

**TRADITIONAL NAVAJO CHILD REARING PATTERN:  
A SURVEY OF THE TRADITIONAL CHILD REARING  
PRACTICES AMONG ELDERLY NAVAJO PARENTS**

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AMONG ELDERLY NAVAJO PARENTS

by

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THE UNIVERSITY OF UTAH GRADUATE SCHOOL  
OF SOCIAL WORK

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## ABSTRACT

A need to do an exploratory study of the Navajo traditional child rearing practices grew out of a discussion between key personnel and five Navajo graduate students at the University of Utah Graduate School of Social Work. The result led to a study of traditional Navajo child rearing practices. The study population included 56 (100%) elderly Navajo men and women over the age 60, who had substantial knowledge of child rearing based upon their own experiences. The information gathered were done in the Navajo language. A minimum of 25 hours of interviewing time, with an average of approximately two hours were spent with each informant who were selected across the Navajo Reservation. This study explored the traditional Navajo child rearing patterns among the Navajos from prenatal period to age three. The following factors were identified as the basic elements in what may be presumed to be typical child rearing patterns. The four phases identified were: (1) Pre-birth, (2) Pre-cradle Board, (3) Cradle Board, and (4) Post-cradle Board.

The study revealed that there were evidences of typical Navajo child rearing practices of growth and development which were organized in a chronological life experience framework in the Navajo cultural context of personality development. It was also found that values, beliefs, cultural practices and the extended family system played an important role in each of the above mentioned phases of the traditional Navajo child rearing patterns.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Purpose of the Study

Probably the two practical problems which the European nations intruding into the world of the Native Americans which needed to be solved were defense and how title to the land could be transacted with the natives. The difficulties encountered in this pursuit eventually led to the use of the military power of the United States Government. This action also brought about a wholly different conception of Indian-White relations. Hence, the plenary power of the federal government over the Indian tribes in general was established supposedly for the purpose of protecting the Indians from repeated encroachment of White settlers, and furthermore, to assist the Indians to become self-sufficient through civilization. This theory was based on a congressional decision that an Indian was not competent to manage his own affairs and that he had no political rights as long as he did not give up his distinctive ways of life. Indian ways of life were regarded as a hindrance to improving Indian conditions and no dialogue or consultation with Native Americans concerning changes was considered necessary (Spicer, 1969). Perhaps the two major governmental decisions which have inexorably altered the traditional ways of the Indians were the "removal" policy by military force and treaties, and the attempts to civilize the savages by confining them to the reservation system, which

only brought new sets of woes to the Native Americans. By means of this system the Native Americans were pressured to relinquish their customs and culture. For example, chieftainship, which has been the core of Native American religion, leadership, and tribal government for centuries, was not attacked directly. Instead, chiefs were bypassed while law and order were delegated to "tribal police force," a new concept of authority for the Native Americans. The result was a gradual breakdown of tradition upon which the Indians had always leaned heavily with nothing to replace it. Native religions were discouraged, some ceremonies forbidden, and Christian missionary activities were encouraged.

The effort of the United States Government to isolate the Native Americans physically and psychologically from the American society created a dependency relationship upon the Federal Government. In exchange for this isolation the Federal Government agreed to assume economic responsibility for the Indian. The Federal Government should have assumed some responsibility to assist the Native American in assimilating an alien culture. Yet, the government failed to recognize the need for adjustment between the two cultures and to provide means which would help the individual re-establish his identity and re-establish a sense of self-reliance and independence. For instance, Dr. Karl Menninger (1968) correctly identified the failure of the Federal Government's Indian Education Bureau when he stated that Indian education has neglected the Indian child and has made him consciously or unconsciously ashamed of who he is. He was, therefore, unable to meet the changing world with confidence. He should be taught

to feel proud of his past and confident of his future. Consequently, the American Indian has never learned to accept his native heritage -- has never felt his culture could be accepted with the result that he never felt the need to study or write about the uniqueness of his customs and life style. Currently, there was available an enormous amount of research written on the developmental stages of personal growth related to the population of the predominant society and possibly some of the major minority groups but this research does not represent the culture of the Native Americans. The lack of research in this particular area by Native Americans must be developed. This need has been for a general framework or a theory that identifies patterns of personality formation which the modern-day Native American could utilize to help him adjust to the two worlds in which he lived and yet maintain his identity. For example, it was still characteristic of many Native Americans to look backward to the traditional life of their people (with its leisurely, timeless pace, with its ceremonies, family obligations, and group commitments) for future direction. At the same time they also had to look forward in an effort to adjust to a non-Indian society with entirely different demands and practices. It was the realization of this almost impossible demand that motivated a group of Navajo Indian students at the Graduate School of Social Work, University of Utah, to begin a research study to identify patterns of personality formation beginning with the traditional child rearing practices of the Navajo society.

### Historical Background of the Navajo Society

The Navajo Indians formed the largest Indian group in the United States with about 140,000 individuals scattered throughout Northwestern New Mexico, Northeastern Arizona, and Southern Utah. The Navajo Indians were classified in the Athapascan language family. It was still a matter of speculation as to when the Navajo and their Apache cousins migrated to the Southwest from Canada where most other Athapascan speaking Indian tribes still live today.

The first known historical reference to the Navajo people and culture occurred in the "relaciones" of Father Geronimo Zarate Salmeron, who wrote an account of his missionary activities in California and New Mexico between 1538 and 1626, in which he spoke of Navajos as "that native of Apache Indian of Navahu." They were also referred to as being "very great farmers" by Alonso de Benavides in his "Memorial on New Mexico" in 1630 (Watkins, 1943, pp. 1-2). Prior to their contact with the Spaniards and the Pueblo cultures the Navajo life style seemed to have been semi-nomadic, with the people being primarily hunters and seed gatherers. Navajo contacts with the Pueblo Indians were recorded as early as the Seventeenth Century, specifically during the period between 1626 and 1846, when refugees from some of the Rio Grande Pueblo natives came to the Navajos after the Spanish suppression of the Pueblo Revolt. Under the Pueblo influence the Navajos learned the arts of weaving and pottery making and from the Spaniards they learned silver-smithing and acquired large herds of sheep, goats and horses either by trading or raiding. By constructive use of new raw materials, domestic animals, techniques in farming, and

by adding to the arts and crafts their unique natural talents, the Navajos were able to survive and prosper in a region that was mainly arid. The Navajo people loved their country because it was inter-related somehow with their religious system, and for the beauty of the colorful landscape.

In 1863, the United States government ordered Colonel Kit Carson to subdue the Navajos because their raiding activities had become serious. This order resulted in the destruction of crops and herds, and finally the incarceration of about 8,000 Navajos at Fort Sumner, New Mexico. The imprisonment lasted four years and left a legacy of bitterness and distrust that still exists among the Navajo people (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th ed.). Kluckhohn and Leighton (1946) noted:

Fort Sumner was a major calamity to The People; its full effects upon their imagination can hardly be conveyed to white readers. Even today it seems impossible for any Navajo of the older generation to talk for more than a few minutes on any subject without speaking of Fort Sumner. Those who were not there themselves heard so many poignant tales from their parents that they speak as if they themselves had experienced all the horror of the 'Long Walk,' the illness, the hunger, the homesickness, the final return to their desolated land. One can no more understand Navajo attitudes -- particularly toward white people -- without knowing of Fort Sumner than he can comprehend Southern attitudes without knowing of the Civil War. (pp. 9-10)

The "Long Walk" experience and the subsequent impact of White civilization upon the people forced the Navajos to adopt into their culture a great diversity of cultural traits of alien groups. They had seen their traditional customs, their economic system, their marriage institutions, and other cultural values "go down" before the White man's ways. They had laid down the one and accepted the other, often uncomprehendingly enough, but they knew that there were variant arrangements

of human life. It was because of this peculiar characteristic of the Navajo culture that in spite of the dramatic demonstration of the paradoxical processes of social changes it was very likely that even to this day they could be conceived of in the same manner in which they were described by a certain Professor Loram in 1939 as follows:

The Navajo Indians are a sturdy people, clinging tenaciously to their Indian customs, and especially to their Navajo language, the fortress of their family and tribal life. Through the centuries they have maintained their tribal heritage of customs and language against both the subtle influences and the vigorous attacks of other Indian tribes whom they have met. Neither the fighting forces of Spanish invaders nor the devotion of Catholic missionaries were able to change the Navajo people and their strange language. Even the vast army of a hundred million European-Americans have for a century failed to win these amazing Navajos either to the American language or to the American way of life. Navajo memories and Navajo understanding of the European-Americans, past and present, are largely those of exploitation and ruthless control. (Jones, 1939, p. 2)

A great number of the tribal names in common use were names by which Native Americans know themselves, and were only their native terms for "the human beings," that is, themselves. The Navajo people identified themselves as "Diné," which means "The People." The term was simply an expression of native pride or a message that conveyed many things which were central in native feelings. One of the most important societal values included in this central native feeling was the attitude towards children. They were highly valued and wanted. The basis for this Navajo life ethic was that the original parents of the first human infant pronounced a death penalty on any creature or being who mistreated the first child. This act or behavior would devalue or humiliate the supernaturals with whom the first human baby was identified. Therefore, in the Navajo religious context inhuman cruelty to children was prohibited. The special social position of an infant was

illustrated further by the symbolic significance of the manner in which the cradle board was constructed and assembled for the first infant. The mythological belief of the Navajos was that the first female infant was conceived through the union of the goddess Earth and the Heavens (god). "A significant other," a member of some centaur generation often referred to as "the first people," heard an echo of a baby-cry and after a long search found an infant on a cliff of a mesa. The discoverer then immediately tore off some bark from a wild rose bush and pulped the bark into foam like mattress; tore a sturdy piece of bark from a pine tree, and lined it with the pulped wild rose bark and laid the baby in it. Next he sliced some yucca plants into lace and tied the baby crib together with a zig-zag formation. Out of an oak branch he formed a wooden arch which he attached to the pine tree bark over the infant's head for protection. Then he covered the baby with buckskin. The symbolic significance of the cradle board was that the crib and the wild rose bush represented the earth's nurturing support; and the wooden arch, zig-zag lacing, and the buckskin represented the rainbow, lightning, and the heavens respectively. The latter symbolized the sun-god who gave life and protection to the first human infant. It was implied in the mythical narrations that the processes in the manufacturing of the cradle board were done according to the instructions of the gods or some ministering spirits of the sun-god. The cradle board nurturing process was therefore considered by Navajos as a religious ritual. Significant also was the belief that the acceptance of the first infant by the "first people" parents was the ancient Navajo concept of adoption. Hence, the Navajo concept of life

was a ritual process, often referred to in Navajo as "a walk through time" which was divided into life periods. These periods were correctly identified by a well known anthropologist, Dr. Reichard (1950, p. 53), in the following way: The "newly arrived" (awééchi'í); "babyhood" ('awéé'); pre-adolescence ('askii), male, and ('at'ééd), female; adolescence to young adulthood (dínéh), and (ch'ikéh), female; adulthood (hastiin), male, and ('asdzáání), female; "advanced maturity" (hastoí), male, and ('asdzááh), female; and, "the very old" or the beginning of disintegration or senility (hadaastihii).

It was in this context that this research group attempted to recognize, explore, and analyze the Navajo traditional system of child rearing patterns. This exploratory study was concerned with the early childhood period from infancy through age three.

#### Statement of the Problem

Although social work practitioners and educators have been concerned with the need for significant research in the area of personality development within the Navajo society, it appeared that very few studies had been undertaken. Of those completed most were by anglos who had specifically focused on the chronological theories of personality development. The lack of social research as a basis for defining the United States Government's role in its attempt to upgrade the lifestyle of Navajos was recognized by those who studied and wrote about the Navajo people. Leighton and Kluckhohn (1947) elaborated on this significant fact by saying:



The government has failed to achieve all it hoped for partly because it did not take enough account of psychological and cultural factors in its work with The People. Although many persons who had worked with Navajos had their ideas as to 'Navajo Psychology' and the Navajo view of life, few had been willing to state them. Something could be gathered from hints and inferences in their writings, but there was no systematic effort to set the matter forth. This was due somewhat to hesitancy on the part of the various individuals to attribute to Navajos generally what they had found to be true of the limited number they themselves knew; somewhat also to the fact that few of the workers considered themselves competent to discuss psychological questions. (p. 232)

Consequently, the Navajo frame of reference on child rearing had not been known by non-Navajos to any comprehensive degree. As a result, misunderstandings arose between the Navajo parents and non-Navajo educators because non-Navajos have acted or judged negatively the Navajo values about child rearing and care. Often such misunderstandings adversely affected Navajo educators in their dealings with the children of "The People" in educational settings.

It was hoped that this study would contribute to the knowledge base and serve as a resource for those who may work among the Navajo people. It would be our expectation that the information gained from this study would clarify and identify many misunderstandings about the Navajo child rearing customs and assist those working with Navajo children to be more effective and be able to approach cultural expectations more sensitively. Finally, it was hoped that this information would explicate the developmental process. Also, that it would synthesize what was known so that it could be integrated into a theoretical framework.

#### Questions To Be Answered

This study was guided by the following questions to be answered:

1. Were there evidences of typical traditional Navajo child rearing patterns of growth and development which were organized in a chronological life experience framework in the Navajo cultural context of personality development?
2. What were these patterns and what were some characteristics of each phase?
3. What were some traditional values, beliefs, and cultural practices which accompanied each of these areas?
4. What were some of the parts played by the parents, grandparents, and the extended family system in each of these phases or periods?

#### Delimitations

1. The scope of the research study was limited to the traditional Navajo child rearing practices.
2. The area of study was limited to the prenatal period through age three.
3. The data gathered represented only four jurisdictions of the five Navajo Reservation Bureau of Indian Affairs Agencies.
4. It was stressed by many medicine men that the religious aspects of traditional child rearing practices could not be fully revealed during the summer months. Consequently, very limited data were obtained from knowledgeable medicine men. To secure more adequate data from medicine men, a Navajo employed during winter months would have had better success.
5. Some of the more knowledgeable people requested fees that were beyond our means to pay.

### Definition of Terms

1. Tradition(al) was defined as "an inherited or established way of thinking, feeling, or doing; a cultural feature (as an attitude, belief, custom, institution) preserved or evolved from the past" (Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 1964).
2. Pattern was defined as "an established mode of behavior or cluster of mental attitudes, beliefs, and values held in common by the member of a group" (Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 1964).
3. Navajo, a Pueblo word connotating "agricultrist" (Kluckhohn & Leighton, 1946, p. iv). The Navajo called themselves "Diné" meaning "The People."
4. American Indians and Native Americans were used interchangeably meaning the first inhabitants of North America before the arrival of white men.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

#### Introduction

The Self-Determination Act of 1972, Public Law 93-638, enabled Native Americans to be self-sufficient in administering their government and educational programs, with one impact being that Indians received opportunities for higher education off their reservations. Thus, there has been an increased visibility of capable Indians in the Indian community as more and more Indians have left their reservations to acquire the skills necessary to maintain their ethnicity in the White society through studying their own people. Many Indians have returned to their people, and they are filling the positions which non-Indians have done for many years, such as administering programs, delivering effective services, and developing research studies in their native language regarding Indian culture. The objective of this review of literature has been to explore Navajo traditional child rearing practices for content of patterns of growth and development that are relevant to the Navajo culture.

It was beyond the scope of this chapter to review the multitude of studies dealing with patterns of growth and development of the predominant culture; for there has been considerable controversy over the relevance of the developmental stages, and the specific causes of dysfunctional behavior in the individual.

In this study and review of literature, child rearing practices were defined as: the patterns of care-taking behavior, the physical surroundings, social surroundings, and the daily schedule, and further, that these factors must be studied, as they changed during the subjects development. The infant less than six months of age was crib-based and could not locomote. The infant, 18-months-old, lived in a radically different world. The older infant usually changed the locus of activity many times each day. The six-month-old was considerably more a captive of a comparatively invariant set of physical conditions. Clearly, the study of the environment would be a much more complicated task than the study of child behavioral phenomena per se. This was not the end of the problem, however, for different environments could produce common experiences in children, whereas common environments could result in different experiences. As Thomas (1963) pointed out, experience was a function of both external conditions and the nature of the experiencing organism. We could not rely on a specification of a static set of rearing conditions if we sought understanding of patterns of early experience and their effects.

With this idea in mind we explored patterns of growth development that were relevant to the predominant culture. The following review of literature was divided into four major periods:

1. The first section was concerned with the universality studies and included a discussion of the pioneers and what they found in child rearing practices.

2. The second section was concerned with the cross-cultural studies among the minority people.

3. The third section reviewed the literature with respect to those identical factors found in studies of American Indian child rearing practices. This section also discussed the importance of traditional and ritual value in child rearing practices.

4. The last section dealt specifically with research findings of Navajo traditional child rearing patterns. These factors were briefly discussed in relation to growth and development among the Dineh (Navajo).

#### Universality Studies During Infancy

A review of literature indicated throughout recorded history concern for structuring the experiences of young children. This concern, however, has been manifested almost exclusively for children six-years-of-age and older. Cole (1959) made a general statement that during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, pioneers such as Comenius, Froebel, Pestalozzi and Freud studied the influence of experiences during infancy. Subsequently, the work of J. B. Watson, Irwin, Gesell and others has added to the interest in this earliest period of life. Perhaps the most vigorous proponents of Piaget's work of infancy have been Hunt (1961) and Flavell (1963). Hunt, especially has made explicit the possibility (indeed, he believed it to be a virtual certainty) that the experiences of the first two years of life were of very great importance for all that followed.

At the same time that Piaget's work had been sparking a rebirth of interest in early intellectual development, a second line of inquiry into the effects of early experience had been undergoing a somewhat smaller but steadily growing renaissance. The question of the

relationship of early experience to man's social and emotional behavior which received a good deal of attention in the 1930's and 1940's was being re-examined. This general study directed the pioneer's work to employ the Piagetian and Freudian ideas in a reconsideration of how humans developed their capacities to feel for and relate to each other (Bowlby, 1958).

Therefore, there seemed to be an increasing sense that a study of moment-to-moment experiences during the first two years of life had much to teach us about these developments. This belief seemed to be one consequence of a larger number of studies of the mother-child relation (e.g., Ainsworth, 1967; Caldwell, 1969; David, 1961) including studies of maternal deprivation (Spitz, 1945; Bowlby, 1951). Significantly, the growth of the specific mother-child relationship began sometime around the third month of life (Ambrose, 1961).

As for other areas of life, Hunt (1961; 1965) has argued persuasively that intellectual capacity and intrinsic motivation were especially vulnerable during infancy. In the area of language development, which was broadly acknowledged to be of fundamental importance for educational success, most research has concentrated on post-infancy periods. On the other hand, though elaborate productive language was rare during infancy, it has long been known (McCarthy, 1954) that infants were capable of receptive language function during the second year of life. Few would doubt that the dramatic acquisition of primary aspects of language such as the earliest spoken and understood vocabulary has been thoroughly documented, although not on a wide variety of subcultural groups.

Again, there have been comparatively few direct studies of personality development in infancy. The longitudinal studies of Thomas, et al., have been cited. P. Wolff (1959) has studied a small number of newborns for manifestations of affect and volition. Escalona (1952; 1953) has had a long standing interest in infant personality and was associated with the Menninger longitudinal study. Escalona and Heider (1959) have attempted (without much success) to predict adult characteristics from descriptions of infancy personality. Several years earlier, Irwin (1930; 1931) and Fries and Woolf (1953) had studied differences in activity levels of infants, also with an eye towards prediction of later behavior. Campbell (1967) recently reported on the same topic. Birns (1965; 1966), Crowell (1965), and Korner (1966) have worked on the problem of responsivity of newborns. Aside from these few efforts, one might guess from the literature that all infants were equally content or dour, out-going or retiring or stubborn or easy.

Studies of social development in infancy have concentrated on four topics: the smile, the mother-child interaction, fear of strangers, and attachment behavior. In fact, the first three could be subsumable under the fourth, which has recently been receiving increasing attention. There have been numerous studies on the first three topics. Spitz (1946), Ahrens (1953), Ambrose (1961) and Polak, et al., (1964) have examined some of the stimuli that elicit the ubiquitous smile of the 14-week-old and the onset of the primary social phenomenon. Ainsworth (1967), Moss (1967), and a host of others have studied the mother-child relationship, long a favored area of inquiry. Spitz and



others have documented the "stranger anxiety" responses of the seven-to-ten-month-old (1965). Finally, a provocative article by Bowlby (1958) and the general effect of the growing field of ethology has helped stimulate renewed interest in attachment behaviors such as the work of Schaeffer and Emerson (1964).

### Cross Cultural Studies on Child

#### Rearing Practices

There were several research studies undertaken in 1954 by a group of social scientists from Harvard, Yale, and Cornell Universities. In its broadest conception, the research was aimed at exploring cross-culturally the relationship between different patterns of child rearing and subsequent differences in personality. They were designed to study the degree to which the treatment a child received in the first years of life, determined his behavior in adult life which influenced his perception of the world, his philosophy, religion, and code of ethnics.

It was assumed that the different patterns of child rearing would lead to differences in the personality of children and thus to differences in adult personality.

The author (White, 1963) in her book, The Six Cultures, cited that each culture had their own child rearing practices which validated this study assumption. The author described the processes of these six cultures in which the child was highly praised and ritualized by the family and raised according to their cultural customs. In one study, Robert A. and Barbara Levine found the Nyansongo of Eastern Africa shared a strong desire for children. The Nyansongo

desire for children was one of the strongest motivations in their culture (White, 1963).

The general picture of the Nyansongo child as he emerged from infancy was that of a dependent, fearful individual, capable of making demands on his mother and other caretakers for food and protections but unaggressive, quiet, and timid in his approach to the physical environment and to strange things (White, 1963).

Minturn and Hitchcock conducted a similar study on The Rajputs of Khalpur, India. In the Rajputs culture, the bearing and raising of children were considered appropriate and natural functions in the middle years of life, and White (1963) described four ceremonies connected with the birth and early childhood of a village boy. The first was the Bahari Ceremony, which occurred on the first Sunday of a boy's life. The second was the Chotil Ceremony, when the baby was five or six-days-old. The third was the Jasutan Ceremony, on the baby's tenth day. The fourth was the Mundan hair-cutting ceremony, usually held when the baby was about one-year-old (White, 1963).

The author also indicated that Rajputs considered their children to be "pure" (White, 1963, p. 302). The Rajputs believed the infant was a holy human being, having no mind to distinguish between good and evil. However, "the sex and health of a child are the important characteristics which determine its individual future" (White, 1963).

According to Maretzki and Maretzki who studied The Taira Tribe of Okinawa, the Taira custom stressed the importance of child rearing practices. Maritzki found the Taira to follow traditional customs and

considered the infant as a helpless, pitiable treasure who was incapable of knowing, understanding, or learning until he was around six-years-old. If this senseless child was treated affectionately and indulgently, he would grow to be a healthy, happy adult (White, 1963).

The authors (Thomas, Hatsumi, & Maretzki) indicated the infancy period was characterized by consistent nurturance. Mothers, grandmothers, and child baby-tenders were key persons in the child-rearing. The Taira people taught their young children to imitate their behavior and the roles of a healthy and stable person.

Kimball and Romaine Rodney conducted a study on The Mixtecs of Juxtlahuaca of Mexico and found that the people had a self-governing system in which life was divided into more or less distinct stages. Individuals in each stage were thought to possess certain qualities and characteristics that set them apart from individuals in other stages in life. Practices and beliefs concerning the various behavior systems varied according to the stage of development of the child.

The authors found that there were stages of growth development. The first stage was that of infancy (White, 1963). The Mixtecs word used for infants meant "in darkness" and implied that the infant had "no awareness." Weaning began at the age of one or two at which time the infant gained awareness and entered the second stage, which was early childhood. The Mixtecs word for this period meant "this child now knows." Early childhood continued until the second set of teeth replaced the milk teeth. This marked the beginning of late childhood and took place in the sixth or seventh year.

The authors, in discussing their findings, stated that there were two dramatic expectations and the transition between stages of life was gradual and continuous for the barrio child. These expectations were: (1) the transition from infancy to early childhood, marked by abrupt weaning, a shift from sleeping with the parents to sleeping alone or with siblings; and (2) the transition from early childhood to late childhood, marked by a change in the amount of succorance allowed and nurturance given the child, together with increased expectations in responsibility, self-reliance, and obedience, all backed by a shift in techniques of discipline (White, 1963, p. 630).

Among the Tarong: An Ilocos Barrio in the Phillipines, William and Corrinne Hydegger (White, 1963, p. 801) studied the production rate as maintained throughout the woman's child-bearing years. Conception was the natural and desired outcome of marriage.

William and Corrinne stated that once conception had occurred, no deliberate control over the child's characteristics could be exercised by the parents. Conception was always considered a happy event (White, 1963, p. 815).

During pregnancy, the authors indicated that it was the Barrio practice to take preventative measures. ". . . a woman must avoid close contact with the dead, she must leave the house when someone is dying, and should not attend funerals" (White, 1963, p. 815).

In this study the authors found that "infancy was characterized by indulgence, constant attention, and few, if any, demands on the child. During the first months of the child's life, he received

most of his affectionate caretaking from his mother, but even at this early stage other relatives played an active role.

A midwife role was mentioned before and after the child's birth. As the child grew older, the number and frequency of other caretakers increased (White, 1963, p. 820).

John L. and Ann Fischer also conducted a similar study on the New Englanders of Orchard Town, U.S.A. (White, 1963). The authors indicated the community's conception of the nature of the child had important implications for the whole system of child training. This conception of the child's nature was based on ideas about how the child learned and how he developed. While the basic philosophy behind the socialization process in this community was constant for all families, the philosophy itself allowed for a wide variety of training techniques and of goals for individual children and families.

Most women of the Orchard Town welcomed the idea of having a child (White, 1963, p. 937). The newborn infant was thought of as "potential." The central concept of child rearing involved beliefs about the inheritance of characteristics, beliefs about the influence of the social environment and education, and beliefs about stages and norms (White, 1963, p. 921).

The Fishcers, in discussing the developmental stages, stated that in the beginning of infancy the mother-child relationship was built mainly around the question of care of the infant: feeding it and keeping it clean, warm, medicated and free from harm. The infant was considered to be especially susceptible to a number of dangers including contagious diseases, chilling, suffocation, and physical

accidents, especially falling on its head. Although concern for meeting the physical needs of the baby dominated the mother's early interaction with her child, a positive concern with training and controlling the infants in certain respects emerged at an early age (White, 1963, p. 942).

The authors (Habenstein & Queen, 1967) studied The Classical Chinese Family and found systematic stages with birth and infancy from the beginning. However, the child was highly respected and they referred to the "mother's pregnancy . . . as having happiness . . . ." (Habenstein & Queen, 1967m, p. 101).

The authors summarized the developmental stages as:

The Chinese recognize the Five Period of Age beginning with the period of infancy and ending with later maturity. Each has rather clear cut status and role differences, cut across by the factor of sex. The subordinate status of female relative to male in the Chinese family has its beginning in infancy. The son's importance extends to the economic, religious, and ceremonial spheres of family life. Even as an infant he may be expected to receive preferential treatment. As a matter of fact, all Chinese infants are regarded tenderly, and, if the eldest male off-spring occupies a special status, the smallest child, boy or girl, is the pet of the family. (p. 101)

Habenstein and Queen (1967) briefly stated that "the first two years of its life the child lives a life of comparative freedom, even indulgence. Little systematic training or discipline is attempted during these first two years. At the age of three the child is expected to exercise some control over its natural functions, but the expectation is not reinforced by harsh discipline" (p. 101).

The authors summarized that:

The child is separated from the mother and usually sleeps with the father who assumes responsibility for helping it dress in the morning and for giving the child other incidental personal care no longer available from the mother. (p. 101)

In another study of The Kibbutz Family by Stuart Queen and Robert Habenstein (1967, p. 127) it was found that the Kibbutz children were wanted, loved, and treasured by the adult society. Pregnancy and childbirth were looked upon as a natural occurrence in the Kibbutz so that no great excitement was engendered by such events. The majority of the women in the Kibbutz enjoyed healthy pregnancies with few difficulties and little complications.

Again, Habenstein and Queen briefly discussed the finding that "the Kibbutz women is supposed to exhibit great control and to bear children without outcry. After the birth of a child, the most important event is the naming of the child by the parents. Names are usually chosen from the Bible or from nature."

Further, Habenstein and Queen (1967) in discussing the growth and developmental stages wrote:

The first year of the child's life, then, is spent in a nursery. After a year in the infant's house, the child is removed to a toddler's house, where, as one of eight children, he finds different nurses, peers, and physical environment. (p. 127)

The authors stated that as the socialization process was accentuated, the child learned to play with others. Child care was characteristically warm, affectionate and permissive; physical restraints in clothing, in the arrangement and construction of the rooms, and in the handling of children were minimized. It was also noted by the authors that the systematic stages in the Kibbutz culture did not satisfy individual infant needs because there was an age difference of one year and they could not conform to the same schedule.

Habenstein and Queen (1967) also noted the functions of Kibbutz parents surrogates:

They care for almost all his physical desires and needs -- they feed, bathe, and clothe him, and nurse him when he is ill. They rear him and, hence, care for many of his social needs. Most of the child's knowledge of his physical environment, his skills, and his knowledge of his own (Kibbutz) culture including its value behavior patterns, and techniques are taught him by these women. Finally, since they are for him psychologically significant persons, they are of great importance for his emotional and social development. (p. 127)

An interesting study of child rearing in the Lebanon culture was conducted by Edwin Terry Prothro. He discussed the finding that "within this culture, the study of man lagged behind the study of stars, stones, and states." The author assumed the reason for this was within the Arabs. It was appropriate to talk about family for it was the woman's job to rear. Prothro (1970) wrote:

Swaddling or no swaddling, there can be no doubt that some child rearing practices must affect the child, otherwise how can one account for the marked differences between behavior of children in different societies. (p. 247)

In 1970, Ruth Benedict undertook a study of Swaddling in Eastern Europe: Cross Cultural Studies of Behavior. In her findings she wrote:

A study done on swaddling babies in European style has some implications to the Navajos' custom in binding their babies in cradle board, for reasons of protection and security. (p. 237)

Other reasons were brought out in this study by Benedict (1970):

The custom of swaddling the baby during its first months of life in Central and Eastern Europe illustrates the child rearing and the methodological value of a culture area approach. The Russians used swaddling for infant's safety, nurturing of his feelings and infants tend to be violent. They bind their babies tightly. The Polish version of swaddling their babies is that infants are fragile, needs to have support given by binding, process of hardening a child. Differences noted in the Polish is that only the mother can touch the baby without running the danger of harming it. Certainly no woman except the mother can breast feed the baby. The Jewish baby is swaddled in soft warm loose binding to insure straight legs. The Romanians swaddled to prevent masturbation. (p. 237)



The author pointed out the concept of swaddling babies at an early age was not done universally only within the American Indian culture, but Benedict's (1970) study showed other cultures did practice swaddling.

The studies and findings suggested that each culture followed their traditional customs in child rearing practices beginning with conception through childhood. The infant was recognized as a human being with no mind of its own to distinguish between good or evil, but the infant was recognized as a "holy child."

### American Indian Studies On Child

#### Rearing Practices

Authorities have recently recognized the importance of child rearing practices to the adult life, especially within the American Indian's child rearing practices. As Erikson (1950) states:

Up to recent decades child training has been an anthropological no man's land. Even anthropologists living for years among aboriginal tribes failed to see that these tribes raised their children to some systematic way. Rather, the experts tacitly assumed with the general public that savages had no child training at all and that primitives grew up 'little animals' -- an idea which in the overtrained members of our culture arouses either angry contempt or romantic elation. The discovery of primitive child-training systems makes it clear that primitive societies are neither infantile states of mankind nor arrested deviations from the proud progressive mores while we represent; they are a complete form of mature human living, often of a homogeneity and simple integrity which we at times might well envy. Let us rediscover the characteristics of some of these forms of living by studying specimens taken from American Indian life. (p. 95)

Erikson did refer to examples within the American Indian society such as the Sioux and Yurok Tribes. Erickson found the Sioux to take preventative measures against taboos during conception and pregnancy. The Sioux followed no rigid pattern for child rearing,

but there was a breast feeding process within the Sioux Tribe. They were given freedom even to the age of four and sometimes to six-years-of-age. Also, toilet training was not forced on them ". . . for each child was allowed to reach by himself a gradual compliance with the rules of modesty or cleanliness" (p. 119).

Erikson (1956) stated that in "addition, the Sioux pregnant women observed the sex taboo because the Sioux thought that a child's convulsions were caused by the parent's intercourse during pregnancy" (p. 262).

In this study by Erickson (1956, p. 263) he attributed in the history of the Sioux child's preverbal condition an ingenious arrangement which was the combination or undiminished self-confidence, trust in the availability of food supply, and ready anger in the face of interference, the co-existence of which was necessary for the functioning of a hunter democracy.

Erikson (1956) in his studies of the Yurok Tribe reported:

The birth of a baby is safeguarded with oral prohibitions. (Father and mother eat neither deer meat nor salmon until the baby's naval heals. Disregard of this taboo cause convulsions in the child.) (p. 262)

Erikson briefly discussed that the newborn in the Yurok Tribe was not breast fed for 10 days, but was given a nut soup from a tiny shell. There was a generosity of breast feeding. However, there was a definite weaning time around six months or around the teething period.

In summary, Erikson (1956) wrote:

The difference between these two tribes was that the Sioux were belligerent nomads, roaming the North Central Plains in loosely organized groups, pursuing 'dark masses of buffalo.'

And the Yurok lived in a narrow densely wooded river valley which steeply descends into the Pacific. But the child training is somewhat similar. (p. 255)

In a similar study by Wayne Dennis (1940) the author found that the Hopi Tribe rigidly followed the process of birth, breastfeeding, weaning, and toilet training:

Very little is done by way of preparation for the birth of the child. The family of the expectant mother is responsible for her care during labor and delivery, and for most of the subsequent day, while the family of her husband assists her for the ensuing twenty days. The infant is born in the house of the mother . . . mother must only drink warm water with juniper boiled in it, twice daily for twenty days and also she must not eat salt, nor fresh fruits and vegetables, as they are believed to have a bad effect upon the breast milk. The baby uses a cradle board; baby is nursed whenever he desires milk.

Another study of the Omaha Tribe was undertaken by Alice C. Fletcher and Frances Laflesche in 1956. They wrote:

The Omaha Tribe have a ceremony which introduce the child to the tribe . . . the child was not regarded as a member of its gens or of the Tribe but simply as a living being coming forth into the universe, whose advent must be ceremonially announced in order to assure it an accepted place among the already existing forms. This ceremonial announcement took the form of an expression of the Omaha belief in the oneness of the universe through the bond of a common life-power that predated all things in nature animate and inanimate. This took place on the eighth day after birth. (p. 289)

In 1970 McClelland and Friedman studied the child rearing practices and the achievement motivation appearing in folk tales of eight American Indian cultures: Navajo, Ciricahua Apache, Western Apache, Comanche, Flatheads, Hopi, Paiute, and Sanpoil. They wrote:

Folk tales do influence the children, and they reveal to the child the trends of thinking in his society. Folk talk study, for example, in the Navajo child rearing study indicated it is also a part of each Navajo child's life. Folk tales do indicate there is some influential aspect to child training. (p. 55)

McClelland and Friedman (1970, p. 327) collected 12 brief stories from each of eight American Indian tribes and found that all stories were concerned with the same central character, Coyote, who figured as a trickster hero in many of the folk tales told by North American Indian tribes. Briefly, the tales were related to the amount of emphasis placed on achievement training in various cultures. Some stories related to nursing and weaning, toilet training, sex training, independence training and aggressive control. In each training area these variables were analyzed: Initial indulgence (parents response to child needs), age of training (the age at which independence training starts, and severity-punishment or training of good habits.

### Navajo Traditional Child Rearing Practices

#### Religious beliefs

One of the characteristics of Navajo culture has been the unusual amount of ritual that has been integrated in the affairs of everyday life (Hill, 1938, p. 177). Religion entered every phase of Navajo life (Leighton, 1934, p. 24).

According to Newcomb (1940, p. 32) it would not be an overstatement for a traditional Navajo to say that the personal conduct of any Navajo, regardless of age, sex or occupation, was governed by religion.

Leighton and Leighton (1934, p. 34) noted that the overall emphasis in Navajo religion was on curing sickness, both physical and psychological. However, "it is an over simplification to assume that

Navajo religion is only primarily directed at curing of sicknesses" (Leighton & Leighton, 1941, p. 517), because Navajo religion has been first of all the overall view of life, a philosophy that provided explanation from the cosmogony of every possible phase of nature, deity, supernatural powers, human behavior, etiquette and law, and ideology about every sphere of life. Navajos reason from mythological precedent and, therefore, myth must be viewed as teleological (Reichard, 1950, pp. 13; 319-320) (i.e., its use as a utility to explain any natural phenomenon). The Navajo, then, found religion a way of good hope when he was sick or disturbed. It provided for him a sense of security in an unstable world, improved his morale and provided a basis for his training and discipline. In summary, the Navajo religion, its myths and rituals, provided systematic protection against supernatural dangers, the threats of ill health and of the physical environment, antisocial tensions, and the pressures of a more powerful society (Kluckhohn & Leighton, 1946, pp. 165-170). It offered each Navajo individual powerful suggestive psychotherapy which could aid his states of anxiety and help him bear his illness when he was physically ailing (Leighton & Leighton, 1941, p. 522).

Although some authors -- Reichard, Downs, Spencer, and Hill -- agreed on the all-inclusive nature of the Navajo religious beliefs and practices and attempted to analyze many aspects of Navajo religion, they somehow did not see the need to examine the mythological explanation of the origin of the first human infant (of the Dineh Society). Many of the studies were devoted to the traditional ceremonial system of curing, the emergence of the ancestors of the people to the surface of

the earth, and the adventures and miraculous happenings that led to the establishing of traditional Navajo life. Many references were made to the "Holy People" and prominent among these were the first man and first woman, who probably were the first to be referred to as "parents." It was they who adopted, reared, and trained the first infant child (changing woman) whose conception and birth were miraculous affairs. No known literary commentary dealing specifically with the parenting skills of the first parents in the context of religious ceremonies was available other than mere references to the miraculous birth of the first infant.

#### Navajo concept of man

Reichard (1950, pp. 24-90) analyzed that inherent in the daily religious life of a Navajo individual was the belief that the mind kept body and spirit in adjustment. All parts of man's body and spirit were coordinated by mind, will power, volition, reason, and awareness. Hence, the repetitive and summarizing phrase that occurred frequently in formal ceremonial prayers, "may my mind be empowered to restore for me . . . etc." The healthy, right and strong-minded Navajo possessed strength, endurance, and fortitude. Kluckhohn and Leighton (1946, p. 288) stressed that what the Navajo system of caring clearly took for granted was that one could not treat a man's body without treating his mind and visa-versa.

The Navajo belief was that the fetus had no mind of its own but yet was very much alive through the mother's mind via the umbilical cord. Consequently, whatever affected the mother would influence the unborn child as well (Wyman, 1942, pp. 12-17). The two laws of

thought basic to Navajo thinking were that like produces like and the part stands for the whole. In view of this belief the ceremonial blessings performed over a pregnant woman were for the well-being of the newborn child as well. The Navajo family believed in prenatal influences (Bailey, 1950, p. 32). Therefore, as a precautionary measure, the pregnant mother and husband observed many taboos during pregnancy to prevent an infusion into the unborn of a physical defect or personality disorder (Kluckhohn & Leighton, 1946, pp. 230-231).

#### Navajo birth customs and taboos

A new baby was always a welcome addition to any Navajo household, so many precautions must be taken by the relatives to insure its welfare and to give it a favorable start in life. The person who acted as mid-wife and had the full care of the child during its first few days, must be well versed in the tradition and ceremonial procedures. Each act she performed for the child was thought to develop into some talent or tendency that would influence the child's entire life (Newcomb, 1940, p. 27). Both the pregnant wife and her husband avoided the sight of or contact with a dead person (Haile, 1938, p. 30). The pregnant woman was encouraged to exercise by walking and doing routine chores around the home. Some made the qualifying statement that she should not ride horseback during the first or last months. Extremely heavy work, such as carrying or lifting heavy loads, chopping wood, or making any sort of jerking or twisting movement was believed by all informants to cause premature delivery and in some instances to kill the fetus (Haile, 1938, p. 31).

Newcomb (1940, p. 30) was told by Navajo women that if a woman worked and moved a lot, the baby would be small. Women should keep working and moving around all the time so the baby would not get too big. An expectant mother must never make any provision for the child before it was born. This was a very strict taboo as it carried a death penalty if it was disregarded. If clothes were bought, it was believed either the baby would die before it could wear them or would die before the infant could be dressed in its first clothing. No baby clothes were made until the child was about two weeks old.

Kluckhohn and Leighton (1947, p. 14) explained further that the people felt the conduct of the parents while the baby was yet unborn had far reaching consequences for the child's birth and for his health then and in later life. Both man and woman must avoid tying knots. When one or the other found it necessary to tie up a goat or harness a team of horses, the person must be most careful to untie the knots later, never leaving it to someone else; otherwise the baby would be tangled up with the cord in the womb. If either the father or the mother looked upon a dry-painting or saw the body-painting ceremony, the child was to have a severe illness, although this may not overtake it until adult life. If the parents broke a pot, the baby's soft spots would not close at the proper time, or the child would stutter or have speech difficulties. However, these misfortunes could be averted by taking another pot after the baby was born and deliberately breaking it above his head in such a way that the pieces fell together in a pile beneath him. The mother must not turn a blanket on her loom upside down, or the baby would become inverted in the



uterus. If she should break wooden weaving tools, the baby would have deformed feet or missing fingers. She must not look at an eclipse, lest her child be cross-eyed or possibly insane. Countless other taboos could be mentioned, although the taboos and the stringency with which they were observed varied considerably from area-to-area, and, of course from individual-to-individual.

Shortly before the delivery was expected, the ceremonial called "Blessing Way" was sung over the pregnant woman. In the event of miscarriage or still birth, one of the Evil Way Chants was performed over the mother to insure a safe and easy delivery.

There were a few preparations for the infant's arrival. It was considered very bad luck to make a cradle board before the baby was born (Kluckhohn & Leighton, 1947, p. 14).

#### Diets of pregnant mothers and infants

Bailey (1940, p. 278) observed that during pregnancy a woman was careful about her diet. Generally, she ate the same foods but in small quantities. Fattening foods were avoided as much as possible and more exercise by walking and doing routine chores around the home was encouraged. After a woman gave birth, restrictions were placed on her for several days against meat, beans, potatoes, and bread containing either salt or baking powder. During this period she was fed corn meal mush to give her strength, and juniper tea or other herb decoctions to bring the placenta.

In their study of the food habits of some relatively more traditional Navajos, Carpenter and Steggerda (1939) collected 60

samples of foods from the Navajo's daily diet for analysis as to their fat, nitrogen and water content, and their energy value. In commenting on the results they wrote:

The fat and the nitrogen content of the different foods varied considerably as would be expected, but the energy content was in most instances between 3.5 and 4.5 calories per gram of air dry matter. Some of the native berries and seed had higher energy values. (p. 299)

Analyzed as the "ancient Navajo foods" were 25 different types of uncultivated food plants which were used as vegetables, fruits, nuts, berries, and grains.

On the basis of Reichard's (1950, p. 264) analysis it was assumed that in more traditional periods an expectant mother was provided with adequate nutrition from the native food plants and what was cultivated. The variety of food stuffs provided her with more greens and cereals in the fresh and preserved state, and she was assured of adequate Vitamin C from fruits of prickly pear, wild berries and yucca plants.

Reichard (1950, p. 264) also recorded that "Talking God" and the "First Man" had a discussion on what should be the diet of the first infant who grew up to be the changing woman. Talking God suggested a pollen diet, but First Man said the diet must contain moisture too. He agreed to feed her pollen, but he said he would add broth of rare games. Talking God agreed and gave First Man full charge of the baby.

According to Bailey (1940, p. 81), corn pollen suspended in water was thought to be a new-born's ceremonial food for the first four days. However, Kluckhohn (1947, p. 48) observed that in the great

majority of instances the mothers nursed their babies within 48 hours after the corn pollen was administered.

### Navajo family

Henry (1947, pp. 105-106) observed that the Navajo family had unique characteristics which influenced their child rearing practices. These characteristics held many virtues and "treat its members with great respect for individuality." He mentioned aspects of the Navajo family life style which were "divided by responsibilities and privileges of men and women, the attitude of respect for individuality, and the spontaneity of the emotional life, the smoothness of interpersonal relations, the high place and affectionate early training of children, and the absence of marked sibling rivalry" (pp. 115-116).

Kimball and Province (1942) found that "the Navajo family was a powerful nurturing source and an important institution which ordered and directed much of the behavior and activity of its members" (pp. 2-3).

### The birth process

In the old days, the Navajo ritualized the birth process, and relatives were invited to help make preparations for the newborn. The author, Reichard (1928), wrote the beginning process as:

The mother sits on a sheepskin in the hogan. A belt is tied around her and fastened to a post or beam of the house. The women who assist her are her mother, her sisters or any female relatives. Her husband's mother may also be present. One holds her hips, another her knees. A medicine man touches her with a feather while he sings, but renders spiritual aid only, for the mother attends to the mothers. As soon as the child is born the woman who held the mother's knees ties the cord and binds the child with a fungus. Then she takes it outside the hut and washes it with yucca suds in a pile of ashes. (p. 134)

The Navajos believed that burying the placenta in a pile of ashes was to protect it from evil spirits and they also ". . . bury in the sheep corral, the cornfield, in the hogan to insure good luck and success" (Bailey, 1950, p. 75).

Bailey (1950) recorded:

As soon as the child was born, the cord was cut with scissors, knife, flint, razor or glass according to the choice of the midwife. The umbilical cord was tied with wool or cotton string. (p. 75)

Bailey (1950) stated that respiration is initiated in the infant by shaking him slightly and massaging his chest. In 1937, Hill found that the Navajos believed in slapping the "AWAY" (means "little one" in Navajo) and/or "pour cold water over the newborn" in order for the baby to cry and start breathing. Bailey found that the Navajos usually believed in every method that initiated newborn breathing because it was "god who, as soon as the baby is born, puts the breath in the baby and makes it start breathing" (p. 75).

Immediately after the birth, "the mother was given gruel; the child was given the inner bark of cedar to make it vomit and rid itself of mucus" (Hill, 1937, p. 91). Leighton and Kluckhohn (1947) further amplified this by stating "within a few hours after birth, the baby is given to the mother or placed near her in its temporary cradle. This relationship of a most constant physical proximity between child and mother is unbroken until weaning. . . ." (p. 18). Then ". . . the baby is placed in a ceremonial position; the baby's head is placed toward the fire to make its head round" (Leighton & Kluckhohn, 1946, p. 145). Also, "a pad is also placed at the base of the skull to round the head" (Bailey, 1950, p. 77).

The earliest recording of feeding the infant corn pollen was made by Matthew in 1897. He stated that ". . . the corn pollen mixed with water and the sun fed the infant on pollen, for there was no one to nurse it" (Matthew, 1897, p. 230). This statement given the mythological sanction for the first food to be administered to the new born infant. Later, Kluckhohn (1940) gave an account of infant feeding following a birth which he personally observed:

The child is not given any food except pollen in water and the inner bark of the cedar for four days. The inner bark of the cedar is first given to the child to make him vomit, 'to get all that dirty stuff up' (to clear the throat, etc., of mucus). Next it is given pollen in water.

The child is not nursed until four days after birth. It is fed 'medicine' for four days. 'The mother will not have enough milk for the child for four days.' (p. 64-66)

It was during these four days that the newborn infant was given aid to prove his healthiness by having the strength to survive on the diluted ceremonial food. "There were no special feeding times. . . ." (Hill, 1937, p. 91).

According to Newcomb (1940, p. 29) the newborn infant's first care was provided by family members, and ". . . the grandmother often contrives a cradel substitute of any material that is handy." In 1942, Bailey observed that diapers were not used when the baby was in the cradle. Some women used shredded cliff rose bark for diapers. They wrapped some of the bark in a small blanket and used it as a pad under the infant. Baily also observed that ". . . this bark can be dried in the sun and used over again" (p. 221). He reported that no odor existed.

It was also recorded (Bailey, 1942, p. 221) that many women use floor sacks or other cloth rather than the older bark diapers.

With reference to the newborn infant's first care and feeding Hill (1937) observed, "The child was usually kept in cliff rose bark or a sheepskin from six days to a month and then transferred to cradle which it would occupy for about years" (p. 91).

Another important process was the pressing and shaping of a child which is "like th pressing of the girls in the Girls' Adolescence Ceremony." This process was taken with great precautionary measures because of the fragility and softness of the infant's body. It was reported (Wyman, 1945; Bailey, 1950) that the baby's nose is shaped with the hands and its legs are pressed and shaped to make them stiff so the baby can walk easily when he wants to. Wyman (1945) amplified that ". . . infant must be pressed all over his body so he won't grow bowlegged. You warm your hands first, then shape the body. You do it early in the morning. You press his forehead and his body to make him beautiful" (p. 74). This appeared to be both actual and ceremonial (Bailey, 1950, pp. 82-83).

The baby continues to get a great deal of affectionate attention from his family and relatives. "All Navajos make a great fuss over babies" (Kluckhohn, 1947, p. 47).

During the first month, the infant nursed and would continue to nurse until his ". . . mother noticed infant ceased to show interest in the nipples" (Kluckhohn, 1947, pp. 47-48).

Newcomb (1940, p. 30) wrote that there were several myths about what to feed "A weé!" If fed "a little mare's milk occasionally, it would have good teeth. A baby was supposed to acquire certain characteristics from certain types of good. For instance, milk from

ewes were not regarded with favor as baby food because sheep were timid and did not live long. Goat's milk was desirable because goats are hardy, healthy, and brave. Mare's milk was supposed to build strong bones and solid teeth as well as stout muscles. However, in one interview this statement is possibly not true because the Navajos never did practice using mare's milk.

One myth of feeding is to give salt to a child because it was amplified in the creation myth (Newcomb, 1940):

. . . the children born on the earth were the twin sons of changing Woman who is identified as Mother earth. They were fed a gruel made by boiling roots and seeds until they were soft, then salt woman would stir it with her finger and cool it by blowing. As she was made of Salt, the mush became quite salty, and the twins grew with such rapidity that they were full grown at the age of twelve. This legend has given rise to the saying, that 'salt makes children grow.' (pp. 20-30)

In 1947 Kluckhohn recorded that:

. . . according to the Navajo ideal, a child is nursed immediately it begins to cry . . . . The infant himself determines not merely when he wished to suck but also when he is finished . . . . The willingness of a mother to feed her infant on his terms is doubtless increased by the fact that she is never more than a few feet from her child in and around her one-room shelter. (pp. 47-48)

However, Kluckhohn (1947) noted that:

. . . from the time a baby is able to sit up, it is offered any and all foods available that can be eaten with its equipment of teeth. Bread dipped in broth or coffee, canned tomatoes, fruit, rice, cooked cereal, soft store cookies, and squash are usually among the first solid foods in a baby's experience. Bones, bits of pork rind, and pieces of meat to such on are also commonly given the child from the time its teeth begin to appear. Gradually the child is taught to use a cup or bowl instead of a bottle -- with weak, heavily sweetened coffee as the inducement. Squash, bits of potato, pieces of softened meat are fed with a spoon, and the child is encouraged to hold the spoon himself. (p. 56)

It was recorded "that Navajo formula continues to be 'feed a child whenever it cries, day or night. Give it anything that the people it sees are eating if it will eat'" (Kluckhohn, 1947, pp. 56-58).

Weaning was not forced. When the mother became pregnant again, she would ignore the child and encouraged the child to take in more solid food because he would no longer be breast fed. However, during the weaning period:

. . . the Navajo child comes to learn effectively that the world around him makes demands and imposes restrictions, in addition to giving reassurances and rewards. He has been accustomed to nurse as much for comfort as for nourishment. Now this solace is denied him even when he is tired, angry, cross, or frightened. No longer is everything done for him with hardly an effort on his part; instead he must learn to feed, wash, and dress himself. (Leighton & Kluckhohn, 1942, pp. 36-38)

### Social development

When the child was four days old or after two weeks (or sometimes after a month or more), a ritual was held for naming the child. It was considered a "good omen to give the name of a person who has lived to a ripe old age or who died of old age, not of sickness" (Leighton & Kluckhohn, 1947, pp. 17-18). In any circumstances, "the name is kept secret until the anadíí [means medicine] is given when it is announced" (Reichard, 1928, pp. 105-106).

Haile (1938) said, "a baby may be named after its first laugh ['adilo], as then it is thought to be able to make notice of things, recognize your talking to it, and even express its acceptance of the name by laughter" (p. 55). "BÁÁ" is the prefix of a girl's name and "ashkii" is for boys.



Individuals may be named at any time or occasion, sometimes by deliberation, sometimes by happy inspiration, but more often names steal upon one gradually through general usage (Dyke, 1951, pp. 216-218).

The social development of the Navajo infant began after "three to four months, with the little ceremony" (Kluckhohn, 1947, p. 35). The first laugh was ritualized with a ceremony and feast by "having a sheep killed and distributed to relatives along with a bit of salt. . . ." (Kluckhohn, 1947, p. 35).

In toilet training, Kluckhohn (1947) pointed out the "importance in realizing that bowel control was not expected of the Navajo child until he was old enough to direct his own movements and merely accompany an elder at night and in the morning he is reminded" (p. 43).

Kluckhohn (1947, pp. 84-86) observed that the fear of strangers was also an important part of social development during infancy. This was noticeable in the infant's fear of unfamiliar or new faces, but "these Navajo infants have exceptionally favorable opportunities for developing a secure and confident personality. There is no sudden and harsh attempt to compel him to control his elimination activities."

There was less of a "fatherly role" in the Navajo culture because mother assumed more care for her children, and she spent more time with them than did the father. However, the parents did provide role models for their children.

The Navajo child learned to walk with complete abandonment of the cradle. The period when the child was taking its first steps was a

time of maximum attention from others. Everyone around took turns in leading the child (Leighton & Kluckhohn, 1947, pp. 31-32).

Leighton and Kluckhohn (1947) recorded that:

in the old days . . . every Navajo child used four different cradles in succession. Today, only two cradles are generally used. The first is the face-cover, which is discarded as soon as the family thinks the newborn has a good chance for survival. Some families consider this test period over when the umbilical cord shrivels up and falls off. Others prefer to wait for some weeks until the baby has definitely outgrown the small cradle. (pp. 18-20)

Certain aspects of cradling were obviously useful. The cradle board and the thick swaddling provided a measure of protection against harmful insects and snakes. The heavy canopy, which could be raised or lowered slightly guarded the child's eyes against direct rays of the bright sun out of doors, and if, when the mother was traveling on horseback with her baby, the horse should buck or shy and the baby be dropped, the bow provided excellent insurance against head injury (Leighton & Kluckhohn, 1947, pp. 25-26).

Foremost, the authors (Leighton & Kluckhohn, 1947) noted that "the cradle, like the womb is a place where movement is restricted, where support is always present, and where changes resulting from movement or from temperature fluctuations are minimized in their effect" (pp. 25-26).

However, Kluckhohn (1947) stated that:

. . . the Navajo practice tends to make children better able to look after themselves, so far as the external world is concerned. The child training in his period is mainly a matter of constant encouragement in the acquisition of language and of other skills. Someone is always talking to the baby, giving him words to imitate, telling him especially the proper kinship terms with which to address his various relatives, praising him whenever his random babbling happens to hit a meaningful sound combination. (p. 32)

In summary, much of the review of literature in the field of Navajo studies has stressed that the Navajo child followed a chronological development and growth process which was ritualized and practiced by the traditional Navajos. Also, literature indicated that the traditional Navajos closely observed the child rearing practices and reinforced the practices by teaching their children and shared Navajo creation myths with their families. Most writers indicated that information of child rearing practices were not recorded in depth.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

#### Need and Authorization for Study

The need for this study was discussed among five Navajo graduate students at the University of Utah School of Social Work and with key personnel representing the School of Social Work. These persons included Mrs. Marge E. Edwards, Mrs. Helen R. Henderson, and Dr. Kenneth R. Griffiths who concurred with the five students that a need existed to do an exploratory study of Navajo traditional child rearing practices. It was hoped that the information gained from this study would help both Indian students and academic teachers at all educational levels to better understand the cultural values of Navajo child rearing practices. Permission to conduct this study on the Navajo Reservation was therefore granted from The Graduate School of Social Work, University of Utah, and from the Navajo Tribal Chairman, Mr. Peter MacDonald. (See Appendix A which contains a letter to Chairman MacDonald and return reply from Wilbur R. Atcitty, the Executive Administrator to the Chairman, granting permission to do the study.)

#### Questions To Be Answered

This study was guided by the following questions to be answered:

1. Were there evidences of typical Navajo child rearing patterns of growth and development which were organized in a chronological

life experience framework in the Navajo cultural context of personality development?

2. What were these patterns and what were some characteristics of each phase?

3. What were some traditional values, beliefs, and cultural practices which accompany each of these areas?

4. What were some of the parts played by the parents, grandparents, and the extended family system in each of these phases or periods?

#### General Description and Research Design

The general design for this study was exploratory with an agreed flexibility that would allow the researchers to move in a direction that would gain additional data not anticipated in earlier planning. Although there was no hypothesis tested there was prior planning as to the research strategy. Sampling was selective for the purpose of obtaining and eliciting information or qualitative data rather than of achieving representativeness. This type of qualitative methodology was described by William J. Filstead (1970):

Qualitative methodology refers to those research strategies, such as participant observation, in depth interviewing, total participation in the activity being investigated, field work, etc., which allow the researcher to obtain first-hand knowledge about the empirical social world in question. Qualitative methodology allows the researcher to 'get close to the data,' thereby developing the analytical, conceptual, and categorical components of explanation from the data itself rather than from the preconceived, rigidly structured, and highly quantified techniques that pigeonhole the empirical social world into the operational definitions that the researcher has constructed. (pp. 6-7)

The general strategy of this exploratory study was not to obtain hard scientific data or to test a hypothesis but rather to

(1) obtain feelings, attitudes, viewpoints and experiences regarding the cultural values exhibited through Navajo traditional child rearing practices; (2) record in writing such findings for historical references; and (3) provide some basic information about typical traditional child rearing practices to the Navajo as well as the non-Navajo individual who would be providing services to the Navajos.

### Design

For population and criteria for selection of sample, elderly Navajo men and women aged 60 or older were selected as the initial study population because it was expected that they would have more knowledge of the traditional Navajo culture. The sample was selected from three categories of traditional Navajo people over the age of 60. They were: mothers, grandparents, and medicine men and women. These individuals were traditionally reared on the reservation and had substantial knowledge of traditional child rearing practices based upon their own childhood experiences as well as experiences in bringing up their children. Many of the studied population had little or no knowledge of the English language; therefore, all interviews were conducted in the Navajo language to reduce sampling error.

Although the representativeness of the sample was not considered rigorously, the sample came from across representation of the Navajo Reservation. A sample of 56 subjects were interviewed which were comprised of 36 (64%) female informants (grandmothers and medicine women), and 20 (36%) male informants (grandfathers and medicine men). Although they were not proportionately representative, they were somewhat geographically represented. The

sample came from the following geographical locations which were divided into agency areas. "Agencies" referred to five divided areas on the Reservation with the main headquarters of the Navajo Area at Window Rock, Arizona. The five agencies included the following: Fort Defiance, Tuba City, Chinle, Shiprock, and Eastern Navajo. Shiprock and Eastern Navajo were located in New Mexico, the other agencies were in Arizona. The Eastern Navajo Agency (also known as Checkerboard Area) had its main offices at Crownpoint, New Mexico, (see map of the Navajo Reservation, page 49). Chinle Agency Area was not included in the study. The Eastern Navajo Agency, Shiprock Agency, Tuba City Agency, and Fort Defiance Agency were represented because the researchers were assigned for summer work experiences in these agencies during which the data were collected. The research was conducted during the summer months of June to September, 1975. The data contained representative responses of older residents from a broad cross-section of the Navajo Reservation. This process of selection was not initially planned as a research strategy. It resulted because of the researchers' home or work locations. It did, however, allow for a broad sampling including approximately 85% of the geographical data of the Navajo Reservation.

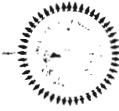
#### Collection of Data

The main source of data information came primarily from personal interviews. However, the researchers' own Navajo background along with the initial strategy of pretesting through personal interviews with

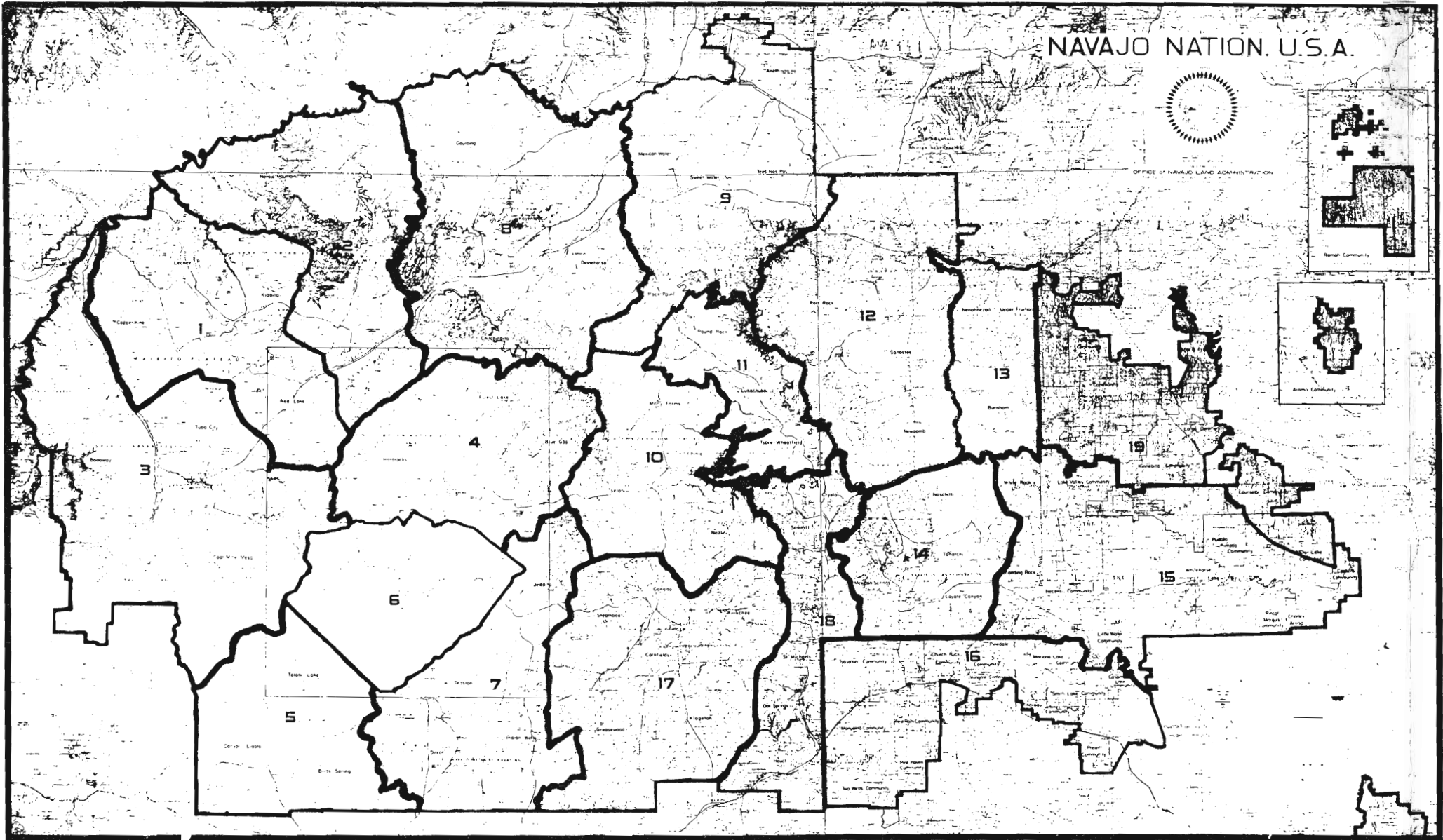
Map of the Navajo Reservation



NAVAJO NATION, U.S.A.



OFFICE OF NAVAJO LAND ADMINISTRATION



Agencies:	Chinle	=	4,10,11
	Crownpoint	=	15,16,19
	Fort Defiance	=	7,14,17,18
	Shiprock	=	9,12,13
	Tuba City	=	1,2,3,5,8

each researcher's own extended family resulted in considerable shaping of the data collection approach. The interview questions were based on a compilation of questions contributed by each researcher from the initial planning and pretest strategy. In the actual interviews no structured questionnaires were used with the hope of gaining a more natural atmosphere in obtaining information. The interviewers did, however, have a general set of questions in mind as a basic guide for each interview. The interviews were conducted in the Navajo language, asking for opinions and attitudes as well as personal knowledge of and experiences with traditional Navajo child rearing practices. The pretesting permitted an assessment of the methodological adequacy of utilizing and continuing with the above mentioned strategy with some slight alterations and restructuring of the interviewing techniques to make them more congruent with the Navajo culture. The early pretest empirical data obtained encouraged our efforts to continue our systematic procedures, and suggested that the network of facts and interpretations were developing into some parent-child relationship and personality development patterns.

The members of the research group were all Navajos who had general knowledge of the Navajo culture and spoke the language fluently. Personal contacts were used to set appointments and conduct the interviews. No other strategies were employed due to lack of telephones and other types of communication techniques familiar to metropolitan areas. Each researcher spent a minimum of 25 hours of interviewing time in the collection of the data which permitted each researcher unlimited time to pursue any interview as extensively as

possible. Each interviewer was responsible for following a planned set of information eliciting procedures. However, the general procedure was to visit several families in a given community on a day's trip, make appointments and then obtain information through direct informal discussions. Some of the informants, particularly medicine men or women, were paid an amount of 10 to 20 dollars per hour for their services in providing traditional information. This was a sensitive area for some as this "protestant work ethic" value (work for money-reward) was not one of the Navajo traditional values. Contrary to this value, was the Navajo traditional value, which says one cannot be paid for sharing his culture and beliefs. One should gladly share this information and hopefully, it would be respected and practiced so that it would be carried on from generation-to-generation.

The average length of interviews was approximately two hours. One strategy employed to obtain information was to explain to the informants that unless the old patterns of child rearing practices were written down they would not be preserved for the young people of today and future generations. Another strategy was to discuss non-Indian child rearing practices and the interviewee then responded as to how these differed from the traditional Navajo point of view.

#### Limitations

1. This study was conducted with Navajos of the Southwest and should not be generalized to all tribes.
2. This sample dealt with a small percentage of the Navajo population of 140,000 and may not be truly representative.

3. The Navajo culture, with its religious beliefs, has limited revelations of some of the traditional religious attitudes towards child rearing practices. To gain an impression of Navajo child rearing practices one must rely on unobtrusive informal observation which has provided insights that could not be obtained in any other way.

4. There were no large data pools regarding the questions of traditional child rearing patterns which seemed most important to the researcher. For example one of those was the assumption that the underlying theory of Navajo child rearing system was rooted in the canon of the Navajo religious system. There appeared to be very little data supporting this belief.

5. Some informants, especially women, were very timid and shy. They had to be coaxed and guided to tell what they knew about the commonplace, daily "homespun stuff" and about child rearing which was so largely our concern. This may have reflected omissions or interviewer biases.

6. The men seemed to like to talk about the ideals of the old way of life and tended to prefer relating illustrative anecdotal materials centered around some dramatic events in their lives. It required some patience and skill to steer them back to the subject of concern, or to find the meaning of anecdotal materials.

7. Navajo medicine men were very reluctant to talk about the origin of the traditional child rearing practices in a religious context because of ceremonial policy which has stipulated that the sacrosancts must not be revealed during the summer months. Some have begged not to be bothered in spite of our offer of money for their services.

8. Some medicine men and non-medicine men as well declined to reveal what they would otherwise share willingly because it was also a religious taboo to discuss aspects of sacred ordinances with or in the presence of young maidens. Four members of our research group were females.

9. The individuals interviewed were not representative of all geographical locations, and were not equally represented in the four categories of the sample, i.e., mothers, grandmothers, medicine men and medicine women.

10. The sample was limited to those people living near community roads because of the impassable roads during the rainy season.

11. Each person was interviewed through personal contacts, as there were no telephones. These appointments for a home interview sometimes took an all day trip to and from. If an appointment was missed, it was often not possible to make another visit.

12. Navajos have been known to be very sensitive to direct questioning. They have not given information freely. The quality of responses received largely depended upon the skill of the interviewer in all aspects of the Navajo culture, communication, and language necessary to elicit needed data.

13. Not all of the five agencies on the Navajo Reservation were represented in the sample. Chinle Agency was omitted.

## CHAPTER IV

### PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Appendix C of this study contains a numerical tabulation of responses and percentages to questions asked of the informants. The information was gathered by interviews with 56 informants from different areas of the Navajo Reservation. Those questions to which most informants responded were selected as most significant and were used in the final analysis. Initially, materials from the total group of informants will be presented and analyzed.

At the conclusion of Chapter I, general questions were formulated to which this study would relate in determining if there were identifiable patterns in the Navajo child rearing practices and what these traditional patterns were.

It was the purpose of this chapter to present the data that pertained to each question and make some interpretations concerning these findings. The writers have concluded after an extensive research in this area, that there were patterns through which a traditional Navajo child progressed from prenatal period through the age of three.

#### Description of the Sample

All of the data presented in this chapter were obtained from personal interviews with grandmothers, grandfathers, and medicine men and/or women by five Navajo graduate students from the University of Utah School of Social Work.

Of the 56 completed interviews, 36 (64%) were female informants (grandmothers and medicine women), while 20 (36%) were male informants (grandfathers and medicine men). The age range was from 60-years-old to 87-years-old.

All of the informants had little or no knowledge of the English language with a large number being married, and a small percentage of them being widows who were maintaining families. The commonalities among these informants were their knowledge and experience of the traditional child rearing practices. The majority of them still lived in the traditional Navajo life style which meant that they lived in hogans, maintained livelihoods through shepherding, and adhered to the traditional Navajo religion.

The data samples were taken from four sections of the Navajo reservation known as the Bureau of Indian Affairs agencies, which included the Eastern Navajo Agency, Fort Defiance Agency, Shiprock Agency, and Tuba City Agency (see page 49). The majority of the data samples were collected from Eastern Navajo and Ft. Defiance Agencies. The reason being that there were two workers in each of these two agencies.

Before beginning the interview, researchers presented a general introduction to the purpose of the research study and explained the questions that would be asked of the informants. All researchers spoke the Navajo language fluently, therefore, all questions were asked in the Navajo language, and the informants gave descriptive responses. It has been found that when the Navajo language was used descriptive responses were customary. The questions were not asked in a prescribed or structured manner.

After the data was collected from the interviewees, the characteristic responses of the elderly parents were grouped according to their similarities regarding each question asked. The responses were counted and recorded on a tabulation sheet (see Appendix C). The data was then studied to distinguish trends in the types of responses. When ever 50% or more of the respondents gave a specific response, these were interpreted as elements of the typical child rearing practice patterns as recognized by the more traditional older generation in the Navajo society. According to this tabulation of the data all of the 56 (100%) informants indicated that there existed a typical traditional Navajo child rearing patterns in Navajo society. All recognized a variety of common elements in this typical Navajo child rearing patterns.

### Findings

The following factors were identified as the basic elements in what may be presumed to be the typical child rearing patterns according to the majority of the informants. The four phases were: (1) pre-birth, (2) pre-cradle board, (3) cradle board, and (4) post-cradle board.

#### Pre-birth phase

The study revealed that 50 (89%) of the informants agreed that the expectant mother was given special ceremonial recognition signifying a rite of passage to motherhood, a period of time in which she was to devote all her time and energy to understanding what was expected of her in her new role and in caring for her unborn child. The new role



she assumed required observance of numerous rigid taboos, practical instructions and intake of herbal medicine as they were prescribed by a medicine man. Thirty-five (63%) of the informants also indicated that during this period the expectant mother received special orientation for motherhood especially if it was her first baby.

### Interpretation

It was the general consensus of the majority of the informants that the purpose of the ceremonial ritual over the expectant mother was not only for the well-being of the mother but the fetus as well. During this time there were "singings" of the "infant songs" and the "good way" songs for the blessing of the infant and the mother. This ceremony was to protect both mother and child from any harm during the pre-birth phase, and it placed them in tune with the Holy People (who oversee and protect both mother and child). A ceremony also ensured health, prosperity and their general well-being. In particular, there was recognition of the belief that women were usually given to eccentricities during pregnancy because of excessive fatigue or anxiety. The ceremonial rituals provided a therapeutic experience in the sense that "it protected the mind, emotions, and the body." The mother would have a good attitude, less anxiety, and would lead a normal life with her usual activities. There was strong emphasis upon the belief that the psychological state of the mother would affect the fetus. The statement, "The baby will be what the mother is like," was quoted repeatedly by a majority of the female informants. The medicine men or women required prescribed psychological tasks which included observances of numerous taboos and other practical advice.

The majority of the informants indicated that ceremonial songs and prayers were a means of taking protective measures against resultant effects of breaking taboos. Taboos were to be strictly observed. In order to welcome a new baby to any Navajo household, many precautions must be taken to insure its welfare and give it a favorable start in life. Taboos were mentioned in the Creation Story of the Navajos, and all Navajos were expected to observe these taboos. If all the taboos were observed, and with the ceremony being performed, it was thought that a perfect child would develop.

Some of the taboos that were mentioned most often were founded to be consistent with those stated in Chapter III, Review of Literature. Some of these taboos were as follows:

1. An expectant parents must never make any provisions for the child before it was born such as making clothes or preparing the cradle board. If clothes were made, it was believed the baby would die before it would be dressed in its first clothing. No clothing were made until the child was about two-weeks-old.

2. Both parents must avoid tying knots. When one found it necessary to tie a goat or harness a team of horses, that person must be most careful to untie the knots later, never leaving it to someone else, otherwise the baby would be entangled in the umbilical cord in the womb.

3. Both parents should not look at sandpaintings or see the body painting ceremony. If this taboo was broken, the child was likely to have a severe illness, although this might not overtake the child until later in life.

4. Ceremonial pots should not be broken as it was believed that the baby's soft spots would not close at the proper time. If the soft spots did not close properly the child would be slow in speaking, or would have speech difficulties. It was believed that when the soft spots grew together that would be the time the child would speak. Should a ceremonial pot be broken this would bring about a misfortune, which however, could be corrected by taking another pot after the baby was born and deliberately breaking it above the child's head in such a way that the pieces fell together in a pile beneath the child.

5. Funerals should not be attended nor should the parents go near graveyards. The evil spirits were believed to affect the unborn child. The child would have nightmares often after he was born.

6. It was bad luck for a pregnant mother to see dead coyotes, snakes, dogs or cats. This was believed to cause the woman to have a hard delivery. The child would be sick if the mother or father saw, killed, or skinned a coyote, or saw an animal killed by lightning.

Grandmothers, mothers, and medicine men or medicine women were designated by the tribe as the enforcers of the taboos. It was felt that these people were well informed about the legends and taboos and could assume this responsibility.

Of the total sample, 35 (63%) responses obtained indicated that the woman was to be oriented to her new status as mother-to-be. The taboos mentioned earlier were part of this orientation. During ceremonies she received instructions on what her role would be as a mother and her responsibility to the child.

Also our finding was consistent with Newcomb (1940, p. 30)

and Haile (1938, p. 31) observations, namely that during pregnancy the expectant mother led her usual life, and continued her normal work. She was told that a woman having a baby should not lie around. She should keep working and moving around so the baby would not get too big. If the baby grew too big, it would be hard on the mother to deliver. Some informants made statements that she should not ride horseback or do heavy work during the first and last months of pregnancy. Extremely heavy work, such as carrying or lifting heavy loads, chopping wood, or making any sort of jerking or twisting movements was believed to kill the fetus. The parents were told that their conduct while the baby was unborn had far reaching consequences for the child's birth and health.

During this orientation, Navajo women were told to do exercises before the birth of a child so the delivery would be easy. They took walks every morning or herded sheep. Exercises were important because this prepared the woman for the delivery. It was believed among most informants that a woman should not scream while delivering her baby as this would reflect a weakness in her role as a woman. With this orientation she was expected to be strong.

Although the expectant mother was expected to lead a normal life, she was at the same time to be cognizant of the special period in which she was to fulfill a special role until the child was born, which completed the Pre-birth phase.

#### Pre-cradle board phase

The significant patterns in this phase consisted of three general areas: (1) that the child birth process was ritualized, (2) the

uniqueness of the post-partum care, and (3) the relationship of the ceremonial ritual to the whole Pre-cradle period.

The punctilious nature of the ritualism connected with the child birth process was described in the following way.

When it was time for a baby to be delivered, the hogan in which a child was to be born was designated or built. Some clean sand was hauled in from the country, spread out on the north side of the hogan, and covered with a sheep pelt. A red sash belt or rope of buckskin was tied to a strong log or a pole in the ceiling which the child bearer would hold for support. A grandmother or an aunt was usually designated as a midwife, who would know whether or not the position of the baby might cause complications. Most informants stated, however, that they remembered having a medicine man present either at their own child bearing experiences or the experience of other birth that they have witnessed. His duty consisted of providing a solemn atmosphere by singing, and should the child birth become difficult, he interceded with more complicated ceremonial rituals. A fire was built in the center of the hogan and pots of herbs were put on to brew.

The post-partum care and the ceremonial rituals were analyzed together because they were closely related.

The post-partum care of the mother and infant was managed by the midwife and her assistants. Traditionally, after the umbilical cord was cut and tied, the baby was washed in a basket with yucca suds. After the baby was dried, he was placed on a mattress made out of pulped bark of wild rose bushes, covered with soft buckskin, and then wrapped with a sheep pelt which was then laced with either yucca or

buckskin string. A triangular shaped wooden arch made out of a tender cedar branch was put over half the length of the infant and covered with a buckskin blanket. The baby was then laid with its head toward the fire place. The midwife assumed full responsibility for the child until it began to nurse. A very delicate and complicated procedure on the internal cleansing of the baby was initiated by the special nurse or midwife. She brewed some delicate fibers found between the stems and bark of a young juniper tree and used it as emit. After this process, the infant was fed its first ceremonial food which was composed of corn pollen mixed with boiled water. Breastfeeding was not encouraged until the mother rid her milk glands of all initial particles which meant the infant may have had to wait and live on the ceremonial food anywhere from two to four days.

For "a period of a moon" (one month) the infant's bodily frame received close attention. The body was washed and molded gently every day to assure proper development of the bones and muscles of the infant's body.

The post-partum care of the mother was usually undertaken by the midwife and the medicine man. She was given some warm herbal broth in a variety of potions, the names of which we were unable to determine. The purpose of the herbal medication administered was "to dull pain, to strengthen, and to heal wounds." She was also served corn meal with a special herbal ingredient, and this remained her diet until she regained her strength. Most informants related that the new mother usually went into a deep sleep after she was treated which may indicate the effects of the herbal drugs. The placenta and

afterbirth were disposed of. After four days, the mother was expected to assume responsibility for her child. At this point the crisis of child birth was presumed to have passed. Two other important activities were carried out providing there was certainty that the mother was well and the baby would survive. First, if the child-bearer was a new mother, careful planning was undertaken to make a permanent cradle board for the infant. Secondly, the child was named usually by a significant other who was selected by the parents. The ceremonial or spiritual significance of this will be described in the next section.

#### Interpretation

A total of 48 (86%) informants stressed that there was ceremonial or spiritual significance to many of the activities that took place in the child birth process. Every act that was performed was done with great care, and the materials used with great respect.

The sash belt or rope used for the child-bearer's support was an indicator of which sex the child would be. The sash belt was used when it was strongly believed that it would be a girl, and the buckskin rope was used when it was believed to be a boy. The child-bearer decided which to use and the outcome was usually never discussed afterward.

The roles of the midwife and the medicine man were extremely important. The midwives in those days were described as having knowledge of positions of babies prior to birth. The skills and knowledge were acquired from older midwives. The midwives are not to be confused with white professional midwives. Medicine men were essential

for psychological support and administering of herbal medication.

The research team did not encounter a case where informants dealt with birth complications. It may be because birth complications were rare in general or that there was a strict taboo against relating to such past incidences.

The materials used for the care of infants were rather interesting. Most important was the use of bark of wild rose bushes. The inner lining of the bark was pulped until it was soft as a foam. It had a pleasant natural scent which never wore off. A thick layer of this fiber was put over the infant's genital area. The pulped bark was described as highly absorbent, having a natural scent that prevented odor, and was non-irritant. The portion that the infant soiled was disposed of and replaced by a fresh supply or sometimes washed.

Most informants reported that the disposal of the placenta was highly significant. It was the traditional belief that the placenta should be buried at the ash dumping area. Since ashes from the hogan's fire place were instrumental in combating evil spirits, the "life tube" of the infant was safe there, and the proper burial would also negate the possibility of the infant ever becoming a "prodigal son" in the future. Some elderly women lamented that in this modern day when children were born in modern hospitals the placentas were disposed of in the fire or dumped in the trash cans. As a result, these children have lost their personal identity, their identity with their own culture, and some have left the Navajo society beyond the sacred boundaries of the four sacred mountains.

The ceremonial food and the position of the baby for the first



four days were explained as observances of the tradition started by the parents of the "First Infant Child at the Dawn of History."

Corn pollen was selected as the principal diet of the Navajo race. It was chosen because of its enduring nature, its reproductive attributes, its life-giving nutrients for many living creatures, and its beauty. The first infant female was anointed with the vital portion of the corn plant, the pollen, with the mandate that her special role would be to provide food and to be instrumental in the reproduction of future generations after the manner of her "Mother, The Earth."

The practice of keeping an infant in a ceremonial position with its head toward the fire place was in concurrence with the belief that fire was a symbol of life, and was therefore considered very sacred. The immediate area surrounding the fire place in a hogan was revered as a holy area. The infant was placed in direct relation to "life" where its mind would be vitalized and body formed or shaped. Traditionally, during the first four days one of the important tasks of the nurse or midwife was to begin a line of communication with the infant by singing what has been referred to in English as "infant songs."

The disposal of the dried portion of the umbilical cord after healing was also important to the majority of our informants. The cord had to be buried in the proximity of the home where the child would be reared, and the specific place where the umbilical cord would be buried was determined by what type of vocation the parents would like to see their child excel. For instance, if the male infant was to become a successful stockman, his umbilical cord was buried in a stock corral. If the female infant was to become very artistic in

weaving, her umbilical cord was buried under a weaving loom. The philosophy behind this was that the child would have a predetermined career and would be a strong, stable, and a creative person.

The naming of the child was also considered very significant. The name was usually given by an important member of the extended family. Often grandparents offered their names so their names would be carried on within the family. Since the grandparents had lived to reach old age, it was hoped that the grandchild with that name would also live to be as old as the grandparents.

Most informants strongly indicated that this Navajo name would protect the child and keep the child in tune with the "Holy People." "Mother Earth" knew this individual by his name, as did the "Holy People." If the child had a Navajo name, it was believed that this individual could quickly be recognized by the "Holy People" and thought of as their child.

Of the total sample, 51 (91%) informants responded that the cradle board had religious significance; therefore, the importance and manner in which it was prepared was very sacred. According to mythological narration the first woman designed the first cradle board with a certain "omnipotent being" giving her instructions.

The main boards of the cradle were given by the earth which represented the soul and mind. The headboards were made from the rainbow which stood for abiding presence of peace and beauty. The footrests were made of sunbeams, and the lacings of zigzag lightning which represented power. Finally, the protective coverings held in place by the arch represented the black clouds or the Universe. In this sphere

of protection and security of the cradle board, the first infant was to be reared. Therefore, each part of the cradle board had a symbolic and an important meaning.

In the preparation of a cradle board, prayers and songs were chanted before the journey into the forest to cut the board. Most fathers or grandfathers selected with great care the pine tree from which the board was to be cut. The tree must not have been struck by lightning or badly broken. It should be tall and straight, likely to live for many years. The cradle board was considered very sacred, and was also used for protection. In case the baby was dropped, the headboard would protect the baby's face and head. Besides protection, it also shaped the baby's body in developing good posture. The household chores were made a lot easier for the mother when the baby was in the cradle board.

#### Cradle board phase

Of the 56 (100%) informants interviewed, the majority of them had used cradle boards. Their reasons for using them varied. The majority of them used them because it was customary to do so, or had traditional significance to them. Some said it was a good protective device for the baby and was convenient. All informants placed a high value on the cradle board and its use, because their children were reared in them.

The data indicated that most informants breast fed their babies, and they were convinced that breast feeding was vitally important for any infant. The same informants indicated that they never followed a time schedule for feeding, but the child was fed when

when the child began to sit upright and was able to hold on to objects. The child ate what he liked and food was never forced on the child.

There was 52 (93%) responses obtained indicating that a child's first laugh was considered a special event to celebrate. It was considered a ritual event in which the child gained social status. It was celebrated by relatives with the child giving each person salt, and a feast afterwards.

### Interpretation

The philosophy behind the "First Laugh" ritual celebration was that such observances would help the child to be generous, kind and happy. Some of the implications were signs of maturity and that an identity of the child had been established.

The writers observed that the use of cradle boards had a very special significance for a majority of the informants. Much of what the informants had to say about the advantages of cradling was skillfully stated by Kluckhohn (1947) as follows:

Certain aspects of cradling have obvious survival advantages. The cradle board and the thick swaddling provide a measure of protection against harmful insects and snakes. The heavy canopy, which may be raised or lowered slightly, guards the child's eyes against the direct rays of the bright sun out of doors, and if, when the mother is traveling on horseback with her baby, the horse should buck or wobble or fall and the baby be dropped, the hood provides excellent insurance against head injury. After the child has begun to creep, it can be put in the cradle to protect it from getting too close to the fire during occasional moments when all other persons may be out of the hut. In a crowded dwelling where toddlers and older children may be scuffling about, the baby is probably safer in his cradle than on a sheepskin on the floor as the other children sleep.

The cradle is often placed in an upright position after the child has been nursed. White pediatricians have suggested that this habit may help the child in digesting his food much as being held upright helps the white baby to 'bubble.' Margaret Fries also

suggests that the custom of propping the cradled child in an upright position before he can crawl or even sit may facilitate walking. She points out that the apparatus of balance and vision are then on the same plane as when the child is walking. His legs are kept constantly extended with feet flexed against the footboard in the position for standing.

In addition, there appear to be important psychological advantages to cradling. Birth must be an unpleasant experience to the child. In addition to the violence of the birth process, the warmth and complete security of the womb are exchanged for the irregularities of food, alterations of temperature, and other unpredictable of the external world. The abruptness of this transition tends to be cushioned by the cradle -- even the tight wrappings of the first temporary cradle. The cradle, like the womb, is a place where movement is restricted, where support is always present, and where changes resulting from movement or from temperature fluctuations are minimized in their effect.

Likewise, the cradle permits babies, who could not otherwise sit up unaided, to assume for long periods a position other than that of lying down, out of touch with what is going on around them. When the weather is warm or mild, and the family is lounging or eating under the trees outside, for instance, the cradle is ordinarily propped against a tree. This means that the child's face and eyes are on about the same level as those of the adults who are sitting near him. In this, as in several other ways, the Navaho child from the very beginning is part of the total society rather than being isolated or segregated from it, 'just a baby,' as in white families.

Furthermore, at no time is the cradled infant able to interfere physically with the mother or with whatever she is doing. Regardless of her moods, she has little excuse to vent them on him, and the infant has little chance to annoy her. This eliminates a countless number of frustrations from the child and reduces his conflict with the arbitrary emotions of his mother.

The vital importance of breast feeding was emphasized by a majority of those interviewed. Breast feeding was considered very important because it was the primary and basic source of food for the baby, and that breast fed babies were considered a lot healthier. Some opinions expressed were that "bottle fed children seemed to be too detached from their mothers." "The infant-mother separation at birth caused emotional imbalance." "The mothers who bottle fed their babies lost their mother role and the significance of their responsibility." "Human milk was different from goat's or cow's milk." "A child who

was fed cow milk was infused with the faculties of animals." "A breast fed child was clothed with the personality of his mother." These messages no doubt had many important implications, but, in short, the impact of it all was interpreted as emphasizing that the basic and most essential emotional need of an infant was met through infant-mother contact or stimulation. To breast feed the child, he was routinely taken from the cradle board, or could be breast fed while in the cradle board.

#### Post-cradle board phase

This phase was divided into three general areas: (1) weaning, (2) toilet-training, and (3) discipline.

The majority of the informants indicated that weaning was significant in the child-rearing process. Weaning was introduced when the next baby was coming. In cases where the next baby did not come for some time or at all, weaning was late, and was also gradual. It was often said that the child weaned itself without being forced. As its taste for other types of nourishment increased, the child's dependency on nursing gradually diminished.

Of the total sample, 55 (98%) responses were obtained indicating that toilet training was never forced, but was demonstrated and taught through sibling and parental modeling. Parents exercised inexhaustible patience while toilet training their children. For example, mother never humiliated a child through verbal outburst when the child fecated on her skirt or sheep pelt.

Often the children remained half clothed, or their pants were "split open" so they could fecate whenever they need to. Toilet

training was not forced because it was believed by most informants that the child would grow up with a "shattered mind" and become fearful.

Of the total sample, 45 (80%) responses were obtained which indicated that, to some extent, Navajos were a self-disciplinary people and that discipline was a priority in the child's early experience so that he could learn to be self-disciplined and become independent. The manner in which the family reinforced this was by physical manipulation and verbalization. Children learned from their parents' response to their behavior. One example of disciplining that most informants elaborated upon was, that parents cautioned and warned their children through "Yíí Yá," (a method of behavior control). The object of which was to frighten the child from performing inappropriate behavior. For example, if a child went near the fire or stove, the parents slapped the baby's hand very gently to impress upon him through verbalization that the stove was hot and would burn him. Hence, "Yíí Yá" would communicate to the child that there will be a feeling of hurt if he touched the stove. The children learned for themselves through trial and errors like these. Most informants stressed that children were not expected to become dependent through overprotection. They were led to explore their abilities and held themselves responsible for their behavior. For instance, when a child was warned through "Yíí Yá," but if he kept touching the stove, he was held responsible for that inappropriate behavior, not the parents. Through this type of teaching and modeling of discipline by parents, children learned which behaviors were appropriate, and which were not. This method of

discipline also encouraged the child's independence. The children were trained at an early age because they could not be looked after all the time. For example, beginning about age three, an older sibling may take a small child with her when she herded sheep, so the child would absorb the idea of independence which would be expected more of him when he gets about five-years-old.

#### Researchers' Observations

While the purpose of this study was to explore the traditional Navajo child rearing practices, the researchers recorded several important observations in addition to those identified above. Among these are the following:

1. Since Navajo traditional life styles were so intricably interrelated, in order to conduct a study of this type only Navajos should do these types of studies on their own culture.

2. Elderly Navajos identified with the traditional culture very strongly, and they were concerned about losing their traditional child rearing principles.

3. In order to do a satisfactory study, it would require more time.

4. There is a need to help younger Navajos learn more about the traditional child rearing practices.

5. The research conducted helped researchers to gain much greater appreciation of the Navajo culture.

6. That the traditional Navajo child rearing practices were taken for granted.



7. The people we have interviewed were interested in and positively identified with those traditional children rearing practices.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Purpose

The purpose of this study was for Navajo researchers to explore the traditional child rearing practices of the Navajo people. Previous research relating to personality growth and development of the Navajo children was conducted by Anglo anthropologists. There has been a lack of research by the Native Americans as was verified through the review of the literature. The general overview of universal studies in child rearing practices indicated that there were specific child rearing patterns, and there were some differences in these patterns. Cross-cultural studies showed that tradition and customs tended to foster ethnic beliefs, values and morals of the culture. Previous Native American child rearing practice researchers tended to utilize interpreters which the present researchers believed were not as effective as native-speaking members themselves gathering the data and interpreting them. The elderly Navajo people still retained the pure traditions of their culture which have not been fragmented by or relinquished to the dominant society. The sharing of this information with Navajo researchers gave this study more traditional accounts of the child rearing practices of the Navajo people. An additional purpose, and yet an important one, was to compile a knowledge base of the traditional Navajo child rearing practices.

### Methodology

The method used in the research was to conduct interviews in the Navajo language with elderly Navajo men, women and medicine men and women, aged 60 or older. The samples were randomly selected across the Navajo reservation and although not proportionately representative, were geographically represented. Representation was secured from four of the five agencies within the Navajo reservation. These agencies were Eastern Navajo, Fort Defiance, Window Rock, Shiprock, and Tuba City (see Illustration 1 for map of the Navajo Reservation).

The general design for this study was exploratory and therefore no hypothesis was tested. Sampling was selective for obtaining qualitative data rather than designed to achieve area representativeness of those interviewed.

The data were secured from interviewing 56 elderly men and women through use of the Navajo language. The researchers were all Navajos who had general knowledge of their culture and spoke the language fluently. Each researcher spent a minimum of 25 hours of interviewing. The average length of time of each interview was approximately two hours. Information was collected through informal discussions across general areas rather than through the use of an interview schedule.

### Findings

The findings of this study indicated that there were child rearing patterns that a traditional Navajo child experienced. This study explored child rearing practices among the Navajos from the prenatal period to age three.

The following factors were identified as the basic elements in what may be presumed to be the typical child rearing pattern by the majority of the informants. The four phrases identified were Pre-birth, Pre-cradle Board, Cradle Board, and Post-cradle Board.

1. The Pre-birth phase was identified as the pregnancy stage. During this phase the expectant mother was given special ceremonial recognition. This was a period of time which she was to devote all of her time and energy to preparing for her unborn child. She was required to observe and avoid numerous rigid taboos, and received special orientation for motherhood.

2. The Pre-cradle Board phase consisted of three significant general areas: (1) childbirth process was ritualized, (2) the uniqueness of the post-partum care, and (3) the relationship of the ceremonial ritual to the whole pre-cradle board phase. During this phase, the birth of the child took place. Most informants stressed that there were ceremonial and spiritual significance connected with the activities during the child birth. The uniqueness of post-partum care was based on the Navajo traditional and spiritual values. Ceremonial ritual continued to be a part of this phase -- from the birth of a child to disposal of placenta and to the post-partum care.

3. During the Cradle-board phase the relationship between the mother and child began. This relationship of almost constant physical proximity between mother and child was unbroken until weaning. The child spent a lot of time in the cradle board, even though the mother responded immediately to every manifestation, want, or discomfort on the part of her child. The child was breast fed. As the child began to sit

and hold objects, solid food was gradually introduced. During this period, a child's first laugh was carefully observed, for this was a ritual event in which the child gained social status. Some of the implications of this achievement were signs of maturity and the identity of the child was recognized and accepted by the adults.

4. The Post-cradle phase was divided into three general areas: (1) weaning, (2) toilet training, and (3) discipline. This phase started when the child left the cradle board. Weaning, however, was late and was also gradual. When the child's tastes for other types of nourishment increased, the child's dependency on nursing gradually diminished. The significant responses were that a child was never forced to wean. Also toilet training was not forced, but rather was taught gradually through sibling and parental modeling. The method of discipline was made by modeling and encouraging the child's independence. The parents cautioned the child "Yíí Yá," which frightened the child against behavior that was not appropriate. Parents showed the child how to behave appropriately, and they reinforced their appropriate behavior.

### Conclusions

The purpose of this descriptive study was to explore traditional Navajo child rearing practices. Conclusions were drawn related to the questions stated in earlier chapters (I and III).

1. There were identifiable patterns of unique Navajo child rearing practices.

2. The study revealed four distinct phases through which Navajo children progressed from the pre-natal period through age three.

3. There were distinct traditional child rearing patterns evidenced in each of the four phases.

4. The people interviewed were interested and positively identified with Navajo traditional child rearing practices.

5. Sacred cultural-oriented patterns and values were related to certain seasons of the year.

6. It was possible to compile a knowledge base of the Navajo traditional child rearing practices for dissemination.

### Recommendations

We would like to recommend the following for further study regarding traditional Navajo Indian child rearing practices:

1. Are traditional child rearing practices being observed by younger Navajo people today? And if so, to what extent.

2. What are Navajo cultural custom changes, and what is the degree of comfort and discomfort being expressed by Navajo people to these changes?

3. What maintains traditional Navajo child rearing practices? To what extent do religion, mythology, and traditional forms of education contribute to the maintenance of traditional child rearing practices?

4. What would be effective methods of educating Navajos and non-Navajos to better understand and respect the traditional Navajo child rearing and other cultural practices?

APPENDIX A

LETTERS

June 3, 1975

Honorable Peter McDonald  
Chairman  
Navajo Tribe  
Window Rock, Arizona 86515

Dear Chairman McDonald:

We, the Navajo graduate students at the University of Utah's Graduate School of Social Work, are requesting your permission to do a descriptive research thesis on traditional Navajo child rearing practices.

The research thesis will involve interviewing some of the traditional medicine men, grandfathers and grandmothers in the areas of the five agencies: Fort Defiance Agency, Eastern Navajo Agency, Chinle Agency, Shiprock Agency and Tuba City Agency.

This research thesis will fulfill one of the requirements toward our Master's Degrees in Social Work. We believe it will also present and provide a means of sharing some of our Navajo cultural heritage. Upon completion you will receive a copy of the research thesis.

Your consideration and cooperation would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Betti Arthur

Ernest Benally

Mike Benally

Anna Boone

Lucinda Martin

Marilyn Wilson

/me





THE NAVAJO NATION

WINDOW ROCK, ARIZONA 86515

PETER MacDONALD  
Chairman, Navajo Tribal Council

WILSON C. SKEET  
Vice Chairman, Navajo Tribal Council

Ms. Betti Arthur  
Ms. Anna Boone  
Mr. Ernest Benally  
Ms. Lucinda Martin  
Mr. Mike Benally  
Ms. Marilyn Wilson  
The University of Utah  
Graduate School of Social Work  
Social Work Building  
Salt Lake City, Utah 84112

Dear Students:

Thank you for your letter of June 3, 1975, which requested permission to do research on the Navajo Reservation. I have instructed Mr. Reginald Begaye, Bi-State Director, Navajo Tribal Office of Social Services to assist you with regard to this project. I sincerely hope that you will be able to complete your requirements for Master's Degree in social work and that you will return to help us in our endeavors to improve the welfare of our Navajo people. If you have any problems concerning the project, please do not hesitate to call.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Wilbur R. Atcity", is written over the typed name.

Wilbur R. Atcity  
Executive Administrator  
to the Chairman

APPENDIX B

TRADITIONAL NAVAJO CHILD REARING  
PATTERN QUESTIONNAIRE

In the actual interviews no structured questionnaires were used with the hope of gaining a more natural atmosphere in obtaining information. The interviewers did, however, have a general set of questions in mind as a basic guide for each interview. Some of the basic questions used were as follows (the questions were not listed in the order of their importance):

1. Do you think the traditional Navajos had child rearing practices that were different from other people? If you think so, how was it different?
2. Our more traditional Navajos have referred to the "adoption of the first infant" by the "first people" at the dawn of history. What did they mean when they referred to this? In view of this belief about the origin of the first infant, what kind of social status did babies and children have in the traditional Navajo culture?
3. How was the Navajo religion or mythology related to the traditional child rearing practices or system?
4. What did pregnancy mean to a Navajo woman and to her immediate relatives? What steps were taken to orient her to her new role?
5. What were some of the things an expectant mother had to do to prepare herself for the period of pregnancy and for the child?
6. Would you describe what activities usually took place during the child birth process and after the birth? For example, did the medicine man deliver babies? Was there a midwife? Who else was directly involved? Was a special place designated for delivery? Would you please describe some of these for me?
7. We Navajos generally referred to a certain plant or bush as "cradle" (wild rose bush). How did this plant get its name? How was it related to what we have known as the cradle board? What parts of the bush was used for cradle board? Please tell me something about how the cradle board originated? How old must an infant be before he was put into the cradle board?
8. Navajos have often said that life from conception to death was a ritualistic process? Would you describe how you understood this process, and identify some of the ceremonial rituals that were connected with the prenatal phase, the child birth process, the post-partum phase, and the later life of an infant? In other words, what were some of the things that must be done only in a certain manner and which were usually prescribed by medicine men?

9. What significance did the Navajos attribute to breast feeding? What kind of feeding schedule did infants usually follow? For how long did Navajo babies usually nurse? When was solid food usually introduced to the child? At what age was a child weaned? Was there any special techniques or procedures followed in the weaning process?
10. At what age was a child toilet trained? Could you describe how a Navajo mother toilet trained her child? If you prefer, how did you do it?
11. It was quite common forus Navajos to celebrate the baby's first laugh? Why was this more important than observance of birth-days?
12. When was a baby named? Did naming have some religious significance?
13. How did traditional Navajos discipline their children? What has been your concept of discipline?
14. What role did relatives play in the rearing of a child? Which relatives influenced the child the most?

APPENDIX C

FREQUENCY OF INTERVIEWEES' RESPONSE TO THE  
FOUR DEVELOPMENTAL PHASES

Developmental Phases	Grand- mothers	Grand- fathers	Medicine men/women	Total	Total # of Informants	Percent (%)
1. <u>Pre-birth phase</u>						
a. Ceremonies	31	12	7	50	(56)	89
b. Taboos	31	12	7	50	(56)	89
c. Orientation	19	9	7	35	(56)	63
2. <u>Pre-cradle board phase</u>						
a. <u>Child-birth process (ritualized)</u>	28	13	7	48	(56)	86
(1) Red belt	16	9	5	30	(56)	54
(2) Role of participants	33	13	6	52	(56)	93
(3) Significant others (immediate family)	13	4	6	23	(56)	41
b. <u>Post-birth activities</u>						
(1) <u>Post-partum care</u>						
(a) Temporary cradle (sheepskin and wild rose bark)	33	12	5	50	(56)	89
(b) Shaping and molding of the infant's body	28	13	5	46	(56)	82
(c) Use of herbal emit	28	10	6	44	(56)	79
(d) Breast feeding after four days	18	9	5	32	(56)	57
(2) <u>Ceremonial rituals</u>						
(a) Disposal of the placenta	22	6	6	34	(56)	61
(b) Ceremonial position of baby	22	11	4	37	(56)	67
(c) Ceremonial food	17	10	5	32	(56)	67
(d) Umbilical cord	27	13	6	46	(56)	82
(e) Naming	28	15	4	47	(56)	84
(f) Preparation of permanent cradle board	31	14	6	51	(56)	91

Developmental Phases	Grand- mothers	Grand- fathers	Medicine men/women	Total	Total # of Informants	Percent (%)
3. <u>Cradle board phase</u>						
a. Breast feeding (significant)	31	13	7	51	(56)	91
(1) No feeding schedule	21	6	2	29	(56)	52
(2) Solid food	23	8	3	34	(56)	61
b. First laugh	31	15	6	52	(56)	93
(1) Sign of maturity	21	6	5	32	(56)	57
(2) Establishment of identity	24	10	3	37	(56)	66
(3) Social status	31	15	6	52	(56)	93
4. <u>Post-cradle board phase</u>						
a. Weaning	28	12	4	44	(56)	79
(1) Next baby	21	9	4	34	(56)	61
(2) Not forced	11	9	7	27	(56)	48
b. Toilet training	25	10	5	40	(56)	71
(1) Modeling	14	4	4	22	(56)	39
(2) Taught	19	11	2	32	(56)	57
c. Discipline	27	12	6	45	(56)	80
(1) Training	27	12	6	45	(56)	80
(2) Restraints (behavior control)	27	12	6	45	(56)	80

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