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debated who should be writing American Indian history, under what circumstances, and for what purposes. It is indeed a difficult issue and Nabokov openly acknowledges it. On the one hand, he frequently comments on the ways in which family, community, and tribal identities enrich and enliven history. On the other hand, he recognizes the benefits of a "historical discourse that doesn't quarantine [Indians'] pasts and their intellectual life from the broader American experiences and its modes of recollection." The universal application of and participation in the type of history Nabokov describes here has both costs and benefits. Nabokov should be applauded for openly and carefully raising the issue.

Finally, many readers will be inspired to follow up on Nabokov's book in their own work. They may feel compelled to join him in countering past writers such as Francis Parkman and Henry Roe Schoolcraft who haughtily dismissed Indian traditions or accounts. Yet their work will differ in some ways from that of Nabokov who early on refers to his study as a "toolkit" or "handbook." In one sense, this characterization is far too modest. His book develops theories too extensively and includes far too much original material to fit these labels. Yet in another sense the terms do suggest that future work emerging from Nabokov's thinking will be different in nature—less sweeping and more narrowly focused. Those following in Nabokov's footsteps will likely find that it's one thing to determine whether Indian accounts are valuable and quite another to determine how they are valuable—in other words, how they should be incorporated into more conventional, narrow studies. This will certainly lead to cases where oral accounts must be used side-by-side other types of sources (such as documents or fieldwork notes) where both must somehow be reconciled with each other. Indeed, challenges might well crop up even in the process of using multiple oral accounts as source material. Yet Nabokov makes manifestly clear in this wide-ranging, inspiring, and lucid book that such work will reap rich benefits.

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Improving American Indian Health Care: The Western Cherokee Experience. By C. William Steeler; coedited by Rashid L. Bashur and Gary W. Shannon. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001.160 pages. \$34.95 cloth.

Dedicated to the memory of William Steeler, this book is coedited by two of his colleagues, Rashid L. Bashur and Gary W. Shannon, and is based on Steeler's 1990 University of Michigan doctoral dissertation, "Selected Health Policy Issues among Native Americans." Although the dissertation title references "Native Americans," the book narrows the focus to the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, and specifically to two different self-help initiatives undertaken by that Nation in the late 1970s and the early 1980s. The coeditors emphasize that their motivation for the book is to share the Western Cherokee experience so other tribal governments might learn from these self-help experiences

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and utilize the approaches described in the book. What is not clear, however, is whether Steeler also shared this motivation. At the time of his death, Steeler was no longer involved in health programs for Native Americans but had been serving for six years as the director of primary health care programs for the Aga Khan Health Services headquarters in France.

The book's preface and epilogue are written by the coeditors, but the other chapters are Steeler's, including what appears to be some firsthand observations of at least one of the self-help initiatives discussed in the book when he was employed briefly (maybe for a year) by the Cherokee Nation as its executive director for health in the early 1980s. Prior to working with the Western Cherokees, Steeler was employed elsewhere by the federal Indian Health Service for a number of years.

Steeler begins the first chapter with brief highlights of some of the political and cultural history that occurred prior to, during, and after the forced removal of the Cherokees to Indian Territory, which later became part of the state of Oklahoma. Within this historical context, Steeler gives some attention to the cultural value of self-help and self-reliance and discusses these issues as important aspects of the cultural and political history of the Cherokee Nation. Although not stated by the author, the concept of "self-reliance" is deemed important enough to be included by the Cherokee Nation in 1976 in its tribal constitution mission statement. Former Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation Wilma Mankiller has often stated that self-reliance is critical to maintaining the health of a tribe and its social harmony.

In the second chapter, Steeler discusses some of the major federal health policy concerns facing American Indians and Alaska Natives and describes some general reactions of the Cherokee Nation to three policies. One of these policies, the Indian Education and Self-Determination Act of 1975, aided the self-reliance efforts of the Cherokee and other tribes in the United States. This policy is especially important because it allowed tribes to take over the administration of some of the tribal health programs and facilities managed by the federal government. Self-determination policies have been especially important to the Cherokee Nation whose independent tribal government was abrogated when Oklahoma became a state. Although the tribe continued to have an informal government, it was not until 1976 that members of the Cherokee Nation officially ratified a tribal government with a new constitution. In 1990, Congress granted the Cherokee Nation self-governance, allowing it to maintain and perpetuate the Cherokee culture and heritage.

While the consequences of the Indian Education and Self-Determination Act and the implementation of Cherokee self-governance were important for the tribe, Steeler gives these two events only superficial treatment. He does, however, devote a chapter to one policy proposed by the federal government, a policy intended to define health care eligibility for American Indians and Alaska Natives. The federal government proposed to use blood quantum as an official eligibility requirement, a criteria not utilized by all tribes. In fact, many tribal groups, including the Cherokees, rallied against this proposal and eventually were able to have the government remove two proposed controversial eligibility requirements—blood quantum and membership in a federally rec-

ognized tribe. These two requirements were omitted in the 1992 re-authorization of the Indian Health Care Improvement Act, a significant health legislation for American Indians and Alaska Natives.

Like many other tribes, the members of the Cherokee Nation do not reside on a federal Indian reservation and do not use blood quantum for determining tribal membership. Instead, individuals accepted as Cherokees are those who are able to prove their Cherokee lineage by providing official documentation that their ancestors were lawful residents of a Cherokee community before the tribe was removed to Oklahoma via the Trail of Tears (1838–1839).

Steeler introduces and discusses the concept of communal self-help in chapter three and states that self-help is a natural extension of the Cherokees' tradition of positive dependency and the routine process of communal decision-making and cooperation. Steeler posits that although American culture has a negative view of dependency (because it goes against popular notions of individualism and independence), the Cherokees, like many other Native Americans, accept and appreciate some degree of dependency. Most tribal leaders, however, would probably disagree with Steeler and opt for what they call "interdependency." The tribe's acceptance of [inter]dependency, says Steeler, is a form of dependency that is culturally valued and promoted. Steeler refers to it as "positive" dependency.

In chapter four, Steeler presents the first example of a communal self-help project against a backdrop of a discussion about the impact of acculturation on the Cherokee Nation and the emergence of a "reservation" culture (shaped and enforced by a new lifestyle). He also notes that some aspects of Cherokee culture were resistant to change, such as traditional Cherokee health beliefs and the value of self-reliance, two values that Steeler believes assured a positive outcome for the two self-help initiatives he describes. In the first case study, Steeler discusses a project undertaken by some Cherokee communities to improve their water and sewage systems in order to improve the health of their communities and to reduce gastrointestinal infections. The need for safe water and improved sewage systems emerged out of a needs assessment conducted by the respective communities with the assistance of the tribal government. In this effort, the tribal government not only emphasized local control but also insisted on self-reliance. The participating communities were not only asked to conduct their own needs assessment but also to prioritize their needs, to identify strategies for meeting the needs, and to develop consensus on one or more strategies to be implemented. Throughout this process, the Cherokee Nation's government offered technical assistance or paid for consultants (when needed) to work with the communities. Although there was no data as to the number of the communities that participated in this self-help program, Steeler summarizes a number of benefits from this communal self-help experience, namely, development of new expertise, and confidence in and expansion of other community self-help efforts.

The second case study of the self-help approach is presented in chapter five. The Cherokee Nation's government collaborated with a private foundation that had funded a project to develop a conflict resolution mediation strategy that appealed to the tribal government. This mediation strategy, Reviews 151

called the "Negotiated Investment Strategy," was selected by the tribe, not for conflict resolution but as a way to build consensus and to head off possible conflicts. The tribe anticipated some conflict over the efforts of the nation to blend and coordinate existing federal, state, county, and tribal health services that were ineffective because the services were often competing with each other and/or were overlapping. In comparison to the first case study, the Negotiated Investment Strategy initiative was more complex and required considerable patience, money, and the willingness of various agencies to commit to the process and its outcomes. The negotiation, or mediation session, itself did not take place until four years after the Cherokee Nation asked the foundation for assistance. Steeler indicates that a number of factors contributed to the delay, including the difficulty the tribe had in getting a commitment from the state until they were able to secure federal funding for the initiative. He also states that frequent changes in elected officials also hampered progress. While Steeler offers limited information on the outcome of this process, he does note that the strategy did reduce overlap. Little, however, is said about which communities participated, how the process and its outcomes were perceived by tribal members, which programs were more successfully coordinated, or whether the experience became institutionalized so that all other future health or human services were better coordinated.

The final chapter is a brief epilogue that serves as a summary and a place to reemphasize the usefulness of the self-help process as a way to nurture community responsibility for improving health. The cornerstone of the book therefore centers on the attempts of the Cherokee Nation to promote selfreliance, a value deemed important enough to be included in the mission statement of the Cherokee Nation constitution and seen as an essential part of realizing personal, community, and tribal self-determination. It is not surprising therefore to find that self-help or self-reliance was emphasized in the two initiatives described by Steeler, but because he chose to focus on the process, Steeler says little about the players in the process. He does not give any details on the number of Cherokee communities participating in the selfhelp initiatives. The voices of the Cherokee participants in the two processes are also absent. Undoubtedly, such voices would be important to other tribal groups that may want to utilize either of the self-help processes he describes. Voices such as these would also help the reader judge whether the processes were as meaningful and useful as perceived by the authors.

In addition, while the book provides a good overview of Cherokee history, the authors give little information on the health status of the Cherokee Nation prior to the 1970s or the types of services available in the various Cherokee communities. A comparison of health status before and after self-determination would have been helpful. The discussion of health care eligibility is also an important policy issue and deserves further attention, that is, what are the actual consequences when such eligibility criteria include or do not include blood quantum? It is also unfortunate that the federal government did not release its study on this issue, a study that was mandated by Congress. (From all indications, this study was conducted but was not released per request of the federal government.) Students interested in Indian health care issues and policies will find this

book helpful, but tribal governments interested in self-help processes may find the examples too abstract to be of use.

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The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670–1717. By Alan Gallay. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002. 444 pages. \$45 cloth.

The subtitle of this work reveals more of the thematic scope of this book than does the title. Readers seeking a comprehensive analysis of the slave trade in the American South will be disappointed to find only one chapter that directly examines the slave trade. Gallay's principal focus in this volume is on South Carolina at the dawn of the eighteenth century and on the English colony's relations with the Native Americans of the Southeast. While the slave trade was certainly a focal point of that relationship, Gallay is equally interested in the diplomacy, politics, and warfare in the region. This is not an ethnohistorical work—Gallay examines only a forty-year period and seeks to illuminate a particular time and place rather than to show cultural change over time.

The author begins with a synopsis of Mississippian culture and the gradual shift of Southeastern Indians into confederacies in the centuries prior to and after Euro-American contact. Many of these confederacies, such as the Creek, became in the eighteenth century powerful polities able to influence events far beyond their "boundaries." Gallay divides the postcontact South into several subregions: Florida, Creek, Gulf Coast, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, Piedmont, and South Atlantic Coast. Gallay asserts that a network of trade and cultural connections weaved these subregions together and that events in one subregion could cause ripple events throughout the entire region. The arrival of Euro-Americans on the scene cast the region into an even larger geopolitical setting.

Gallay continues his survey of the region by showing how early Native Americans and Euro-Americans perceived each other. Most Europeans viewed southern Indians as potential allies, but also as a savage people who needed to be subdued. Yet neither the French, Spanish, nor English sought to do so through military means, but rather enlisted their aid in hunting, mining, and agriculture, and hoped to acculturate and pacify them in the process. In contrast, Natives viewed Euro-Americans as an often extraordinary though arrogant people, alternately ignorant, violent, and untrustworthy.

Though initial contact between Euro-Americans and Indians was swift and violent, as in the Soto expedition, later arriving groups of Euro-Americans had a more profound and sustained impact on the region. Within a decade after their arrival in Carolina in 1670, the English allied with neighboring Indians to dislodge the most powerful Native polity in the sub-region—the Westoe. Through their ability to forge alliances with Native groups based on trade, the English helped ensure their future safety. But Gallay asserts that internal divisions, capitalist greed, and ignorance kept the