

BLOOD MEMORY

A STORY OF REMOVAL AND RETURN

VIEWER DISCUSSION GUIDE



IN THEIR WORDS

"We have story upon story, upon story, from different reservations, of how the government had a policy to remove children. We were just taken and put into white homes and communities. This was an era of removal. We were targeted for removal."

- Sandy White Hawk (Sicangu Lakota)

Left: Sandy White Hawk walks the 'road of her past' - Rosebud Reservation, South Dakota. Photo by Drew Nicholas

PROGRAM SYNOPSIS

A survivor of America's Indian Adoption Era helps generations of displaced relatives find their way home through song and ceremony.

For Sandy White Hawk, the story of the Adoption Era is not one of saving children but of destroying families and tribes. At 18 months of age, Sandy was removed from her Sicangu Lakota relatives and placed with white missionaries over 400 miles from the reservation.

Growing up as the only brown girl in a small Wisconsin town, Sandy's cultural identity was rejected, leaving her feeling ugly, alone, and unworthy of love. After a 30-year struggle through abuse and recovery, Sandy set out to restore the missing pieces of her stolen past. She soon discovered that her adoption was not an isolated case but part of a nationwide assimilative movement that had effectively displaced one-third of children from tribal communities nationwide.

Through Sandy's journey of coming home, she discovered the powerful role that traditional song and ceremony can play in healing this intergenerational wound. Today, she is an international child welfare advocate and has assisted countless displaced relatives and their families through the process of reunification.

Blood Memory explores the communal healing that is sparked by the return of this stolen generation, as Sandy helps organize the first annual Welcome Home Ceremony for Adopted and Foster Relatives of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe - the community from which she was removed over 60 years ago.



Above: Sandy White Hawk (center) at about 4 years of age with her adoptive relatives in Valton, Wisconsin, circa 1957. Courtesy of White Hawk's personal archives.

Below: Sandy and Marlies White Hat (right) embrace adopted / fostered relatives of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe. Photo by Benedict Baldauff (Osage)



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PRODUCER STATEMENT

The title “Blood Memory” is derived from the concept that experiences of one generation are passed to the next through our DNA.

Future generations live with the shared knowledge of their ancestors - meaning there is a foundation of survival instinct and cultural identity that exists within us prior to learned experience. In many ways, this is a beautiful and poetic concept, but trauma and abuse can also be transferred intergenerationally.

This film is about acknowledging and honoring all aspects of blood memory, and how we as individuals and community members heal our collective traumas and learn to pass positive ancestral knowledge to the next generation.

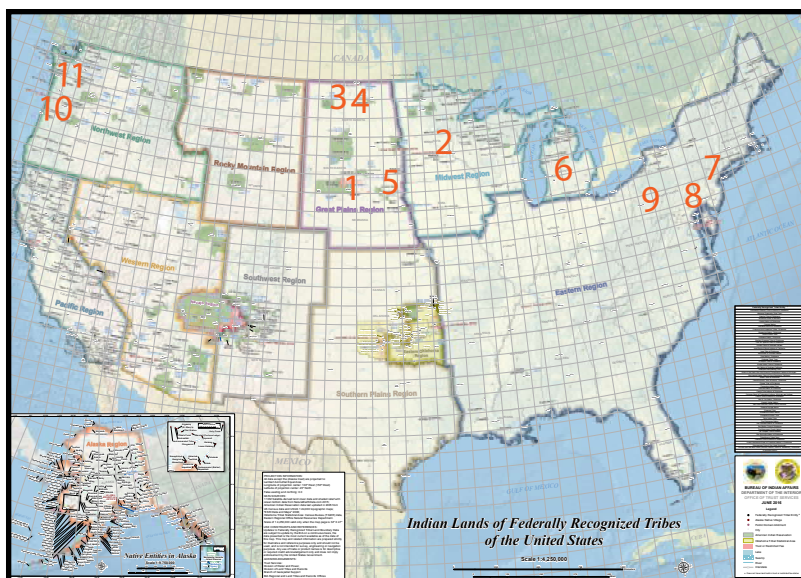
Our mission is to present *Blood Memory* as an educational resource regarding America’s genocidal policies toward Indigenous families and to promote truth-telling and healing efforts around this subject throughout North America.



Top: A Sicangu Lakota child learns to walk at his grandparents’ home on the Rosebud Reservation, South Dakota. Photo by Bryan Heller. **Above:** *Blood Memory* producing team and community organizers celebrate their World Premiere at Big Sky Documentary Film Festival, February 2019. (From left to right: Jason Forges, Elizabeth Day, Drew Nicholas, Sandy White Hawk, Megan Whitmer, George McCauley, Turquoise Devereaux)

FILMING LOCATIONS

1. **Rosebud Reservation**, South Dakota
2. **Minneapolis / Saint Paul**, Minnesota
3. **Turtle Mountain Reservation**, North Dakota
4. **Spirit Lake Reservation**, North Dakota
5. **Sioux Falls**, South Dakota
6. **East Lansing**, Michigan
7. **Great Neck**, New York
8. **Wallingford**, Pennsylvania
9. **Scottdale**, Pennsylvania
10. **Portland**, Oregon
11. **Seattle**, Washington



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BY THE NUMBERS: FROM WAR TO CIVILIZATION (1800 - 1870s)



Native American boy, most likely Sicangu Lakota from the Rosebud Reservation, labeled as "Uncivilized" for reasons unknown, circa 1900. Courtesy of University of South Dakota, McFatrige Collection.

1. The foundation for America's Indian Adoption Era was laid when Congress passed the **Civilization Fund Act of 1819.**

This act appropriated **\$10,000 annual annuities** (equivalent to about \$200,000 today) to encourage "capable persons of good moral character," to provide education for Native Americans and **"introduce among them the habits and arts of civilization."**¹

Participating civilian groups were to help the U.S. Cavalry eliminate Native military resistance and suppress traditional practices in favor of settler styles of dress, housing, farming, and religion.

2. Despite the Civilization Fund, America's primary response to the "Indian problem" continued to be one of war, removal, and extermination well into the 19th Century, i.e. Indian Removal Act of 1830, Trail of Tears (1831-1877), and the expense of war was beginning to add up.

Estimates at the time were that it **cost nearly \$1 million for the Cavalry to kill one Indian in warfare** and that the government was spending in excess of **\$22 million annually to wage war on Indian Peoples and defend frontier communities.**³

Encouraged by the prospect of missionary civilization initiatives, President Ulysses S. Grant enacted the **"Peace Policy"** (1868). Grant's policy shifted oversight of reservations from government Indian Agents, many of whom were corrupt, into the hands of "morally superior" religious denominations, ushering in both a **cheaper alternative to war and a new era of forced assimilation for Native Peoples.**⁴

The **Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) was created in 1824**, under the War Department, in order to administer these funds.²



Parents and five children in "Sunday best" clothes on Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota, circa 1888 - 1920. Courtesy of Marquette University, Red Cloud Indian School Records

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BY THE NUMBERS: THE BOARDING SCHOOL ERA (1870s - 1960s)

3. Throughout the mid-1800s, The Civilization Fund helped establish many on-reservation conversion schools and religious institutions. With the meager expense of **\$1,200 to fund eight years of schooling for an Indian child⁵** (approximately \$30,000 today), the federal government decided to invest its resources into institutional education, and thus began the **Boarding School Era** (1870s-1960s).

In 1879, the first federal boarding school, **Carlisle Indian Industrial School** (1879-1918), was founded by General Richard Henry Pratt. As a way to promote the assimilationist goals of these institutions, Pratt infamously coined the phrase **"Kill the Indian and save the man."**⁶



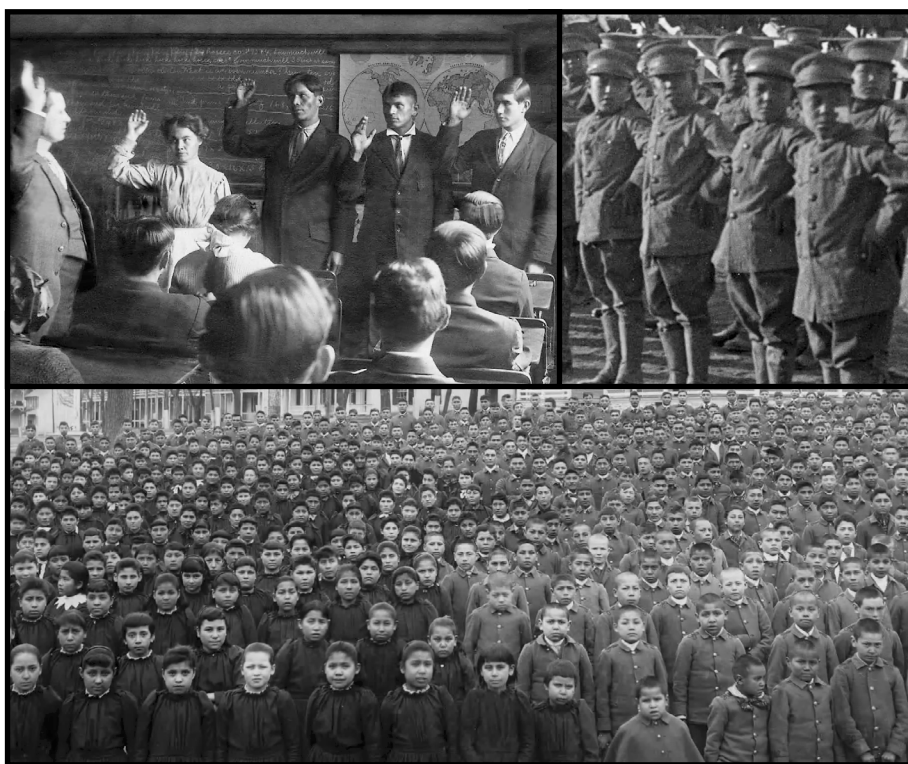
Above: Three 'civilized' girls in BIA boarding school promotional footage, 1929, courtesy of University of South Carolina MIRC. Article headline from Carlisle Indian Industrial School's "The School News" vol. 2 no. 6, 1881, courtesy of Cumberland County Historical Society. White Buffalo before and after portrait from Carlisle Indian School, c. 1879 - 1902, courtesy of Cumberland County Historical Society. **Below:** Students in classroom and entire Carlisle student body, c.1879 - 1902, both courtesy of Cumberland County Historical Society. Students execute military drills, most likely at Phoenix Indian School, 1926, courtesy of University of South Carolina MIRC.

While attending these institutions, children's hair was cut, their languages were forbidden, they were forced into manual labor, and beaten for insubordination. Most children never returned home during their 8+ years of schooling, and many died while in government care.

There were an estimated **20,000** Indian children in boarding schools in the year 1900, and by 1925 that number had more than tripled to **60,889**.

By 1926, nearly 83% of Indian school-age children were attending boarding schools in the United States.

It is unknown exactly how many schools the federal government operated and/or funded, but **357 institutions in 30 states have been confirmed to date.⁷**



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BY THE NUMBERS: THE ADOPTION ERA (1940s - 1978)



Indian birthmother looks to her newborn child in nursery of newly constructed Sells Indian Hospital, Sells, AZ, c. 1961 - Division of Indian Health, National Archives.

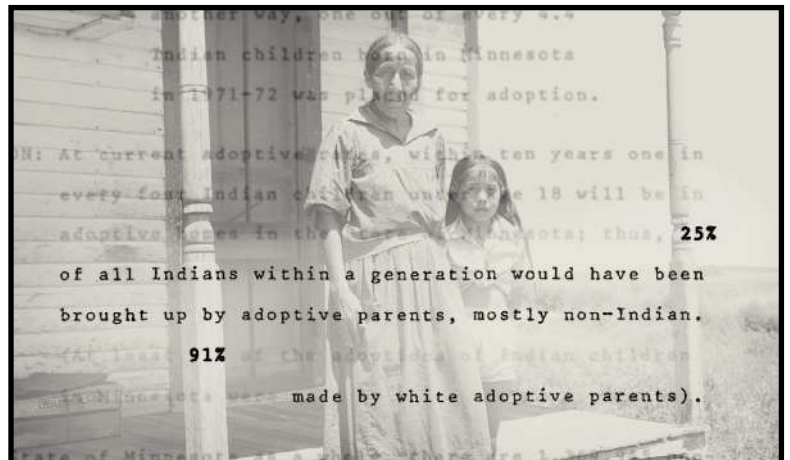
4. America's Indian Adoption Era is predominantly defined by the **Indian Adoption Project (IAP)**, which operated from 1958 to 1967. Before the IAP, going back to the 1800s, Indian children were often removed from their tribes and adopted by settler families but these instances were not as organized or systematic as the IAP.

Throughout the 1940s, formal adoption became more commonplace with the increased development of social work and child welfare programs. At the time, the prevailing attitude of adoption professionals was one of **"matching"** the race of the child to the race of the adoptive parents. To address the growing number of minority children in the child welfare system, lead agencies began a campaign to make trans-racial adoption more socially acceptable. Building upon this social momentum, the eventual director of the IAP, **Arnold Lyslo, convinced the U.S. government that immersive trans-racial adoptions would further the goal of Native assimilation.**⁸

A joint initiative of the **Bureau of Indian Affairs**, the **Child Welfare League of America**, and the **U.S. Children's Bureau**, the IAP is responsible for the displacement of **395 Native American children from 16 western states** into predominantly white homes throughout the midwest and eastern United States.⁹ Even though the IAP was the flagship government adoption program, IAP-specific adoptions represent a small fraction of the total number of Indian children who were forcibly displaced during the Adoption Era.

A survey conducted by the **Association on American Indian Affairs** between 1967-68 concluded that child welfare programs had **displaced 25-35% of Native American youth from tribal communities nationwide**. "The overwhelming majority of these removals, approximately **85% of foster care** and **90% of adoptions, resulted in Indian children being placed in non-Indian homes**, often far from their extended family and tribal communities."¹⁰

The **Adoption Resource Exchange of North America (ARENA)**, founded in 1966, expanded upon the IAP and began the practice of international adoptions of Indigenous children across the U.S./Canada border. Today, **First Nations and Canadians refer to this era as the "1960s Scoop"**.¹¹ ARENA continued the systematic displacement of Indigenous children into white adoptive homes for several years into the early 1970s. Through the conglomeration of public news releases (see the document to the right) and adoption agency survey data, **it is estimated that a minimum of 12,486 Indian children were adopted between 1961-1976** by agencies and programs that expanded upon the scope of the Indian Adoption Project.¹²



Elder and young girl stand on porch, c 1940, courtesy of Nebraska State Historical Society. Statistical overlay from Congressional Indian Child Welfare Hearings transcript, 1974 - Library of Congress

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BY THE NUMBERS: THE INDIAN CHILD WELFARE ACT (1978)



Jeanette Goodhouse (left) and the **Dakota Mothers Delegation** (right), alongside **Spirit (Devil's) Lake Tribal Chairman, Louis Goodhouse** and **Association on American Indian Affairs Executive Director, William Byler** (far right), demand an investigation into Indian Child Welfare at a press conference in New York City, **1968**. Courtesy of ABC News.

5. In response to the disturbing number of children disappearing from their communities, Native families and child welfare advocates banded together to demand change. This effort began at the

1968 Dakota Mothers Delegation press conference (pictured above) and was followed by the collection of testimony at the **1974 Congressional Hearings on Indian Child Welfare** (pictured below).

As a result of this political activism, the **Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA)** was **ratified by Congress in 1978** establishing guidelines intended to "prevent the unwarranted removal of Indian children from their homes and to ensure that when Indian children are removed from their families, they are placed in culturally appropriate homes whenever possible."¹³

IN THEIR WORDS

"Officials would seemingly rather place Indian children in non-Indian settings where their Indian culture, their traditions, and their entire Indian way life is smothered. The federal government, for its part, has been conspicuous by its lack of action."

- **Senator James Abourezk** (D-SD)



Senator James Abourezk (right) listens to the testimony of **Cheryl Spider DeCoteau** (center) alongside Association on American Indian Affairs staff attorney, and co-author of ICWA, **Bertram Hirsch** at the **Congressional Hearings on Indian Child Welfare, 1974**. Courtesy of NBC News.

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BY THE NUMBERS: PRESENT DAY CHILD WELFARE



Top: Sicangu Lakota father and son at the 141st Annual Rosebud Fair & Wacipi, 2017. **Middle:** Sicangu Lakota woman holds a young Jingle Dress dancer, Rosebud Fair & Wacipi, 2016. **Bottom:** A Sicangu elder prepares a young Grass Dancer for evening dance competitions at the 140th Annual Rosebud Fair & Wacipi, 2016. All photos taken on the Rosebud Reservation, South Dakota by Drew Nicholas.

6. Today, **American Indian/Alaska Native children remain 3 times more likely than white children to be placed in foster care nationwide.**

In South Dakota, American Indian children are **10 times** more likely than white children to be placed in foster care, and in Minnesota, they are nearly **22 times** more likely to be placed in foster care.¹⁴

See where your state ranks:

<https://rb.gy/tw8kyw>

7. In 2012-2013 the **First Nations Repatriation Institute (FNRI)** conducted an anonymous survey, *"American Indian and White Adoptees: Are There Mental Health Differences?"*¹⁵

There were **336 total respondents**, of which **129 identified as American Indian.**

Of the 129 American Indian respondents FNRI analyzed **95 who had also been in contact with their birth families** with the following results:

- **47** of 95 experienced **Emotional Abuse**
- **44** of 95 experienced **Physical Abuse**
- **23** of 95 experienced **Sexual Abuse**
- **43** of 95 **Contemplated or Planned Suicide**
- **20** of 95 **Attempted Suicide**
- **51** of 95 **had been in therapy** for the emotional, physical or sexual abuse
- **71** of 95 **reported depression** (CDC reports 1/10 Americans suffer from depression, this study resulted in 84.5% for A.I. Adoptees)
- **15** of 95 had been **hospitalized for mental health conditions**

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VIEWER DISCUSSION GUIDE

EXPLORING THE FACTS

1. Read General Pratt's 1892 speech (http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-resources/CIS-Resources_PrattSpeechExcerptShort.pdf) and ask your audience the following:

- Who can further explain the meaning of the statement **"Kill the Indian and save the man"**?
- At the time of this speech, **Pratt's assimilationist views were considered to be progressive**. What examples of this rhetoric stood out to you?
- **How would Pratt's statements be viewed today**, and what might that indicate about the evolution of the American value system?

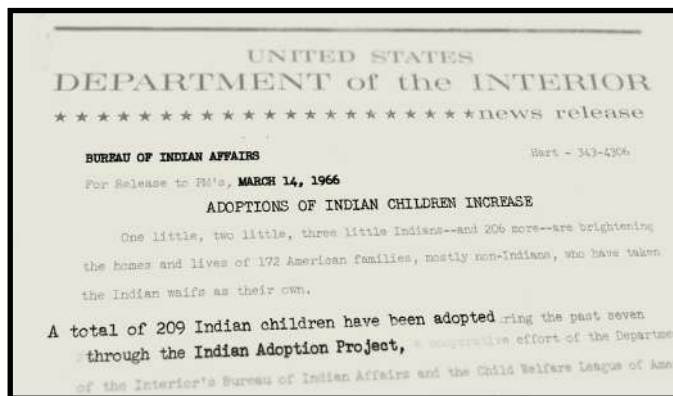


Above: General Richard Henry Pratt in his office with a student of Carlisle Indian Industrial School, c. 1880. Courtesy U.S. Army. **Below:** Bureau of Indian Affairs News Release promotes an increasing number of adoptions, 1966 - National Archives.

For a map of the confirmed U.S. boarding school locations and other educational resources check out: www.boardingschoolhealing.org

2. Review the Bureau of Indian Affairs' 1966 News Release (pictured to the right - <https://bit.ly/2C7NtY7>) and ask your audience the following:

- How does the **rhetoric of this 1966 news release** compare to Pratt's 1892 speech?
- In the second-to-last paragraph on page 1 it reads **"... all share desire to adopt a child who 'needs someone'..."** What assumptions are made by this statement and how are those assumptions in conflict with views of Indigenous communities?



3. Watch archival footage of the **1968 Dakota Mothers Delegation Press Conference** (<http://vimeo.com/431464337/a3c299627c>) and the **1974 Senate Hearings on Indian Child Welfare** (<http://vimeo.com/456571414/6d748132a7>) and ask your audience to consider the following:

- **What role did Indigenous women play in the passage of the Indian Child Welfare Act** and how is that role present throughout Blood Memory?
- In the hearings footage (52:14-1:02:30), when Cheryl Spider DeCoteau shares her testimony, what key thoughts or statements stood out to you? How might the word **"shame"** relate to Cheryl's decision to place her children for adoption?
- What **takeaways or moments from the press conference / hearings** did you find most impactful and how are they related to emotions you may have experienced viewing the film?

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EXPLORING THE FACTS

4. Review these **Indian Child Welfare Act handouts** (<https://bit.ly/3jfuCen>) and ask your audience the following:

- Finish the statement, **"The purpose of ICWA is ..."**
- In what way is ICWA an acknowledgment / remediation of past wrongdoing?
- Is ICWA still necessary today?
- What is meant by the statement **"best interests of Indian children"**?
- How would you respond to those who argue that **ICWA is a race-based law**?
- What were the primary findings of the Children's Bureau Child and Family Services Reviews?

View the entire Indian Child Welfare Act:

<https://bit.ly/2YH4ocl>

5. Breaking down the NCJFCJ Disproportionality Reports (<https://bit.ly/2GbMAjt>):

- **Read page 7 of the 2017 report** and ask your audience to explain **disproportionality** to the group. Then follow up with an explanation of **disparity** (ie. disproportionality rate of one group divided by the disproportionality rate of another).
- Review the state by state **disproportionality** statistics and ask your audience:
 - How does your state(s) rank nationally in both disproportionality and disparity?
 - What trends are present in the data from your state? Follow up: How might you account for those trends in your work or social practices?
 - How does this information make you feel?



Prayer bundle carried by Sandy White Hawk for those impacted by family separation, 2015. Photo by Benedict Baldauff (Osage).

6. Dr. Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart defines the term **"Historical Trauma"** as the cumulative emotional and psychological wounding over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma.

- How have America's Indigenous child welfare policies potentially influenced the presence of historical trauma among Indigenous communities?
- At the end of the Rosebud Adoptee Gathering, when Sandy explains the meaning of the phrase **"Wicoicage aki un kupi"** (1:33:50 / 0:44:46), how might that relate to the idea of Historical Trauma?
- What are some other examples of historical trauma, or healing of historical trauma, relative to the story and history explored in *Blood Memory*?
- Does Dr. Brave Heart's definition bring any new perspective to the title of the film?

Watch Dr. Brave Heart's Keynote Presentation:

www.youtube.com/watch?v=ycQJ8ckwYaU

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IDEAS FOR ACTION

1. Consider how your community may be able to **create space for relatives who have experienced family separation** (i.e. host a Welcome Home gathering, organize a monthly talking circle, etc.). You can always ask us for help or guidance.

2. Encourage your community leaders or institutions to host a presentation of *Blood Memory*. Use the screening as a way to bring more people to policy events (i.e. family reunification celebrations, foster care recruitments, community fundraisers, child welfare practitioner trainings, etc.).

3. Support Indigenous foster homes in your community!



Theresa Arita (Sicangu Lakota) shakes hands with relatives during the Rosebud Sioux Tribe's first annual Welcome Home Ceremony, 2015. Photo by Drew Nicholas



Jerry Dearly (Oglala Lakota) sings the Song for Adoptees. Photo by Drew Nicholas

4. If you know someone who is looking to adopt ask, **"Are you aware of ICWA and the history behind the Act?"** Encourage them to confirm with their agencies and attorneys that ICWA was followed.

5. Support political representatives and organizations who believe in family preservation. Message your representatives and ask if they support the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA). **If they don't know what ICWA is, tell them!**

6. Continue to educate yourself on the state of Indigenous child welfare with the resources throughout this guide and at BloodMemoryDoc.com.

7. Donate to our ongoing educational efforts: bloodmemorydoc.com/donate

8. Support Indigenous creatives via Vision Maker Media and your local galleries, theaters, etc.

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RESOURCES

AUDIO

Native America Calling Radio Show discusses Rosebud Welcome Home Ceremony, 2015
www.nativeamericacalling.com/?s=sandy+white+hawk

RadioLab Episode on "Adoptive Couple v Baby Girl"
<https://www.wnycstudios.org/podcasts/radiolab/articles/295210-adoptive-couple-v-baby-girl>

This Land podcast by Rebecca Nagle (particularly Ep. 8)
www.stitcher.com/show/this-land-2

BOOKS

"A Generation Removed: The Fostering and Adoption of Indigenous Children in the Postwar World"
 by Margaret Jacobs

American Bar Association's "The Indian Child Welfare Act Handbook"
 3rd Edition by Kelly Gaines-Stoner, Mark Tilden, Jack Trope
 2nd Edition by B.J. Jones

"American Indian Children and the Law"
 by Kathryn Fort

"American Indian Law in a Nutshell"
 by William Canby Jr

"An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States"
 by Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz

"Bitterroot: A Salish Memoir of Transracial Adoption"
 by Susan Harness

"Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West"
 by Dee Brown

"Children Left Behind: The Dark Legacy of Indian Mission Boarding Schools"
 by Tim Giago

"Children, Tribes, and States: Adoption and Custody Conflicts Over American Indian Children"
 by Barbara Ann Atwood

"Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928"
 by David Wallace Adams

"Intimate Integration: A History of the Sixties Scoop and the Colonization of Indigenous Kinship"
 by Allyson Stevenson

"Kinship By Design: A History of Adoption in the Modern United States"
 by Ellen Herman

BOOKS (cont'd)

"Lincoln and the Indians: Civil War Policy and Politics"
 by David A. Nichols

"Lost Bird of Wounded Knee: A Spirit of the Lakota"
 by Renee Sansom Flood

"Missionary Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide"
 by George Tinker

"Outsiders Within: Writing on Transracial Adoption"
 by Dee Brown

"Stolen Generations: Lost Children of the Indian Adoption Projects" (3 Book Volume)
 by Trace Hentz

"Stringing Rosaries: The History, the Unforgivable, and the Healing of Northern Plains American Indian Boarding School Survivors"
 by Dr. Denise Lajimodiere

"Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada"
 by Paulette Regan

"While the Locust Slept"
 by Peter Razor

LINKS

"Aug 6, 2015 - Indian Child Welfare Act: A Historical and Legal Context" by Brit Reed
<https://lastrealindians.com/news/2015/8/6/aug-6-2015-indian-child-welfare-act-a-historical-and-legal-context-by-brit-reed>

NACC's Red Book / "Child Welfare Law and Practice"
<https://www.naccchildlaw.org/page/RedBook>

Native American Rights Fund "A Practical Guide to the Indian Child Welfare Act"
www.narf.org/nill/documents/icwa/index.html

Turtle Talk Legal Blog
<https://turtletalk.blog>

VIDEO

Mark Charles discusses the Doctrine of Discovery
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8ezw_xNkcdM

Dr. Denise Lajimodiere on Indian Boarding Schools & Historical Trauma
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MnuoGliO2QM>

Paula Palmer on the role of Quakers (and religion) in the Boarding School Era
www.youtube.com/watch?v=jonyrVK7uc0

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RESOURCES (CONT'D)

ORGANIZATIONS

Association on American Indian Affairs

www.Indian-Affairs.org

Casey Family Programs

www.Casey.org

Indian Child Welfare Law Center

www.ICWLC.org

Michigan State University Indigenous Law & Policy Center

www.law.msu.edu/indigenous

National Congress of American Indians

www.NCAI.org

National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges

www.NCJFCJ.org

National Indian Child Welfare Association

www.NICWA.org

National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition

www.BoardingSchoolHealing.org

Native American Rights Fund

www.NARF.org

Tiwahe Glu Kini Pi (Bringing the Family Back to Life)

www.tiwahe.org

University of Minnesota's Center for Advanced Studies in Child Welfare

www.CASCW.umn.edu



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For more information, please visit www.visionmakermedia.org.

Educational resources for this film are available at
<https://www.visionmakermedia.org/films/blood-memory>

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ENDNOTES

- 1 "An Act making provisions for the civilization of the Indian tribes adjoining the frontier settlements." Fifteenth Congress, Statute II Ch. 85, page 516-517, March 3, 1819. <https://govtrackus.s3.amazonaws.com/legislink/pdf/stat/3/STATUTE-3-Pg516b.pdf>
- 2 "Civilization Fund Act." *Wikipedia*, Wikimedia Foundation, 30 Dec. 2019, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Civilization_Fund_Act
- 3 Adams, W. David (1995). *"Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience."* 1875-1928. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas) pp 19 – 20.; Carl Schurz, *"Present Aspects of the Indian Problem."* 16-17; and ARSI, 1882, 16.
- 4 "Native American policy of the Ulysses S. Grant administration," *Wikipedia*, Wikimedia Foundation, 12 Nov. 2020, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Native_American_policy_of_the_Ulysses_S._Grant_administration
- 5 Carl Schurz, *"Present Aspects of the Indian Problem."* 16-17; and ARSI, 1882, 16.
- 6 "Capt. Richard H. Pratt on the Education of Native Americans." Dickinson College Carlisle Indian School Digital Archives, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-resources/CIS-Resources_PrattSpeechExcerptShort.pdf
- 7 "US Indian Boarding School History," National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition website, <https://boardingschoolhealing.org/education/us-indian-boarding-school-history/>
- 8 Jacobs, Margaret, *"A Generation Removed: The Fostering and Adoption of Indigenous Children in the Postwar World."* University of Nebraska Press, 2014.
- 9 "Adoption History: Indian Adoption Project." Ellen Herman, 24 Feb, 2012, <https://pages.uoregon.edu/adoption/topics/IAP.html>
- 10 "Hearings before the Select Committee on Indian Affairs," US Senate. 95th Congress, 1st Session on S.1214, 4 August 1977, pp.528-539. Washington DC: Govern't Printing Office, 1977. H.R. Rep. No. 95-1386, 1978
- 11 "ARENA - The Adoption Resource Exchange of North America." *The Sixties Scoop (Scoopster's)*, 5 Oct. 2011, <https://scoopsters.wordpress.com/about/the-adoption-resource-exchange-of-north-america-arena/>
- 12 "From the Indian Adoption Project to the Indian Child Welfare Act: The resistance of Native American communities," Claire Palmiste, *Indigenous Policy Journal* Vol. XXII, No.1 (Summer 2011). https://www.academia.edu/31141445/From_the_Indian_Adoption_Project_to_the_Indian_Child_Welfare_Act_the_resistance_of_Native_American_communities?ssrv=c
- 13 The Indian Child Welfare Act (Public Law #95-608), 1978. <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-92/pdf/STATUTE-92-Pg3069.pdf#page=1>
- 14 "Disproportionality Rates for Children of Color in Foster Care (Fiscal Year 2015), *National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges*, 14 Sept. 2017, <https://www.ncjfcj.org/publications/disproportionality-rates-for-children-of-color-in-foster-care-fiscal-year-2015/>
- 15 Landers AL, Danes SM, Ingalls-Maloney K, White Hawk S. *"American Indian and White Adoptees: Are There Mental Health Differences?"* American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research. 2017; Vol. 24 Issue 2: pgs.54-75. (Statistics of 95 adoptees was not published in the format we presented but is accurate to the research per conversations with authors)