagues who, he later said, "did not take seriously that I meant what I said," Tax first made and then strictly qualified the assertion that acculturation does not occur, at least in the sense that such small cultural islands as North American Indian tribes must soon disappear. Hypothesizing a small community such as Zuni or the Pine Ridge Sioux, he pointed out that there are two ways for such a culture to be absorbed in another. One is by the loss of individual members, who may be forced to leave in search of work or for some other reason. The other is by what Tax called "community acculturation": all members of the community stay where they are while their culture changes so that their norms of behavior become like those of the surrounding society. In this latter case, if members of the community maintain social cohesion, remaining apart from the larger community, then they are "completely acculturated but not at all assimilated" (Tax 1960:194). The two qualifications attached to this model are (1) that it is unrealistic, "since acculturation could not occur without very significant social relations," and (2) that the hypothesis that acculturation does not occur is confined largely to the area of meanings—"the subtler or inner aspects of culture"—since it is clear that outward cultural forms may change while inner meanings remain the same, and vice versa. Tax addressed himself to boundaries and meaning before anthropology had developed a vocabulary appropriate to his thoughts. In stating that "there is no reason to expect now that the Navaho, the Fox or the Iroquois won't be with us for a thousand years," Tax was hypothesizing the continuation of communities bounded from ours and maintaining continuity in their inner meanings.

Four years later, in a paper never published, Tax (1956) repeated his assertion that there are "perpetual continuities in cultures as well as changes": "I thought and still think that some core of a culture can persist indefinitely while the people adjust to new environments." Clearly, Tax conceived of the North American Indian tribes and Mesoamerican Indian communities that interested him as populations of persons tied to one another in systems of social relations that have form and convey meaning. As long as these relations continue and are bounded so that non-members are outsiders and interaction with them is not significant, traits of material

culture, behaviors, ideas, and institutions incorporated into the life of that population will be integrated within its realm of meaning. Incorporation of elements of culture disruptive of existing meanings can come about only through an opening of a bounded set of relationships which renders interaction with others significant and initiates processes of assimilation. Here Tax arrived at the heart of the question of persistence. His argument brought anthropology to a problem which has long occupied political scientists (cf. Akzin 1964:chap. 3) and intellectuals-at-large (cf. Ortega y Gasset 1969): how to comprehend the core of meanings that unites a people and determines its participation in larger political entities.

Spicer (1971) has taken up this question in an essay which provides the foundation for my own treatment of Cherokee persistence. He attempts to deal with both the content and the boundaries of cultural persistence within the confines of a single concept, that of "persistent cultural systems of identity." He seeks a concept which can be used not only to describe a culture that has persisted, but also to identify processes, whether of maintenance or of change.

Spicer starts by identifying a people in terms of the meanings that unite them. (He deals with a "people" as opposed to a "nation.") The entity that persists is a "determinable set of human individuals who believe in a given set of identity symbols." These symbols amount to a fluid and open-ended cultural system. Through time, in response to a people's experience, the set of symbols significant to them, and the meanings they attach to these, may change. The meanings of these symbols relate to a cultural content (language, acceptance of the obligations of kinship, and so forth), a historic experience (which may be unsensed or misunderstood by groups surrounding the people in question), and a group image which involves moral evaluation and comparison, not in abstract terms, but in terms of experiences in contact, of a group's performance relative to other groups.

Spicer considers a sample of peoples (Jews, Basques, Irish, Welsh, Catalans, Mayas, Yaquis, Senecas, Cherokees, and Navajos) each of which (except the Navajos) has outlived two, three, or more kinds of state organizations into which it has been incorporated. He finds that these peoples have not only maintained the integrity of their own local communities, but also developed well-defined symbols of identity separating themselves from others. These identity systems emerge through "oppositional process," that is, through resistance to assimilation within a state. They define a course of action for the people believing in them. In effect, they store the meaning of a way of life and of an adaptation.

As indebted as I am to Spicer for his discussion, I find his argument circular. He is saying that people who persist develop a type of identity system that allows them to persist. Where Spicer implies cause, I believe he is talking about consequences: oppositional process may account for the existence of persistent identity systems, but it does not explain how a people comes to persist in the first place. To do that, I believe, one must more closely examine the social system of each persistent people in context and in the particular.

Why, after all, do some peoples persist and others not? Tax reasoned that to the extent that a people has meaningful interaction with others, acculturation and assimilation will result. Spicer argues that where a people survives in a sharply contrasting cultural environment and interaction with outsiders does not disrupt the meaning of life, a persistent identity system will emerge. The question, then, revolves around what determines whether interaction with outsiders is meaningful or not. What are the minimal qualifications of a candidate for persistence?

To persist, I think, a people must first have a subsistence system and a social system sufficiently resilient to withstand the impact of initial culture contact. Its members must survive physically and continue to communicate with one another. Cases of peoples whose adaptation shattered at contact (e.g., Henry 1941, Turnbull 1972) remind us that the universality of such resilience cannot be assumed. An additional requirement, I believe, is some sort of preexisting boundary-maintaining mechanism. To persist, members of a society must maintain inviolate the meanings that do most to bind them together. They must have an identity that transcends interaction, one in which the self is "given" and not identified by reference to outsiders. Here peoples with long traditions of interaction across their cultural boundaries, and quite probably those especially who have participated in pancultural cults and religious movements preceding their enclosure within a state, ought to have an advantage. Having become experienced in dealing with outsiders and in relating foreign meanings to their own in one type of contact situation, they ought therefore to bring adaptive experiences to bear in coping with a sharply contrasting cultural environment. Finally, a society that places the traditions that define identity in the custody of a specialized personnel such as a priesthood should be especially favored, being less subject to disruption of social meaning than societies where traditions are transmitted through immediate personal relations based on subsistence, coresidence, and kinship. The Cherokees, whose identity system I now wish to discuss, of course possess these qualifications.

CHEROKEES AS A PERSISTENT PEOPLE

Today, at least 10,000 Cherokees, who once were horticultural villagers in the American Southeast and who became eminent as a "Civilized Tribe" possessed of an elected and constitutionally based government and a prosperous and natively literate citizenry, are an impoverished and exploited pool of cheap labor enclaved within the castelike society of eastern Oklahoma (Wahrhaftig 1968, 1975; Wahrhaftig and Thomas 1969). Aware of their former high estate, they see themselves quite accurately as a people from whom White men have taken all they could get (Wahrhaftig and Wahrhaftig 1974). Though they appear to be an ethnic group widely dispersed through six rural counties and living from meager earnings at menial labor together with welfare subsidy in a cash economy, and though Oklahomans persist in the belief that the remaining culturally Cherokee population is in the last stages of total assimilation, the Cherokees are in fact an intact and traditional people.

In general, the Cherokee adaptation is one in which the new is fitted into the framework of the old. Cherokees live in some 70 named and kin-based settlements which were removed as intact social units from their former homeland. These settlements are sustained by reciprocity and generalized sharing among relatives. Though Cherokees present the appearance of being a proletariat, the subsistence system which sustains their settlements is strikingly similar to the pattern of "primary forest efficiency" characteristic of Southeastern populations during Archaic times (cf. Caldwell 1962). Cherokees make generalized and knowledgeable use of resources within their environment at the place and time of their greatest availability, and for this the kin-based settlement of 20-50 households is the most relevant economic unit. Wage labor and subsidy fit in with hunting, fishing, gardening, and foraging in a single old pattern. Hunting and fishing for men, wild-food gathering for women, and the distribution of the food obtained by each are definitive enterprises. Though only supplemental to the Cherokees' present economy, they are the activities within which members of each sex form and express the closeness of their relationships; thus, these oldest of activities are at the heart of the social system. Further, Cherokee world view and its ritual expression are shaped by this recurrent involvement with the natural world. In many ways, this encapsulation of the skill, social organization, and mentality of a hunter within the framework of an autochthonous tribal republic and within the self of a civilized man constitutes a fail-safe mechanism, providing a line of retreat that has guaranteed the survival of the Cherokees.

The Cherokees are Iroquoians, one of a confederation-prone people

who moved perhaps 4,000 years ago to the largely Muskogee-speaking Southeast, a confederation-prone environment. Presumably they were participants during the spread of several successive cults of Mesoamerican origin prior to the 14th century. That they are old hands at ecumenicism is revealed by their name for themselves: not "people," as most tribes know themselves, but *aniyowiyyv*, "the realist or principal people." This pantribal experience, throughout which tribal boundaries are maintained, is reflected in the Cherokees' conception of their identity. They are one of a class of peoples with identities of the same type.

Identity is a cultural system composed of meanings which give definition to persons or to a people. It has content and structure. The structure of identity is defined by basic conceptions within its content. In this respect, it is similar to social structure as defined by Firth (1951:31), that is, "those social relations which seem to be of critical importance for the behavior of members of the society, so that if such relations were not in operation, the society could not be said to exist in that form." Differences in social structure are contrasted, according to Firth, in terms of the difference in "critical" or "basic" relations such as the identification of cousins, the relationship of persons to land, or the existence of classes. Identity structures, too, may be contrasted in terms of differences in basic conceptions.

Cherokee identity structure is of a type I shall call "tribal" and is recognizable as such by the presence of three basic conceptions: primordiality as a people, appointment to a unique, given way of life, and eternality. As Cherokees see it, the Creator, or Apportioner, fashioned them as a single people and placed them on earth at its Creation. The Cherokees were given a way of life that is theirs alone: they are a people with a sacred and given way. Their tradition states: "For God said, if the Cherokees be destroyed and become extinct, then that will be the destruction of the whole world" (Keetoowah Society, quoted in Wahrhaftig 1975). The Cherokees are eternal and essential to the preservation of the universe.

At Creation, the Apportioner equipped Cherokees to provide for themselves and to make their own decisions: as a primordial people they are inherently autonomous. Cherokees concede that many peoples were created in this manner. Each has its own place in the scheme of things and its own strengths, expressed as unique powers. Thus Natchez have a genius for medicine, Creeks a valuable kind of non-rational and animal alertness, and Cherokees a level-headedness expressed in an ability to determine, painstakingly and rationally, what is right. Different peoples, each with powers that merit respect, were created to exist in the world in

harmonious balance with one another. Of the peoples so created, some, and Cherokees consider themselves one of these, have maintained biological, social, and cultural continuity with their origins. They thus have maintained identity and preserved primordial powers and the capacity to relate as they were ordained to do. Only those peoples that have done so are "real."

This conception structures Cherokee interaction across cultural boundaries and accounts for the persistence of an identity that remains tribal in structure. Cherokees conceive of themselves both as a unique people and as one of a class of peoples defined by their evident continuity with primordial origins. They determine the relevance of other peoples in terms of the degree to which they, also, have maintained this continuity and can therefore be related to within the primordial scheme. White men, of course, are an extreme example of a people who have lost continuity with their origins. Though it is possible to interact with them, only interaction with "real" people is meaningful and significant. Thus meaning is internalized only from other peoples with identities of a tribal type. Consequently, Cherokees incorporate new meanings into the content of an identity which is fluid and eclectic, and yet remains tribal in structure.

The most comprehensive of Cherokee identity concepts, that of their "Laws," relates past to present in a single continuum, furnishes the structure of history as they perceive it, and constitutes the criterion against which they measure experience. The "Laws" are the way of life given to the Cherokees, and the Cherokee conception of this way of life is remarkable for its generality and flexibility. It is spoken of broadly as "rules for living in peace." To live in peace is to live "under the rule of Law." So long as they do, the Cherokees are "protected" and primordial power is preserved, whereas internal dissension leaves the people open to external harm. Thus eternity is contingent on appropriate relationships. Cherokees say: "The only thing left to do now is to follow the Laws and look to the Lord. Have love for all people, that's what it means to follow these commandments" (Keetoowah Society, quoted in Wahrhaftig 1975).

The important thing about these "Laws" is not so much what they are, but whether Cherokees are living according to them. One knows one is living under the rule of Law when one experiences tranquillity within oneself and overt harmony in relationships with others. Since the Laws are those behaviors which pragmatically result in "loving one another," those relationships which are successful at any given moment are experienced as primordial, and objective change becomes subjective perpetuity. Cherokees identify with a way of life that continually changes

but is perceived as eternally given. The mechanism of their identity causes them to monitor the present to determine whether they are following their appointed path.

To live under the rule of Law, both for individuals and for the Cherokee people as a whole, results in realization of the power inherent in one's given nature. No individual, no matter what he manages to learn, will have the power to doctor unless he be a good man. That the Cherokees as a people are literate and civilized and have accepted the gift of Christ represents the unfolding of their nature as a people. To live as a people under the rule of Law is to be powerful, and the measure of power is to persist unharmed and undisturbed. As those who live under the rule of Law preserve primordial power and retain their inherent ability to govern themselves, autonomy, both for an individual and for the Cherokee people, is the ultimate sign that they are living according to sacred design. Thus, when confronted by people bent on their assimilation, Cherokees do not debate ends. They resist assimilation and look for a means of living in their own way in the presence of foreigners.

Cherokee identity is expressed by a set of symbols, each of which represents the Cherokees' demonstrated capacity to relate appropriately under the rule of Law (fig. 1). The White Path (for Cherokee Christians "the narrow way to Heaven"), which is spoken of in ritual and displayed

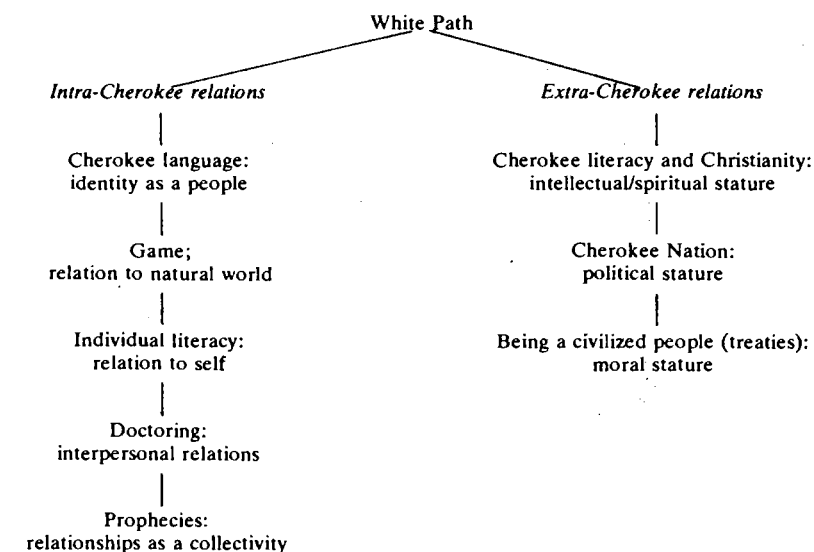


Figure 1. Symbols of Cherokee identity.

on belts of beaded wampum, is a master symbol of identity, standing for the rule of Law. Lesser symbols stand for and measure the achievement and maintenance of appropriate relationships of Cherokees in the domain of their own life and natural environment and in the domain of their relationships as a people to other peoples.

Within the domain of their own life and environment, *the Cherokee language* is symbolic of the continuity and the boundaries of the Cherokee people; *the continued presence of wild game and success in the hunt* symbolize a definitive relationship between Cherokees and their natural surroundings; *individual literacy in Cherokee* symbolizes a harmonious relationship with one's own psyche inasmuch as the ability to read appears as a "gift from God" when a person is alone and at peace with himself; *doctoring and the practice of Indian medicine* symbolizes the existence of proper person-to-person relationships, since a doctor's power is contingent on the wisdom and justice of his conduct toward others and a patient's faith in a doctor is indispensable to his recovery; and *the production of prophecies, collective dreams, and collective medicine* symbolize the strength of the Cherokees joined as one community.

Within the domain of the relationship of Cherokees as a people to other peoples, *Cherokee literacy and Christianity* symbolize the Cherokees' own tradition in universal context and place Cherokees among the intellectually and spiritually developed peoples of the world; *the Cherokee Nation, its constitution and laws* symbolize the orderly institutionalization of the Cherokees' primordial capacity for self-government and their ability to deal as nation to nation with the powerful peoples of the world; and *being civilized and upholding treaties* symbolize the Cherokees' moral record, which establishes them as a model for others to emulate and thus in fact a principal people.

As Spicer notes, the meanings of identity symbols amount to a people's self-definition and an image of themselves as they have performed in the course of their history. Cherokee identity symbols measure their capacity to "act right," as they put it, and thus constitute a mechanism for judgment and evaluation. Since the symbols are models for successful relationships and appropriate conduct, the same conceptions that define Cherokee identity also regulate and charter a Cherokee sociocultural adaptation which consists of the relationships and institutions that result from their continued effort to stay on their path. The symbol of a White Path stores the underlying meaning of this adaptation and provides Cherokees with a rationale for monitoring and regulating the course of their life. It integrates a cybernetic system through which Cherokees direct their attention to the state of their society, test it, and adjust it.

The symbol of the White Path integrates the two forms of Cherokee adaptation which involve, respectively, deviation-counteracting and deviation-amplifying mutual causal systems (Maruyama 1963). When a people strays from its path, bad things happen. This conception, emphasizing contrast between the White Path as a symbol of what Cherokee life should be and actual experience of what Cherokee life is at a given moment, directs Cherokee attention outward to scan the environment for signals of dislocation and seek appropriate remedy. As a result of such action, Cherokees institutionalize new relationships and meanings which more adequately correspond to the ideal symbolized by the White Path. According to whether the people have strayed as a collectivity or severally, as individuals, different processes of adaptation result.

A people can stray from its path as a collectivity, and when pervasive disharmony, misfortune, and violence indicate that this has happened, the people as a whole must find its path anew. Traditional Cherokee history is a chronicle of such episodes (Keetoowah Society, quoted in Wahrhaftig 1975):

Right in that place,
Our own people fought among themselves.
... their killing grew into a war so awful that
The trails ran with blood.
They brought this on themselves.

The older people gathered to think,
Knowing this could not go on,
That they had to find their way back to peacefulness.

The symbol of the White Path delivers Cherokees from uncertainty as to whether a viable way of life does exist for them. When emphasis on the primordial requirement for overtly harmonious relationships is read into the symbol, Cherokees respond to stress by collectively resynthesizing their life under the direction of a priesthood. This, in effect, is the process that produced the historic Cherokee Nation, that resulted in revitalization of Cherokee life during the Redbird Smith movement, which emerged in response to the pressures for dissolution of the Cherokee Nation and incorporation of Cherokees as citizens of the state of Oklahoma, and that presently structures Cherokee militancy. There is, however, another reading of the symbol.

A people may also stray from its path severally, as individuals. When this is the case, disharmony means that some people are right while others are wrong, and under these conditions the Cherokee ideal of harmonious

relations with others yields to the more compelling ideal of rightly identifying the people's path. Those who are certain that they are right must live according to that knowledge, accepting the consequent exacerbation of disharmony and alienation from others. Cherokees have had more than their expectable share of highly individualistic innovators who transformed the life of their tribe. In retrospect, such men as Chief John Ross, the principal architect of the Cherokee Nation, and Sequoyah, who gave literacy to the Cherokees, are recalled as traditionalists who tried to equip their people to deal with injustice. Thus they are themselves symbols which confirm the sustaining power of traditional creativity in times of greatest adversity. Even the principal villains in Cherokee history, men such as Major Ridge (who, because he became convinced in spite of the overwhelming weight of Cherokee public opinion against him that the Cherokee people would be exterminated if they further resisted removal from their homelands, signed the Treaty for Removal and in so doing condemned himself to death), are men cast in the same mold. As a model of what Cherokee life can be, the symbol of a White Path provides a context for and lends direction to Cherokee inventiveness. The symbol can be read with emphasis on the existence of a way for the Cherokee people that still lies beyond their comprehension, but may be revealed to any Cherokee. This reading maximizes individual contributions to the Cherokees' adaptation, for it allows individual Cherokees to act with great certainty, even when faced with hostile public opinion.

The encapsulation of historic experience as identity symbols by a people with an extensive tradition of interaction across cultural boundaries lends itself to a characteristically Cherokee adaptation, in which the lessons learned from one epoch of their experience become the basis of their adaptation in the next. Over the centuries, Cherokees have learned to protect the integrity of their cultural meanings. Their rise to a political nation and downfall to poverty are connected to their efforts to do this in the presence of an increasingly monolithic state around them. In contrast to the openness of early Cherokee contacts with their Southeastern neighbors, and later with Whites, Cherokees have since learned to close their social system. Whites are now excluded as significant others, and the flow of new meanings is stringently channeled more directly to the priesthood, where interpretation of the Cherokees' present situation is reconciled with Cherokee tradition.

In the hands of the Cherokee priesthood, a strongly positive group image guides Cherokees in their interpretation of past events and sustains the confidence with which they face their future. The White Path integrates Cherokee history and provides a rationale for persistence. It charts the Cherokee course into the future by emphasizing the moral

worth of Cherokee performance in the past: in all their straying, they have never lost continuity with their origins. They remain a primordially powerful people and one that has discharged its responsibilities by attending to the needs of others, even White men, whose treaties they have scrupulously upheld. In this way, the Cherokees' historic experience is explained in terms that associate worth with cultural persistence and continuity. The Cherokees are defined as something like a people with a covenant, living in a world of peoples, like the Americans who oppress them, who have gone wrong and are incapable of acting right. Since a world gone wrong was not primordially intended to be that way, and inherently cannot stay that way, Cherokee logic dictates that a future restoration of their autonomy is near. They await that moment.

NOTES

1. This paper is based on data obtained from September 1963 through December 1966 while I was associated with the Carnegie Corporation Cross-Cultural Education Project of the University of Chicago, directed by Sol Tax and Robert K. Thomas, and in February 1972 while I was associated with the American Indian Economic Development Study, directed by Sam Stanley of the Center for the Study of Man, Smithsonian Institution. Themes treated in the paper are discussed in more detail in Wahrhaftig (1975).
2. A paper on acculturation read at a regional anthropological meeting in 1952 was published among the papers from the 5th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (Tax 1960). The paper on acculturation actually read at the Congress (Tax 1956) is unpublished.

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Appendix 10

Immersion Family

A Prayer and Call to Action

"There is no resource that is more vital to the continued existence and integrity of Indian tribes than their children..." 25 § 1901(3)

As the Immersion School Program approaches its first milestone with the graduation of the sixth grade class on May 14th, the parents felt that the time had come to unite in our efforts to fix the numerous and constant failures inherent in the school. Over the past nine years, it has become apparent that our issues and concerns about the school have been repeatedly ignored, in-adequately addressed, and remain present and unresolved. If the past provides any indication as to the future, the future of our children, the Cherokee language, and the school will be bleak at best. Should our voices be ignored yet again, our descendants in the future will look back to this time when the extinction of Cherokee cultural identity fell not on the parents who gave their children to this effort, but to those in the school, administration, and government who did not act.

Over the course of these years, there have been various presentations, meetings, and discussions of parent concerns. This document was crafted over several months with input from parents with children throughout the entire Immersion School system. All parents were invited and many participated in the process. All these concerns result from specific experiences by parents and their children that were generalized in this document. Specific and wide-ranging examples can be provided on each of the points presented here.

We consider the issues that are described in this document to be emergent in nature and need immediate attention from those in power to help us create change. We are submitting this paper in an effort to stimulate two-way communication on these issues and offer our help, as Cherokee people are supposed to do, so that the requisite changes can be implemented starting now. We believe that with awareness comes responsibility.

Though this document is not our last resort, we have hope that it will spur the changes that must occur at this time. For the sake of our language, our way of life, and most importantly our children....

GA.

Concerned Families of the Children in the Cherokee Immersion School

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April 17th, 2012

Cherokee Immersion Multi-Purpose Room

1) **Language Involvement for Families:** There is a lack of opportunities and materials for language learning and usage. It is imperative that there is a language commitment requirement for families to meet the specific needs of each family*, i.e. individualized family service plan (IFSP). The purpose for the IFSP is to match different levels of learning opportunities to families; examples are beginner, intermediate and advanced. This will lead to the creation of extensive language learning options for the parents, which can encourage buy-in and commitment from families. The following should be included in the IFSP but the IFSP is not limited to these items:

- A) Begin with a target number of phrases per year to learn per family with no rigid expectations other than that the phrases be learned. This is based on a fluid pedagogical approach to accommodate multiple learning styles.
- B) Progression of classes and lessons: The parents need 'survival' Cherokee that can be used in everyday conversation with their children. Move beyond word lists (numbers, colors, greetings, animals) to phrases and useful language. Build on survival phrases to add language that has relation to classroom lessons, i.e. learn what the kids are learning.
- C) There should be a specific curriculum adapted to the needs of immersion parents. Development of themed curriculum adapted to various domains of daily life. Themed curriculum may be determined by family experiences.
- D) Parents must be engaged in active language learning before/during the first semester of Immersion School.

**A faculty or staff member could be assigned, or hired, to work with parents and facilitate familial language learning and it should be their sole job. This individual should be capable of teaching all levels of language parent classes. This person must be strongly motivated to share the language and must be a strong advocate for Cherokee language acquisition.*

2) **Desired Outcomes for Students:** The children are not proficient in conversational Cherokee, while the current academic content is below public school standards; AND, the values and behaviors are not integrated into the structure of the school's every day learning.

- A) The children should be fluent in Cherokee in a manner that is appropriate to age level. Measures of fluency can be determined according to ACTFL standards and can flow from the existing committee work that has been created on the topic. However, fluency in Cherokee cannot be developed under the current teaching structure. Conversational fluency can only be achieved through interaction in the

language. The ultimate goal would be for the students to have a great enough degree of fluency to be recognized in Cherokee communities as speakers.

- B) Community interaction is essential in furthering the student's linguistic competency and should be meaningful.
 - C) Develop academic content that is appropriate to developmental stages. Those stages should have a relationship to mainstream grade levels yet retain Cherokee community expectations.
 - D) Develop student's Cherokee cultural competency along with linguistic competency. This cultural competency refers to values, behaviors, and beliefs in addition to skills, crafts and other experiences. The school needs to develop as a Cherokee values centered environment.
 - E) Create a positive learning experience for students. An environment that is safe, warm, welcoming, and that facilitates a strong relationship between students, parents, extended family, teachers, school staff, administrators and community.
 - F) Restructure the summer program to incorporate Cherokee values, behaviors and life ways throughout the school's learning environment. Ensure that the Children are engaged in meaningful language interactions and exchanges with fluent speakers. We suggest that Grandparents and Elders (use an alternative Cherokee speaking population?) from the community should be used in the summer program to enhance these endeavors especially when they are taking a break from academic content. Utilize those teachers that most want to participate in the summer sessions.
- 3) **Second Language Learners as Teachers:** We lack second language learners and re-learners throughout the Immersion system. Well developed and prepared re-learners and/or learners will be essential as the first language speaking population dwindles.
- A) Utilize second language learners in all areas of the school, as teachers, as curriculum developers, translators and administrators. To create the best environment, partnerships between fluent speakers and second language learners need to be developed. The team teaching model utilized by the Aha Punana Leo (Hawaiian Immersion School) and Eastern Band Cherokee Immersion School could serve as instructive best practices. In addition, there is a need for fluent speaking elders in the classrooms especially for after school and summer programs to provide additional one on one conversation time for students. Second language learners may lack some language competency, but they do have the ability to recognize patterns in language acquisition, and can help identify specific language fluency levels among learners and develop materials that meet those needs.
 - B) We recommend that teachers engage in a period of apprenticeship before classroom teaching and that teachers begin teaching in Pre-K. An additional

recommendation would be to integrate second language learners into ongoing curriculum development. All employees and teachers at the school should be language advocates and engaged in language learning or teaching. These professionals are the front line of our Cherokee language environment.

- C) Also of utmost importance is the need to develop a plan for attrition. The teachers who are currently with the school are either at retirement age or very near to it. There must be a plan to replace these teachers as they retire while maintaining the school's operation.
- 4) **Communication:** There are no formal systems of communication that exist.
- A) The communication from the school to parents, teachers, and staff has been historically unacceptable. Systems must be in place to allow for better communication from school to parent, teacher to teacher, administration to staff. We suggest the development of an immersion website to be updated on a regular basis. In addition, email listserves for the school and for each classroom must be utilized. An electronic community bulletin board that includes school schedules, classroom schedules, field trips, class parties, competitions, items needed (money, changes of clothes, etc), and information regarding last minute school closures that relate to Sequoyah High School. If it is not possible to do this electronically, there should at least be an actual bulletin board with this information in full view for parents. In addition to electronic communications, it is recommended that administration meet with the parent organization at least quarterly. Open Houses and school assemblies should also occur.
 - B) To reiterate, parents need timely communication when there is a change in curriculum, teaching methods, schedules and any school related function.
 - C) Bring facilities to a decent standard. When the school opened, parents and students were promised adequate facilities in terms of both classrooms and outdoor play equipment. To date, this promise has not been fulfilled. Our children do not have enough classroom space and the outdoor play facilities are not age appropriate. To get an idea of the type of facilities we as parents, students, and the immersion community desire, visit the Child Development Center next door for ideas. Just to give an idea of the detrimental situation for the children, in terms of classroom space, a 23' X 28' room is the only space available for indoor play in inclement weather for grades PreK-6 and for Physical Education, Recess, and Culture classes. Multiple grades and classes are required to share the space frequently.
 - D) Use parents as resources! Involve parents in the school! This could be accomplished through the creation of a parent skills bank. When the IFSP is developed, parents could be asked what they can contribute in terms of skills and knowledge. We must

draw on the strengths of our immersion community. This suggestion can work in conjunction with the IFSP and parental involvement in language learning.

- E) The School Handbook for the Immersion School needs an update. Parent input should be included on the revision and expansion of the Parent Handbook. To facilitate this movement, a Parent Committee should be convened. A discipline review should be included in the handbook so violence between students can be addressed. In addition, there are significant events of bullying that have taken place historically between and among students and this type of behavior is still ongoing. At this point, the school does not have the capacity to provide corrective actions for students who are engaged in bullying behaviors. This oversight should, and must, be corrected.
- F) Classroom management should be explicitly addressed. ~~HSOTF hCnOdA~~: In the mind and heart, always have the thought of working together. The school should encourage positive attitudes toward language use in both directions. Transformational leadership is a recognized style of teaching that enables the teacher to function, not as an autocrat, but as a mentor. The school would benefit from introducing alternative teaching methods such as those that draw on Cherokee cultural values. Classroom management must communicate, and more importantly, demonstrate Cherokee Values. These values should be evident in administration, teachers, parents and children. In our school today, children fear certain teachers and are unable to tell teachers there is a problem with other children. Bullying is an issue, including some teacher behaviors.

Example: Teachers threaten students with corporal punishment when that is not a possible option in our school.

- G) Restorative Justice: Rather than punishing a child for a behavior that requires correction, restorative justice seeks to correct the wrong. In other words, you seek to correct the behavior itself rather than simply punishing the child. A Cherokee value is to address the behavior that is present rather than addressing the child.
- H) Special needs Children should have access to a therapeutic councilor in the Cherokee Language. If necessary the special needs councilor can be a monolingual English speaker until a Cherokee Speaker can fill the job. There needs to be a special needs teacher to help in the classroom environment and do assessments for the children.
- I) Abuse of children by teachers in any form, whether it is emotional, verbal and/or physical, should no longer be tolerated. Abuse of children by a teacher should be grounds for suspension from duties and an immediate investigation that takes place in a specified time frame. If the abuse is substantiated the teacher should be relieved of their teaching duties and no longer be affiliated with the immersion school or any immersion school activities in a specified time frame. The school

should make substantial efforts to provide an abused child with remedies that should include, but is not limited to, counseling in a specified time frame. The parent/s of the child involved should be made aware of findings that result from investigation in a specified time frame. The parent(s) should be given the ability to appeal any findings from the investigation.

Example: A teacher at the school requires children to only wear shoes with Velcro closures because she hates to tie shoes. She's openly derisive about simple requests by children to tie their shoes causing several children to have significant fear about the type of shoes they wear. As parents, we find this type of emotional abuse unacceptable.

- J) Student-Teacher Ratio: A lower teacher-student ratio is essential to create a good foundation for learning the language. A lower student-teacher ratio is also necessary to provide the emotional support children need in the immersion transition. We would recommend that it be recognized that the 3 and 4 year old classes are feeders for the older grades and to establish more classrooms rather than placing more children in existing classrooms. This strategy would also help to lower teacher anxiety and improve teacher performance.
 - K) Orientation and specialized training should be provided in immersion techniques and rubric for every employee at the immersion school. Everyone should have a foundation in the mission, vision and goals of the immersion process and school.
- 5) **Curriculum:** The curriculum is incomplete in terms of content and language acquisition, and must be increased to meet the developing needs of the school.
- A) Development of Core Cherokee Curriculum. We recommend the development of a school curriculum that uses and teaches inherent Cherokee concepts where they exist. We would recommend this approach rather than translating English concepts into Cherokee. In many cases, translating English into Cherokee creates language materials that are too complex for developing speakers. With the current curriculum and classroom structure, there is an exclusive focus on content. However, we would recommend that there be a concurrent focus on Cherokee language used to express content. In other words, curriculum should give both content and language used equal weight. Implementation of this curriculum would require a Professional Curriculum Developer, experienced in developing curriculum for diverse languages successfully. Creating curriculum in the Cherokee language should be tantamount to the philosophy of the immersion school in preference to translating anything from English to Cherokee. Inherently Cherokee thoughts and ideas are most readily transferable in the target language without English interference
 - B) We recommend the use of existing technological tools (in addition to paper) to bring curriculum and interactive learning to families. These tools could be used

creatively to bring audio files, video files and other learning aids to the children and families in the home so language continues when the children leave school.

Teachers have been trained how to use these technological tools.

- C) We hope to have better preparation for English Standardized testing. In lieu of English standardized testing a learning portfolio could be used as an alternative for formalized English instruction. Each student could have an individualized portfolio compiled in Cherokee and English to document and assess their knowledge in the core academic content areas. Assessment of Cherokee Language competency through oral interviews and linguistic assessment should be a priority. We need to be able to accurately describe, predict and assess the development of Cherokee language competency and academic skill at each grade level.
 - D) Curriculum developed for families and parents of immersion students to ensure that the learning process happens at home in conjunction with the classroom. The parents should have access to complimentary material, in the Cherokee language, that their children are concurrently learning at their grade level, academically and conversationally.
 - E) The curriculum should not remain static but should undergo periodic review. Curriculum should align to core Cherokee concepts, to state standards and target language levels of development for each grade level. A curriculum review committee should be empowered oversee this process and ensure that the materials are reevaluated periodically as our understanding of Cherokee language acquisition increases. The curriculum review committee should include at least one teacher of the respective grade level, as well as fluent translators and second language learners well versed in language acquisition and immersion techniques. It is suggested that the curriculum be reviewed and aligned by grade level starting with the sixth grade class.
 - F) As per the Charter School Contract, the immersion school should provide “creative curriculum” to engage and challenge students of all learning styles and abilities.
 - G) Lack of language learning environments outside of the school; families and children need opportunities to use and develop language proficiency in daily activities. These activities should have a focus on fun and family, and should be lead by the interests and needs of the children; specialized “play” language needs should be identified and developed.
- 6) **Experiential Learning:** The learning environment of the school does not represent the Cherokee life way model in which the language has always existed.
- A) 360 learning is the idea that Students, learners and families can find and acquire language learning opportunities and settings throughout the local environments

and social settings. No matter the action or the event they have the option to engage in the target language.

- B) The development of fluency and a high level of proficiency require that language learners should engage in language domains that exist outside of the classroom setting. The immersion parents have procured a model house from the Housing Department for after hours use as a home setting for experiential learning. This can incorporate family engagement in the language and create a forum to bridge the gap between the classroom and home for families and between families to strengthen our Cherokee Language Immersion Community. Other opportunities and settings should be identified and procured for development and use by Immersion language learners outside of the conventional classroom.
 - C) Work with administration to encourage and reward fluent Cherokee Nation employees to come to engage our students and help with experiential language learning activities.
 - D) Simplify the volunteer process to ensure that chaperoned elders and fluent speakers can work more easily with our language learners.
- 7) **Questions:** Aside from items 1-6 there are some areas or concerns that need to be addressed.
- A) What is the administration's plan to continue the Immersion education program past the 6th grade, up until graduation?
 - B) How will the guaranteed college Scholarships for all students that graduate from the Immersion School Program as promised by the Administration be implemented? This need is in response to a lack of core subject area knowledge and academic rigor for Immersion students in contrast to the comparable grade level standards among mainstream English instruction students. We would hope to give the Immersion students that must compete academically with public and private school students across the country for scholarships an increased opportunity to attend institutions of higher education.
 - C) What are the impacts of the new Charter School's Status on the Immersion School's mission?
 - D) What is the New Administration's commitment to the Cherokee Language and our Immersion School?

Appendix 11

	Do you feel CIS provides your child with immersive language environment?	Have you noticed your child using Cherokee outside of school?	Do you and your child use Cherokee at home, community, or other places?	Do you feel that your child has same success opportunities as students at other schools?	Comments
P01	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
P02	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
P03	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
P04	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
P05	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
P06	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
P07	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
P08	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
P09	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
P10	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
P11	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	I love the education my child is receiving, it is far superior than public school
P12	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
P13	No	No	No	Yes	I think kids spend too much time on their Ipads watching youtube and playing games that aren't appropriate. They could be spending this time on some of the cherokee apps. While it is an immersive environment, I feel like the teachers speak a lot of English to the kids making it difficult for them to learn cherokee. Also I am highly concerned by the diets fed to the children. There are 3 & 4 year olds given pop at every class event, field trip, or shcool activity. All of the gradeschool kids are being fed very poor western diets that are unhealthy. There should be more traditional foods being introduced and taught to the youth. Last, busing is an issue bus pickup should be offered for the Immersion school kids. Perfect attendance is encoraged, however with working or low income parents it may be difficult to get their child to and from school everyday. offering busing should be an option.

P14	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
P15	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
P16	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	N/A
P17	Yes	No	No	No	N/A
P18	Yes	Yes	No	C	The tutors at the old trailers were doing real good after school. I don't think we have that anymore
P19	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Wish we had a family manager to help the families advance with students in language and opportunities for involvement
P20	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	None-love our school!! Everyone is amazing!! Wa-do Chief
P21	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	We appreciate all you do and recognize the changes being made!
P22	Yes	No	No	No	School needs more elective opportunities, more cherokee culture and English spelling.
P23	C	No	Yes	C	Less technology, more natural setting engagements
P24	No	No	Yes	No	They need to teach more language arts(Parts of Speech), science, and social studies. No transparency from administration to parents. There seems to be differences in math and reading levels compared to other schools that are not immersion. Parents don't have the time or ability to teach core classes at home in English.
P25	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	N/A
P26	Somewhat, but administartion not truthful with only cherokee speaking thru out the day, which hasn't been the case for years.	Yes, but much less than before all elder speakers were fired	Yes	No	English tutoring
P27	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	More assistance with kid, IEP, and 504 plans

P28	Yes	Yes	Yes	C	I would like them to be taught English as well. I am concerned that my student will fall behind peers that attend English speaking schools. I love what the program offers and what it stands for. I want to keep my child in this school. I do face pressure from friends and family that are concerned that my child will fall behind academically.
P29	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	I feel that the employees at Cherokee immersion are doing their best to preserve our language for generations to come. I hope that they continue to receive support from their efforts. I think the parents are doing a service to our language by putting their children in Immersion.
P30	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	We love immersion school and staff
P31	Yes	Yes	Yes	C	Add more parent nights/stem
P32	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	I feel like my kids have more opportunities than those from other schools. I feel like some families either don't know about or just don't access resources such as tutoring but I'm not sure how to fix that. I appreciate you all

	Current Employment and/or education status	Speak Cherokee in current job?	Speak Cherokee socially?	How often speak Cherokee now?	Info to share
G01	Paraprofessional at CIS.	Yes	Yes	Often	No
G02	Teacher aid at CIS.	Yes	Yes	Often	No
G03	Culture Teacher at CIS.	Yes	Yes	Often	No
G04	Pursuing B.Ed. in Social Studies. Employed by OK Army National Guard.	No	Yes	Occasionally	No
G05	Intern at DFCL. Getting degree at OSU.	No	Yes	Occasionally	No
G06	Grounds keeper.	Yes	Yes	Occasionally	No
G07	Not answered.	No	Yes	Occasionally	No
G08	Undergrad.	No	No	Never	No
G09	Cherokee Trails Golf Course.	No	No	Never	No
G10	Law enforcement.	No	Yes	Often	No
G11	Employed full time.	No	Yes	Often	No
G12	Auto body repair.	No	Yes	Occasionally	No
G13	Pursuing B.Ed. in Cherokee at NSU, Junior. NSU CTS Cherokee Language Ambassador.	Yes	Yes	Often	All of my current language needs are being met and I am appreciative of my current support.
G14	CN Immersion School employee.	No	Yes	Often	No
G15	Employed at CN. High School diploma.	No	No	Never	I haven't spoken Cherokee since graduating from Immersion in 6th grade.
G16	Enrolled at NSU (46 hours)	No	No	Occasionally	No
G17	BA in Mechanical Engineering & Associates in Construction Management. Owns construction company in Bixby, OK.	Yes	Yes	Often	No
G18	Social Media & Community Manager (creates digital marketing content) for gaming company.	No	No	Occasionally	After graduating from the Cherokee Immersion Program, to help preserve the Cherokee language, I collaborated as a language consultant on a landmark project with 7000 Languages. Together, we developed the first professional online Cherokee language course, providing Cherokees nationwide with the opportunity to learn and connect with their heritage through language.
G19	Nurse aide.	No	Yes	Often	No

G20	Currently in 3rd classroom (2nd Year) in CLMAP, but also graduated from welding school.	Yes	Yes	Often	I think the Immersion School gave me an ok base for learning Cherokee like nouns mostly and I learned how to read and write Cherokee and phonetics. But I know that me and my group were not well versed or even taught how to conjugate words (especially verbs). Only after starting CLMAP have I found how really important that is. I also feel that a lot of the teachers when I was in Immersion School didn't know good teaching methods, but most of those teachers are actually gone now which I believe is for the better.
G21	Serving in the US Army.	No	Yes	Occasionally	I speak Cherokee to my brother and friends who graduated from Immersion as and also to some of the adults I know from Immersion.

	How would you rate your Cherokee language proficiency?	How well do you feel the CIS taught you Cherokee?	Have you had additional language support since graduating CIS?	If "Yes," what programs?	If "Yes," how effective were those programs?	How often do you speak Cherokee now?	Comments
G01	Intermediate	I feel Immersion taught me very well.	No	Cherokee class at SHS	x	Occasionally	There was some good times, and a few bad times, but overall I liked my experience was good. I do wish there was more stuff at Sequoyah specifically but that's all.
G02	Intermediate	I feel Immersion taught me very well.	Yes	14th Gen Program	Very Effective	Occasionally	My time here I feel was good and I enjoyed it. I had good experiences and learned well but I only had 45 minutes of class which is why I took 14th gen.
G03	Intermediate	I feel Immersion taught me ok.	Yes	Cherokee class at SHS. 14th Gen Program. Volunteer at CIS.	Very Effective	Often	It's gotten better than when I was there. I did like the family-like structure, but with family-like structures there are often a lot of discipline.
G04	Intermediate. *I can understand better than I can communicate.	I feel Immersion taught me ok.	Yes	Cherokee class at SHS. 14th Gen Program.	Somewhat Effective	Occasionally	I attended Immersion in its earlier years and at the time the educators were fluent but they were not equipt to teach it. For most of my time conversational Cherokee was not focused on. If anyone spoke in English instead of being corrected and taught how to have that conversation, we were told to not speak English. When I was in middle school we began tot have a class with CLMAP students teaching us and that a lot more helpful.
G05	Intermediate	I feel Immersion taught me very well.	Yes	Cherokee class at SHS. 14th Gen Program.	Very Effective	Occasionally	I had a good time once I got older. I feel like once they got rid of some teachers.
G06	Intermediate	I feel Immersion taught me ok.	Yes	14th Gen Program	Somewhat Effective	Often	It was fun and creative when it comes to learning.
G07	Intermediate	I feel Immersion taught me ok.	Yes	14th Gen Program. Volunteer at CIS.	Somewhat Effective	Often	I feel it would be better to get certified teachers because when I was little I struggled because my teachers were not actually teachers, just speakers.
G08	Intermediate	I feel Immersion taught me very well.	Yes	14th Gen Program	Very Effective	Occasionally	The Immersion School always felt like a family community to me and was very welcoming. Although my English level dcropped when I came to Immersion I wouldn't change it for the world. Wado.
G09	Beginner	I feel Immersion taught me very well.	Yes	Cherokee class at SHS	Very Effective	Occasionally	When I started I somewhat learned Cherokee as a kid but when I got into 8th I started a lot more Cherokee.
G10	Intermediate	I feel Immersion taught me very well.	No	Cherokee class at SHS	x	Sometimes	No comments.
G11	Intermediate	I feel Immersion did not teach me well at all.	Yes	Cherokee class at SHS	Somewhat Effective	All the time	The Immersion School did well in preparing students in terms of nouns mostly and the syllabary, but we weren't conjugating or taught English which transferred to high school poorly.

G12	Advanced	I feel Immersion taught me very well.	Yes	Cherokee class at SHS. 14th Gen Program. Worked at CIS for 2 years.	Somewhat Effective	Often	The immersion was and still is an amazing resource for those that wish for their children to learn Cherokee. Not only did the school allow us to learn Cherokee language but it also allowed us to learn other aspects of our culture. All of that was achieved while also creating an environment where our teachers became parent/grandparent figures in our life. The Immersion School is something that I hope every community has the chance to have, so much so when asked to testify in front of the US Senate Committee on Native Affairs to try and secure future funding for programs like the Immersion that was an easy yes.
G13	Intermediate	I feel Immersion did not teach me well at all.	No	x	x	Occasionally	Although I am grateful for the opportunity to learn the language I do not feel like I learned enough to make the hardships worth it. Regardless of intentionality, I feel like my education was worse than others coming into the education system outside of the Immersion program. I also feel I had a hard time learning or asking for help without feeling dumb or incapable of learning due to the treatment of students and myself at the program. *I graduated in one of the first few classes from Immersion.
G14	Intermediate	I feel Immersion taught me ok.	Yes	Cherokee class at SHS. 14th Gen Program. Volunteer at CIS.	Very Effective	Often	It was alright. I learned some Cherokee.
G15	Intermediate	I feel Immersion taught me very well.	Yes	14th Gen Program	Very Effective	Often	No comments.
G16	Intermediate	I feel Immersion taught me ok.	Yes	Cherokee class at SHS. 14th Gen Program.	Somewhat Effective	Occasionally	Immersion was ok. We didn't talk a lot in Cherokee when I was there mostly English.
G17	Beginner	I feel Immersion taught me ok.	Yes	Cherokee class at SHS	Somewhat Effective	Sometimes	No comments.
G18	Intermediate	I feel Immersion taught me ok.	Yes	Cherokee class at SHS	Somewhat Effective	Sometimes	I don't think we talked in Cherokee all that often when I was there. But it was alright.

Appendix 12

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ulisgedi tsalagi igiwonihisa

"Maintaining the spiritual tradition handed down through centuries is vital to a person's health in today's society," -Crosslin Smith said Thursday, April 17th, 2007. Crosslin Smith, a member of the Keetoowah Society and a healer, or medicine man, addressed a group at the 35th annual Symposium on the American Indian at Northeastern State.

The truest representation of the Cherokee culture and way of life is best represented in our traditional rural communities. Those communities are and have always been diverse in this understanding and expression, but they do hold more in common than they have in differences. These places are our foundation as Cherokee people and have kept our roots safe and strong for generations. This can easily be expressed in the Cherokee language as ᏚᑦᓂᑲᐱᎭᎠᎩᏧᏈᏉᏗᏙᏔᏅᏍᏁ *detsadatlanigohisdodidegesdi* or strengthen one another in all ways and in all things that we do.

Most of our traditional values, behaviors and beliefs are shared throughout our traditional families and communities. Whether one goes to a rural church or ceremonial ground or just follows their family teachings in a more individualistic way, these less tangible aspects of our culture are shared in common. ᏂᏍᏔᏅ ᏍᏍ ᏂᏁᏂᏁᏅ *nigaya'iso gadugi nitsunesdi* is often translated as "in the mind and in the heart, always have the heart of working together", is a teaching that has been recognized by the key word or value ᏍᏍ *gadugi*. This speaks to the heart of that value of shared resiliency and cooperation.

To successfully work with and strengthen our communities and the organizations that represent them we must meet them where they are, tap into their understanding of Cherokee cultural identity and use that framework as the core values and in our relationship to build for our continued, shared success as the Cherokee Nation. The old folks tell us to do that very thing when they say *SCLEᎠᎠᎠᎠ ᎠᎠᎠᎠᎠᎠ detsadakusdanidohi itsehesdi*, locate, find and visit with one another throughout life. This strengthens not only those we take the time to share ourselves with but allows us to grow and nourish our own knowledge and understanding through the experiences and knowledge of our loved ones.

The elders tell us ማንኛውም ሥርወገን *ulsgedi detsadayelvsesdi*, that we are all sacred and unique and, in that regard, we must find a way to recognize that in each other and act accordingly. This begs us to not allow ourselves to lose sight of our traditional cultural identity and that ሥርወገን *detsadatliyvsesdi*, that we should struggle to hold onto one another or cling to one another. This is how we should cling to those things that Allie us to claim our heritage and those things that give us the responsibility to ensure we can maintain this cultural integrity that still lives in the homes of our rural communities.

The Cherokee organization for most of this last generation, and even into the historical past has needed to be the bridge between our traditional communities and the Federal government. Now, as our quality of life and personal security grows as individuals and families in the Cherokee nation become better equipped to meet the needs of a global society we must reach to our communities for guidance and direction so that we do not lose touch with our foundations. There are few inherently Cherokee institutions that have maintained our unique Cherokee perspective, and we must be careful not to lose touch with what they can offer us. We cannot ask them to conform to the greater world and subvert those values. Instead, we need to integrate those uniquely Cherokee attributes into our approach for expansion as we progress from good to great. We must be bold but mindful in our approach as we choose our course. In

Cherokee we often say ᏍᏍᏍᏍᏍᏍᏍ *detsalasinadesdi* or be mindful and watch out for the best way to go about our daily lives. If we are going to be successful, we must marry our goals with that of our community minded people and our shared cultural identity.

Language Immersion is the tool par excellence, and there are many different types of immersion, but total language immersion with TPR, Form Focused approach, and Natural Language techniques should be practiced along with conventional etymological exploration and eventually grammar linguistic analysis. One technique or practice will not have enough depth to meet the needs of a serious student to achieve fluency. All Cherokee polities, various Colleges, Universities as well as elementary schools both public and private have engaged in these various aspects of language instruction, some having more effective results than others, but none have successfully implemented a comprehensive approach outside of language immersion methodologies. The more interface time and exposure to the language with any technique will yield the best results. As Cherokees there is no choice but to succeed and will never give up.

CWY ᏍᏍᏍᏍᏍᏍᏍ *tsalagi iyandvnelidasdi* culture is everything to maintaining Cherokee Identity. The Cherokee language doesn't exist without the culture but without the language the culture is dead, each generation is an echo of the previous generation without the language. The language ᏍᏍᏍᏍᏍᏍ *gawonihisdi* is the vehicle for Cherokee life ways, values, beliefs and even behavior, it is the lifeblood of our culture. Without the culture the language has no meaning, purpose, role or value and the language is simply a complicated code to express English ideas. They must go hand in hand, language revitalization must be decolonizing and must inherently be cultural revitalization.

Within 50 years most native languages will be gone, but for Cherokees, the language will be successfully renewed and a vibrant expression of contemporary native life. Those Indigenous languages that are well documented can be renewed, but any nation with even one fluent speaker still has hope to continue the living tradition. Given resources and time, and most importantly commitment, it can be done. It will take a broad movement, but in 100 years those languages that have gone to sleep can be renewed and awakened.

English and CWY *tsalagi* do not share the same foundation of philosophical understanding or etymological meaning. This fundamental difference is as wide as possible. In Cherokee ideas are not defined through binary opposition, where comparison or contrasts are used to define aesthetic and symbolic opposites such as white and black, cold and hot, good and evil, ect. Those dichotomies can and do exist, but there is no word for opposite, only on the other side ᏍᏍᏍᏍᏍᏍ *anaiditlv*. Each Cherokee concept can and does stand alone. Just like individuals, CWY *tsalagi* defines things as inherently unique, they carry their own weight. There are cultural and philosophical patterns that defy verbalization and explanation, logos is not the Cherokee foundation for truth ᏍᏍᏍᏍᏍᏍ *duyugodv*.

Traditional Cherokee speaking elders see the world in concrete expressions of tangible experiences. Descriptions are wholly empirical and tied to the physical world. There are no inherent understandings for the English equivalent for ideas such as perfection, opposite, or oppression. Spirituality is inherent and is an outgrowth of respect shown to individuals and the context of human value. Relationships are the primary expression of that spiritual respect. Some Cherokee concepts are deeply abstract and by looking closely at the etymological foundations of key Cherokee concepts, a definitive worldview becomes manifest through the language. There are quite a few example of how Cherokee is strikingly different than English philosophically.

Two concepts of 'heavy' are found in Cherokee, one is qualitative, and the other is quantitative. Many descriptive words in Cherokee follow similar patterns. In English speaking

philosophical systems, most things can be broken down into quantities. In Cherokee some things should not be broken down into quantities.

ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ *ulisedi* Sacred, heavy in value and importance.

ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵᎠᎵᎠᎵ *ulisedi detsadayelvsedi* Liken your image to that which is unique/sacred in each other.

ᎠᎵᎳ *gageda* Heavy, a physical thing is heavy.

ᎠᎵᎳ ᎠᎵᎳ *hila yiga uhageda* How heavy is it?

There are no less than two Cherokee terms for sacred. One is hierarchal in nature to determine the value of something for specific spiritual purposes, but the value is not inherent, only contextual. There are many words etymologically related to “up on high” or “out of reach” in Cherokee, one of them is the hierarchal concept of sacred.

ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ *galvgwodi* Sacred, important of elevated status.

ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ *galvladi* Above, out of reach, Heaven.

ᎠᎵᎳ *ka'lv* Placed up or hung.

ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ *galvladi iditlv* Towards up.

ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ *dika'lv'gi'itlv* Towards East, where the sun comes up.

ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵᎠᎵᎠᎵ *detsadalvgwodesdi* Find something to hold in high regard about one another, to look up to...

The concept of “honored” may be related to the Cherokee word for flower, because it is possible this is referring to placing a wreath of flowers on people to honor them. The word for flower is related to fire because they both “blossom”.

ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ *atsilvgwodi* Honored, respected.

ᎠᎵᎳ ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ *atsilv galvgwodi* Fire, Sacred.

ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ *atsilvsgi* Flower.

ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ *agilvqdi* I like it.

ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ *atsilvsgi agilvqdi* I like a flower.

ᎠᎵᎳ ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ *ayvwi tsilvgwodi* I like a person.

In Cherokee not all beings are human, but all humans are beings. There are kinds of human beings as well. Being when used for humans takes the pronominal pronoun prefixes of a Cherokee intransitive verb. This is a common pattern for Cherokee nouns that are words for humans and types of human beings.

ᎠᎵᎳ ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ *ayvwi* Being, of any sort. ᎠᎵᎳ ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ *ganvhida* Long Person, River spirit.

ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ *equoni* River, geographical feature.

ᎠᎵᎳ ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ *ayvwi* Human being, she or he.

ᎠᎵᎳ ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ *tsiyvwi* I am human.

ᎠᎵᎳ ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ *hiyvwi* You are human.

ᎠᎵᎳ ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ *aniyvwi* They are human.

ᎠᎵᎳᎠᎵ *ayvwiya* Native person, She or he is Indian.

ᵂᵇᵇᵇ *tsiyvwiya* I am Indian.

ᵂᵇᵇᵇ *hiyvwiya* You are Indian.

ᵇᵂᵇᵇᵇ *aniyvwiya* They are Indians.

ᵇᵂᵇᵇᵇᵀ *aniyvwiya 'i* Most numerous(?) Natives, Cherokees.

The Cherokee special orientation or positioning of someone while they are speaking Cherokee influences their word choice and grammatical expressions. There are directional prefixes that help the speaker describe facing. However, when it comes to the Cherokee names of the four directions, the directional prefixes that usually change with the speaker's position remain static when using the words for the cardinal directions. This indicates a symbolic stance that is always conceptually facing east when the directions are spoken about.

ᵇᵇᵂᵂᵂᵂᵀ ᵀᵇᵇᵀ *dika'lvgv 'i ditlv* Towards East,
where the Sun rises.

ᵇᵇᵇᵀ ᵀᵇᵇᵀ *tsuhyvdlv' ditlv* Towards North,
where it is cold.

ᵇᵂᵂᵂᵂᵀ ᵀᵇᵇᵀ *wudelign' ditlv* Towards West,
where it disappears.

ᵇᵂᵂᵂᵀ ᵀᵇᵇᵀ *tsuganowv' ditlv* Towards South,
where it is warm.

ᵇ- *di-* Towards the speaker in space or time.

ᵇ- *ts-* Lateral to the speaker.

ᵇ- *w-* Away from the speaker.

Some Cherokee words are only used in question phrases and these 'question' words always and only ask questions by turning the whole sentence interrogative. Some are specific to asking about qualities, while others are specifically asking about quantities. Some of them require that the object or direct object of the sentence be marked for plurality and/or animacy.

ᵂᵂ *hila/hala* How? Quantitative question word.

ᵂᵂ ᵂᵂ *hila yig* How many objects, quantitative.

ᵂᵂ ᵂᵂᵂᵂ ᵂᵂ *hila yaniya yona* How many living bears?

ᵂᵂ ᵇᵇᵂᵂᵂ *hila atli'ili* What time is it?

ᵂᵂ ᵀᵂ *ta'li ig* Two objects.

ᵂᵂ ᵂᵂᵂᵂ *ta'li naniya* Two living things, or...

ᵇᵂᵂᵂ ᵂᵂᵂᵂ *anita'li yona naniya* Two living bears.

ᵂᵂᵂ ᵇᵇᵂᵂᵂ *nvgi atli'ili* It's four o'clock.

ᵂᵂ ᵂᵂᵂᵂ ᵂᵇ *do usdi hia'* What is this?

ᵂᵂ *gado/do* What? Qualitative question word.

ᵂᵂᵂᵂ *gado:h* Why? Deeper qualitative question word.

ᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂᵂ *gado:hke* Why not? ᵂᵂᵂᵂ *gado:hno* And why?

SCILHAABVJSF4QJ EGRC JCLHABQJ SCILVAG4QJ JCLJQILTZ TVPQJ Qhi BQ ShxwQJQJQJQJ SGAD
JL SCIL4PQJ *detsadatlanigohidodidegesesdi gvwalitsv ditsadayohisdi detsadadohiyusesdi
ditsadagusdaihno itsehesdi naniv yvwi detsatloyasdisgesdi duyugodv ditlv detsadasehehesdi*
“With strengthening and encouraging words, live and support one another, never giving up, treat
one another as equals and direct one another in the Cherokee way of life”. Transliteration from
Benny Smith’s speeches about community values and traditional precepts" by GS SQJQJQ

Appendix 13

Appendix 12

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