jurisdiction, resulting in disproportionately high numbers of Indian youth in federal prisons and detention centers. Because tribes lack criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians, however, if the federal government declines to prosecute a crime by a non-Indian against an Indian child on a reservation, the crime will go unpunished.

With the exception of the Indian Child Welfare Act, discussed in the following paragraphs, almost none of these special jurisdictional rules apply outside tribal territories. Beyond the borders of reservations and the other lands federally set aside for Indians, Indian children are subject to most of the same laws as all other children. In addition, although Indian children have unique political relationships to their tribal governments, they are also citizens of the United States and, by virtue of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, of the states where they live. Whether Indians live on or off reservations, therefore, states must provide equal rights and services to Indian children to avoid running afoul of the Constitution and federal laws forbidding discrimination.

The most significant federal law specifically affecting Native children is the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978 (ICWA). Congress enacted the ICWA to safeguard the interest of tribes in their children and to respond to the alarming and disproportionate rates at which state social welfare systems removed Indian children from their families. The ICWA protects and enhances tribal jurisdiction in Indian child custody cases, places substantive and procedural requirements on states hearing such cases, and seeks to enhance tribal child welfare systems. The ICWA applies only to proceedings involving children who are members of federally recognized Indian tribes or Alaska Native villages or who are eligible for membership and have at least one biological parent who is a tribal member. The law governs voluntary and involuntary foster care placements, terminations of parental rights, preadoptive placements, and adoptions. It does not apply to divorce proceedings or other custody disputes between parents.

If an Indian child is domiciled on a reservation or other tribal jurisdictional territory, the ICWA provides that the tribe has exclusive jurisdiction over the child's custody. If the child is domiciled off reservation, a state commencing a child custody proceeding must notify the child's tribe of the proceeding and permit the tribe to intervene. In addition, upon request of either the child's parent or the tribe, the state must transfer the proceeding to tribal court absent good cause to the contrary or objection by either parent.

When a state does adjudicate the custody of an Indian child, it must provide the parents with heightened procedural protections to ensure that they understand and can protect their rights. Before involuntarily removing a child, there must also be proof that the state has made active efforts to prevent familial breakup. In addition, when a state places a child in foster care or in an adoptive or preadoptive placement, the state must give preference, absent good cause to the contrary, to, first, a placement with the child's extended family; second, a family from the child's tribe; and, third, to an Indian family from another tribe.

Although federal boarding schools have made a lasting mark on Indian education and history, today about 90% of Indian children attend state public schools. If the children reside on tax-exempt tribal lands, the states are entitled to federal impact aid to compensate for the local property taxes that typically make up a significant proportion of school funding. Only about 10% of Native children attend schools that receive their primary funding from the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs. Although some of these schools, like the federal boarding schools of old, are directly administered by the federal government, more than half are now administered by tribes or tribal organizations.

Tribal colleges and universities are an increasing force in the education of Native students. Tribes first founded community colleges in the 1960s and 1970s to address the fact that only one in four Indian students enrolling in a traditional college completed his or her degree. The schools were successful, and the vast majority of students who went from a tribal two-year college to a four-year college received their degrees. Today, there are more than 30 tribal colleges; they are funded both by the federal government and tribes themselves.

Indian and Alaska Native children are also eligible for federally funded health care from the Indian Health Service (IHS). The IHS funds hospitals, health clinics, and contract health services on and near reservations. There is little funding, however, to provide health care for the 64% of eligible Native people who live away from tribal territories. As with education, the trend is for tribes and tribal organizations to take over management of health care in tribal territories in order to tailor medical responses to the distinct needs of the population served. *Bethany R. Berger*

SEE ALSO: Federalism and Families; Native American Children

FURTHER READING: B. J. Jones, *Indian Child Welfare Act Handbook*, 1995. · U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *A Quiet Crisis: Federal Funding and Unmet Needs in Indian Country*, 2003. · Nell Jessup Newton, ed., *Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, 2005.

NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS. Indigenous peoples of North America have long inhabited culturally constructed realities that defy Western oppositions of the natural versus the supernatural or the secular versus the sacred. As a result, English-language terms such as *religion*, *spirituality*, and *the supernatural* inevitably misrepresent Native worldviews. Those worldviews typically recognize a much greater variety of intentional other-than-human persons throughout the cosmos and emphasize proper relations of respect and reciprocity between vulnerable humans and powerful other-than-humans (e.g., celestial beings, an-

cestors, ghosts, animals, plants, mountains, and so on). Furthermore, these traditions introduce their knowledge over lifelong paths: The beliefs and practices of children are different from, yet anticipate, those held by adults and elders. The contours of Native American knowledge, self, and personhood through the life cycle are inextricably religious in nature, in the sense that they are shaped by sacred orders of space and time and homologous with cosmology, seasonality, landscape, and history.

Of course, notions of childhood and its relationship to the sacred vary significantly across the several hundred indigenous cultural communities on the North American continent. Instead of theological and moral emphasis upon the afterlife, indigenous religions are generally focused on shaping and extending all forms of life in this world. Each stage of life involves its own knowledge of and relationship to powerful beings considered appropriate for that stage of life. Therefore, indigenous spirituality must be understood relative to stage of life rather than to dogma or belief, inculcated in total during childhood and then reproduced in subsequent actions or expressions. One persistent Western bias in approaches to Native religious traditions, then, is the assumption that faith in an ideologically closed and collectively accessible set of doctrines must precede all other aspects of religion in time, including the life trajectory. By contrast, the culturally constructed life cycles of Native peoples allow, encourage, or actively manifest both gradual and abrupt changes in personal orientation and sacred interpretation at several junctures in the life cycle. Transition rites, age grade ceremonies, forms of personal power acquisition, curing apprenticeships, society initiations, sacred arts instruction, and other experiences are just a few of the ritual practices maintained to mark or generate human development. Birth, naming, kinship recognition, society initiation, and thankful celebration of emergent abilities are observed throughout childhood by rites involving feasts, songs, speeches, prayers, dances, and dramas.

Many indigenous religious traditions maintain a developmental pluralism in which each successive mode of sacred encounter and understanding was considered true and correct for the believers' age, gender, and life stage. What was considered appropriate for one stage might be inappropriate or even dangerous in other stages of life. Spatial and temporal boundaries between children's and adults' sacred activities are thus maintained. In almost every case, at least some religious objects, activities, and narratives are considered appropriate only for adults and explicitly exclude children as participants. Most Native religious socialization during childhood involved instruction in social relationships and interpersonal exchanges with both human and other-than-human persons. Arapaho children, for example, learned that the respect, distance, and generosity they should show toward older relatives were the very same values they should extend to animals, celestial beings (e.g., the sun), and sacred objects. One primary function of childhood religious socialization involves training children in respectful behavior toward sacred objects, practices, and persons. For example, children learn to observe proscriptions and prescriptions pertaining to sacred items: expressions of respect to sacred objects, places, persons, and powers to which they might gain formal access only in later life. In most Native cultures, only through initiation to sacred societies, alternative states of consciousness, overcoming serious illness, or prolonged apprenticeship were older children or young adults instructed in the complex meanings and controlled uses of sacred forms. From early on in life, children were instructed in the obligations and taboos surrounding uses of common sacred forms, such as water, fire, the human body, animals, and utensils, and in normative behaviors required at different times of the ritual process or ceremonial calendar and in different places marked by seasonal rites and observances. Further, in most Native communities, not all boys or girls followed the same life path toward shared ritual experiences.

By late childhood, young women's and men's religious lives began to be segregated, though usually remaining complementary and symmetrical throughout adulthood. Within and between genders, because of special experiences or personal characteristics others observed in their actions, children could become various types of shamans, herbal curers, ceremonial leaders, sacred artists, third-gender persons, or other practitioners too numerous to list. In most communities, individuals, groups, or families thus had differential access to distinctive powerful beings, modes of knowledge, and power. While the majority of such variation was acquired in the transition to adulthood, children who showed unique abilities or proclivities or who experienced certain dreams, visions, or even illnesses might be identified for apprenticeships to shamans, initiation to religious societies, or encouragement toward other specialized roles in community life.

Storytelling remains a primary introduction to the powerful beings, moral principles, and sacred mysteries of Native religious traditions. Told by specialized elderly persons or accomplished storytellers, these narratives typically relate the adventures of child-heroes or the misadventures of trickster beings, such as Spider, Coyote, or Raven. As in many cultures around the world, such tricksters typically act in foolish, playful, harmful, overly curious, or childish ways that are counter to human morality, natural laws, and sacred traditions. In these accounts, protagonists encounter tricksters and other dangerous beings such as cannibals, animal-human shape-shifters, little people, ghosts, weather beings, and many others. Little heroes and trickster beings generally do not heed the admonitions of relatives, animals, or persons with special powers, and they often transgress normal boundaries for action. Characters thus typically violate relational norms concerning respect and care for

the sacred or powerful, but the outcomes are rarely simply punitive. Both good and bad things might happen as a result of young heroes' or tricksters' improprieties. As a result, characters are transformed temporarily or permanently, return to their families with new knowledge or power, or bring about some other significant change in the social or cosmological order.

Another function of such stories is to introduce and explain animal abilities, natural phenomena, kinship relations, and cosmological principles. At one level, these stories are fables in that they teach lessons about proper relations among and between humans, animals, and other sacred beings. In addition, however, they instill and reinforce moral and affective orientations (e.g., generosity, mercy, respect, and courage) toward others, an orientation of ironic inquiry to a world in which appearances are not to be trusted, a recognition that there are multiple ways of seeing all things, an appreciation that tangible forms are never fixed and permanent, a belief that knowledge should always be open to mystery and discovery, and a faith that stepping beyond boundaries is often rewarded, though not without personal risk or cost.

One of the challenges for Native communities throughout history, but especially since European colonization, has been to maintain childhood religious socialization rooted in tradition yet adapted to a changing world often interrupted by personal or collective crises. Beginning in the late 19th century, children from many Native communities were pressured or forced to obtain an assimilative boarding school education. Some communities and families hid children from the non-Indian world, others encouraged education as a form of empowerment to control Euro-American forces, and yet others sought to maintain a bicultural socialization for children. In most schools, Native language and culture were deliberately stigmatized and excluded. Furthermore, Christian religious socialization exported alien concepts that traditional religious socialization had to redefine, appropriate, or resist.

In response to forced assimilation and loss of some traditional religious forms resulting from Euro-American colonization, Native peoples created many new revitalizing religions, some of which survive to the present, such as the Native American Church (or Peyote Road), Indian Shaker Religion, and Longhouse Religion. Despite current ecumenical efforts by many Christian missions among Native Americans today, there are still deep-seated historical contradictions for many communities surrounding doctrinal authoritarianism, punitive eschatology, and antitraditionalism.

Today, most Native communities socialize children into a religious pluralism of tribally specific traditions, variations of Christianity, and multiple pan-Indian religious forms that emerged and spread throughout the 20th century. Part of contemporary childhood socialization is an effort by families and religious leaders to keep all or some of these forms vital, balanced, and compartmentalized in young people's experiences and understanding. Inundated by an increasingly global popular culture of materialism, violence, narcissism, and eroticism, Native children are prone to embracing national or cosmopolitan youth subcultures as bases for identity formation, peer group solidarity, and resistance to authority. In reservation communities, many children grow up with minimal direct access to lived Euro-American culture but with an overabundance of idealized images that greatly complicate the reproduction of vital but vulnerable religious traditions.

Jeffrey D. Anderson and Joseph P. Gone

SEE ALSO: Child: Religious and Philosophical Perspectives; Religious Instruction

FURTHER READING: Fred P. Gone, *The Seven Visions of Bull Lodge as Told to His Daughter, Garter Snake*, ed. George P. Horse Capture, 1980. · Raymond J. DeMallie, ed., *The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's Teachings Given to John G. Neihardt*, 1984. · John H. Moore, "Truth and Tolerance in Native American Epistemology," in Russell Thornton, ed., *Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects*, 1998, pp. 271–305. · Kenneth M. Morrison, "The Cosmos as Intersubjective: Native American Other-Than-Human Persons," in Graham Harvey, ed., *Indigenous Religions: A Companion*, 2000, pp. 23–36.

NATURE, CHILDREN AND. In many cultures, children are associated with nature and childhood is considered a "natural" state. Cultures are divided, however, about whether this state is good or bad, and some cultures are divided within themselves. In Judeo-Christian tradition, the biblical book of Isaiah prophecies a savior who will introduce a "peaceable kingdom" where "the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid . . . and a little child shall lead them" (Isaiah 11:6). In this image, childhood is associated with a sanctified and redeemed nature. This redeemed nature stands in opposition to the fallen world into which Adam and Eve were expelled after they ate the forbidden fruit. In this fallen world, the wolf stalks the lamb and children are born with the stain of original sin. Thus Christ's apostle Paul distinguished the "natural man" who is born into the corruptible world of nature and the flesh from the redeemed man who has received spiritual grace (1 Corinthians 2:14–16). In this corruptible earthly world, nature is harsh and fractured and children "naturally" tend to sin.

These contradictory versions of the relationship between children and nature took secular forms at the beginning of Western modernity. According to the dominant assumptions of Protestantism and the emerging scientific worldview, nature is an unruly wilderness that requires rational control in order to turn it to useful production. Because children are not yet rational, they, too, must be controlled