



January 2015

Powwow As Spaces Of Public: Circulated Meanings Of A Native Practice For Non-Natives

Joshua Eugene Young

Follow this and additional works at: <https://commons.und.edu/theses>

Recommended Citation

Young, Joshua Eugene, "Powwow As Spaces Of Public: Circulated Meanings Of A Native Practice For Non-Natives" (2015). *Theses and Dissertations*. 1855.

<https://commons.und.edu/theses/1855>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, and Senior Projects at UND Scholarly Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of UND Scholarly Commons. For more information, please contact zeinebyousif@library.und.edu.

POWWOW AS SPACES OF PUBLIC: CIRCULATED MEANINGS OF A NATIVE
PRACTICE FOR NON-NATIVES

By

Joshua Eugene Young
Bachelor of Arts, Drake University, 2008
Master of Arts, University of Northern Iowa, 2011

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Grand Forks, North Dakota

May
2015

Copyright 2015 Joshua E. Young

This dissertation, submitted by Joshua E. Young in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

Kyle Conway

Stephen Rendahl

Timothy Pasch

Ronald Greene

Rebecca Weaver-Hightower

This dissertation is being submitted by the appointed advisory committee as having met all of the requirements of the School of Graduate Studies at the University of North Dakota and is hereby approved.

Wayne Swisher
Dean of the School of Graduate Studies

May 16, 2015

PERMISSION

Title: Powwow as Spaces of Public: Circulated Meanings of a Native Practice for Non-Natives

Department Communication and Public Discourse

Degree Doctor of Philosophy

In presenting this dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a graduate degree from the University of North Dakota, I agree that the library of this University shall make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for extensive copying for scholarly purposes may be granted by the professor who supervised my dissertation work, or in his absence, by the Chairperson of the department or the dean of the School of Graduate Studies. It is understood that any copying or publication or other use of this dissertation or part thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and the University of North Dakota in any scholarly use which may be made of any material in my dissertation.

Joshua E. Young

April 30, 2015

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES.....	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	vii
ABSTRACT.....	ix
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
II. THEORETICAL FRAMERWORK.....	45
III. FIGHTING WHO? THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA POWWOW.....	71
IV. DANCING BOYS: THE ORDER OF THE ARROW POWWOW.....	105
V. HEALING THE SACRED HOOP: THE WHITE EAGLE POWWOW.....	137
VI. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION.....	162
REFERENCES.....	173

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Tropological Exchange.....	67
2. Sioux Logo History.....	75
3. Eagle Dance.....	121
4. Founding Fathers Show.....	135
5. Sacred Creature.....	145
6. Best Friends.....	148
7. Round Dance.....	149
8. Greek Dancers.....	154
9. Japanese Dancer.....	155
10. Spanish Dancers.....	155

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to the members of my advisory committee: Dr. Kyle Conway, Dr. Stephen Rendahl, Dr. Timothy Pasch, Dr. Ronald Greene, and Dr. Rebecca Weaver-Hightower. Their guidance and dedication made this project possible.

I would also like to express my sincerest thanks to Dr. Brett Ommen who began as my adviser on this project. His influence on my scholarship and on my scholarly outlook cannot be understated. Thank you, as well, to past committee members Dr. Birgit Hans and Dr. Sebastian Braun for their input which greatly influenced the direction of my writing.

Finally, I would like to extend my thanks to all of my fellow Communication and Public Discourse graduate students who supported me in all of my scholarly endeavors and shenanigans. I would especially be remiss if I did not thank Mr. David Potter for putting up with me through the good times and the bad times.

To my grandfather, Harold Young.
Thank you for your unending love and support.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the status of the relationship between Natives and non-Natives utilizing powwow as the representative anecdote of the intercultural space of interaction between these two groups. Where most scholars ask how Native Americans use powwow to reclaim Native identity, I shift the focus to non-Natives, whose relationship to powwow has gone largely unexamined. I argue that powwow serves as a public space for staging diversity for non-Natives, a fact that has wide-ranging implications for Natives, too. Utilizing rhetorical theories of ritual communication and publicity as a way to interrogate this relationship, I argue that the publics attending to powwow for Natives and non-Natives legitimate, or confirm, each other. This is done through the metaphorical relationship between identity, authenticity, unity, and diversity. Through Lundberg's and Lacan's theory of rhetoric and publicity, one finds that the economy of tropes exchanged between the two groups buys legitimacy for each group, but often favors non-Native fantasies about Native identity.

I explore three case studies to show how public theory through an economy of tropes is used as a methodological tool. The case studies represent three important ways non-Natives approach powwow. The first, a university sponsored powwow, is representative of academic endeavors to promote diversity and educational experiences. The second, powwow performed by members of the Boy Scouts of America, is representative of non-Native understandings of powwow from groups that are not

inherently Native American. The third, a powwow hosted by a family and smaller community, are representative of family-based, non-competitive powwows. Each case study contains its own important tropes within their discourse economy. However, each case also adds to an understanding of powwow in general. In examining these case studies in relationship and against each other, one finds some important markers of the relational status between Natives and non-Natives.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There continue to be important developments in identity politics when it comes to Native and non-Native relationships. These two particular groups have a long history of conflict and cooperation that dictate the contemporary relationship. Many non-Native Americans want to learn about Native cultures, but the concept of “Natives” they have contact with are a constructed notion in many instances. Instead, they are images constructed—paradoxically—by non-Natives. This has been true for me: I attended a high school with a Native mascot. I grew up watching Westerns with my grandfather, which typically had stories centering on Native Americans. I am a Boy Scout leader, an organization that draws upon non-Native constructed myths about Native Americans to teach boys how to be real men. I am a graduate student at the University of North Dakota, where issues of identity and Nativeness are continually at play, even after the retirement of the university’s former nickname and logo.

One site where non-Natives encounter actual people, rather than images, would appear to be powwow. Where most scholars ask how Native Americans use powwow to reclaim Native identity, I shift the focus to non-Natives, whose relationship to powwow has gone largely unexamined. I argue that powwow serves as a public space for staging diversity for non-Natives, a fact that has wide-ranging implications for Natives, too. I utilize the term Native to refer to individuals that are ethnically native to North America.

In some cases, I also use this the term American Indian interchangeably, but it should be noted that there are some important distinctions between American Indian and Native groups. I use this term strategically because the demographic breakdown of these distinct groups in these case studies is not available, and I want be inclusive of a wide range of individuals that participate in the phenomenon known as powwow.

This project looks at the way non-Natives understand powwow in general by looking at three specific powwows through the lens of psychoanalysis as understood by contemporary rhetorical theory. I argue that non-Natives understand powwow as fulfilling their perceived need to engage in diversity, a commonly circulated concept in contemporary society. Examining powwows at the University of North Dakota, the National Order of the Arrow Conference of the Boy Scouts of America, and the White Eagle Powwow of Des Moines, Iowa, I argue that these powwows circulate particular meanings for Natives and non-Natives alike about identity, authenticity, and unity. Each of these concepts suggests something about the nature of these particular powwows and about powwow in general.

In this first chapter, I outline how intercultural and communication scholars have approached topics about Native Americans. I then provide a history of the relationship between Natives and non-Natives that have influenced the development of powwow, historically and contemporarily. In the second chapter, I outline the theoretical framework of Christian Lundberg that I use for analyzing powwow. I also explain my methodology for the examination. I identified particular words and phrases that were the most important meanings non-Natives could take away from reading about powwow in Native and non-Native coverage of these powwows. The University of North Dakota

powwow emphasizes identity through the use of education, celebration, and honor as seen in chapter three. The National Order of the Arrow Conference emphasizes authenticity through competition, training, and honor, as seen in chapter four. The White Eagle Powwow emphasizes unity through family and understanding, as seen in chapter five.

In chapter six, I conclude that the intercultural interactions between Natives and non-Natives in the context of powwow emphasizes the importance identity politics continue to play in Native and non-Native relationships. The elements of identity, authenticity, and unity developed in each of the case studies demonstrate the attempts of individuals to use language to help facilitate these relationships through language. Through this analysis, researchers, and all interested in intercultural understanding, can have a better idea about the contemporary status of Native to non-Native relationships, and identify a better way to achieve that understanding between these two groups.

Literature Review

Culture is much more difficult to understand than what one is simply presented with in any textbook or even testimony from experts. Culture is in flux as many scholars remind us (E. Black, 1970; McGee, 1977, 1999; Carey, 1988; Rogers, 2006) and ought to be interrogated from two points. First, one must understand one's own role in one's own culture and the motivations behind it. Second, one must attempt to immerse oneself in the understanding of a new cultural form without hasty judgments or rushing to conclusions. Furthermore, this is a very important line of scholarship that looks at culture and communication in a similar vein where communication is at work to maintain the

meanings and practices of humans (Carey, 1988; Charland, 1991; McGee, 1977; Rogers, 2006). Powwow is such an event where cultural worlds collide and the forms of powwow are contingent on the people and institutions participating in creating meaning and understanding for all who attend the event.

Powwow has been a major way that Native peoples have found a way to demonstrate cultural authority (Browner, 2004; V. Deloria, 1988; P. Deloria, 2004; Ellis, 2005). These perspectives have shown how Native people can assert sovereignty and reclaim cultural practices that at one point non-Natives had worked hard to strip away. Powwow is also a way to influence non-Native public and political perspectives (Buddle, 2004; Lawlor, 2006; Sanchez, 2001). For instance, Sanchez (2001) claims “powwow stresses American Indian commonalities in relation to mainstream American culture while also stressing tribal individuality with the American Indian community” (p. 52). Buddle (2004) specifically claims that powwow performances are ways to change the ideoscapes of non-Natives, and can help renegotiate Native and non-Native relationships. However, an understanding of powwow from the non-Native perspective is relatively absent in modern literature. This may be good from the standpoint that many Natives have a greater opportunity to explain what exactly this cultural practice represents. However, non-Natives are invited by Natives to experience powwow and take these experiences with them into the greater public sphere. This, in turn, shapes the way non-Natives interact with Native people. Communication scholars, generally, and rhetoric scholars, specifically, have asked questions about this relationship between Natives and non-Natives.

One major area of rhetorical examination in connection to Native Americans, Native culture, and non-Natives has been in the area of the American Indian Movement (AIM) (Lake, 1983, 1991; Sanchez & Stuckey, 2000) and American Indian agency (J. E. Black, 2009, 2007; Kelly, 2010; Lopenzina, 2003). Lake (1983) was one of the first communication scholars to examine AIM and argued that although many criticized AIM for marginalizing themselves from non-Native sympathizers, one of the goals of the movement was to activate the American Indian audience which had otherwise been inactive. Lake (1991) also argues that the rhetoric of AIM drew upon American Indian rhetoric through its construction of time as sacred. In this way, AIM organizers educated Natives and non-Natives alike in the importance of the historical relationship between the two constituent groups. Sanchez and Stuckey (2000) examined the rhetoric of American Indian activism, and found that American Indians involved in the protests of the 1960s and 1970s faced many of the same struggles other minorities of the time did in their own social movements. One barrier against political action was attempting to educate members of the dominate culture. In order to create better conditions for Native people, the leaders of the American Indian movement were forced to re-educate non-Natives on the history of the American Indian people and to help those individuals understand the material and physical struggle because of that history. Kelly (2007) theorizes the way rhetorical counterinsurgency was used in as a method to label the American Indian Movement as something other than a cultural social movement. He argues that the FBI decided to label AIM as a means to spread communism, and found itself within a counterinsurgent situation. Endres (2011) discusses the attempts to activate non-Native audiences to support AIM participant Leonard Peltier, who was denied clemency and was

accused of murdering two FBI agents at Wounded Knee II. Work on the American Indian Movement has been an important area of research, but research in the areas of representation and identity have been significantly more important for rhetorical scholars in interrogating the role of identity in intercultural communication.

Representation has proven to be a deep area of research for some scholars (Denzin, 2004; Dickinson, Ott, & Aoki, 2006; Feldman, 1994; Fitzgerald, 2010; Lacroix, 2011; Lake, 1997; Marcellus, 2008; Palczewski, 2005; Stuckey & Morris, 1999). Rogers (2007) has argued that appropriation of American Indian symbols has been used by non-Natives to reinforce masculinity within non-Native communities. Using the Southwestern symbol of Kokopelli, a flute player, non-Natives have ignored the cultural meaning of the character, and thus contributed to a misrepresentation of American Indian meaning, generally, and Southwestern tribal meanings, specifically. For Native culture, Kokopelli symbolizes fertility, but in non-Native culture, it represents a free spirit. J. E. Black (2002) has focused on the use of Native American people as mascots for various teams and how American Indian identity becomes a construction and commodity to be traded instead of a respected group of actual people. Constructing the American Indian identity in a particular way is a means of hidden assimilation and micro-aggression. King (2004) makes a similar argument saying that non-Natives borrow identity positions to gain power over American Indians, but, more importantly, American Indian activists are better able to draw power from bringing of the incongruent position of non-Natives to light, causing non-Natives to question such practices. Hofmann (2005) describes the activism that was used to eliminate the Native American mascots, logos, and nicknames at many Minnesota institutions. Hemmer (2008) argues that the appropriation of Native identity to

serve as mascots is a first amendment issue to be taken seriously. J. E. Black (2005) looks at the way Sacagawea, who has become legendary in the American popular mind, was commodified by the U.S. government through the use of her image on the gold dollar coin. A plethora of research on representation has been completed, and, though important, is not the central focus of my research. However, it is important to note that these representations, along with the historical relationships between the U.S. government and Native people explored below, have contributed to the way non-Natives understand indigenous peoples. Another important area of research for critical rhetorical scholars is work on identity construction of and by Native Americans.

A significant amount of work has been done to track ways that Native Americans have tried to represent themselves through constructions of identity. Morris and Wander (1990) argue that the representations in Hollywood and historical constructions of Native and non-Native histories created exigency for Native people to assert their identity. One major event that addressed this need was the Ghost Dance, which Morris and Wander claim to be an early reaction to creating a unified Native identity. More contemporarily, Wounded Knee II, where AIM activists captured and held a small church at the site of the Wounded Knee massacre of Native Americans in 1973 (Endres 2011), also demonstrated their argument. Morris and Wander argue that one of the greatest threats to this unifying identity is that it blinds non-Natives to the distinctions that may exist, rearticulating the representations created by non-Natives. Cushman (2008) tracks down the way Native scholars are different in constructing their own identity compared to other minority scholars noting that self-representation for Native peoples requires evidence of identity. Kelly (2011) explores the sentiment of evidence based identity for Native peoples,

pointing out that in most of the discourse of Native identity is based on blood quantum. Thorton (1998) claims that although blood discourse is incredibly important in Natives making claims to identity, so are assertions to knowledge rights. For instance, where research is being done with Native participants, tribal councils and Native people themselves should have agency to say what gets done with data gathered from their participation going beyond issues of blood quantum. This is a growing body of discourse within Native identity studies (Chilisa, 2012; Niezen, 2009; Pulitano, 2003; Smith, 2012). Although these assertions of identity are important, the history of representation and decreased agency for American Indians led to an urgent need to assert identity for the community. One way for Native Americans to do this is through powwow.

Little research, however, exists on the non-Native public circulation of meanings of powwow. Although research has been done from a Native perspective, this literature does not take the circulations of meaning within discourse into account, especially with non-Natives. This affects the way that researchers have theorized the relationship between Native and non-Native communities. This dissertation proposes looking at non-Native understandings, reactions, and interpretations of media non-Natives encounter associated with powwow to fill this gap.

First, an elementary understanding of non-Native to Native relationships in general is needed. In attempting to provide this understanding, I introduce the reader to the historical and contemporary context those attending to powwow find themselves in. These histories include some of the basic information that non-Natives are introduced to in their primary and secondary education. This history is by no means comprehensive, as such work is well beyond the scope of this work. Instead, I wish to highlight some of the

major influences on non-Native understanding of Native people as facilitated by government policy towards Native Americans. In doing so, I demonstrate why powwow becomes an important venue for examining Native and non-Native relationships. I focus on the history that sets the political policies towards American Indians as central. The policies of the United States government dictated the way most non-Natives viewed American Indians as they attempted to gain land for themselves through homesteading and Western expansion. The relationships that resulted from these policies are the circulated public memory of Natives and non-Natives alike. Most non-Natives do not have an intimate relationship with Native histories because these histories are misremembered for political ends (Philips, 2010; Anderson, 1991). Furthermore, these memories and this history led to the development of powwow and contribute to the context of powwow performances for Natives and non-Natives. For this reason, this history is relevant to this examination because they set the precedent for these relationships and the creation of powwow. I then turn to an examination of relationships specific to powwow based on the literature that must be demonstrated with an explanation of powwow based on Native literature on the subject.

Second, the theoretical framework used in this project will focus exclusively on an examination the tropes, figures of speech meant to specify or gain the attention of the audience (Lundberg, 2012; White, 1985). I examine the ways these circulating tropes in specific publics attending to powwow through the use of rhetorical methods to read public information available through media. This means that words and phrases that are specific to powwow are analyzed to suggest the meanings that are most important. I begin the theoretical framework with a review of public theory in general and end with a

justification for the methodological application of Lundberg's (2012) public theory which draws upon Lacanian theory as a method of rhetorical reading. This particular theory provides a rich heuristic vocabulary beyond that of traditional public theory with an emphasis on rhetorical methodology. A systematic examination of media available concerning three powwows specified for case studies in a five year period will yield what specific tropes circulate in specific powwows within specific publics and yield information about how those tropes and publics contribute to an understanding of a general economy of tropes of powwow. This will address the scholarly gap on non-Native to Native relationships within powwow. It will have the added benefit of extending literature in communication on the social construction of meaning and intercultural communication through psychoanalytic and rhetorical theory.

Third, I focus on three particular powwows as case studies. Each circulates its own tropological understandings while contributing to a general economy for multiple publics. First, I focus on a powwow hosted at the University of North Dakota. This powwow serves as an example of how Native people come together in a specific community and invite non-Natives to attend within a space traditionally occupied by non-Natives. The University of North Dakota has a long history of appropriating Native identity through its usage of the Fighting Sioux nickname. Natives of the community host an annual powwow to help educate non-Natives on Native culture and to celebrate their identity. Second, I focus on the National Order of the Arrow Conference of the Boy Scouts of America as a source of powwow encounters that circulate meanings that are sometimes participated in by Natives, but are largely controlled by non-Natives. This may seem strange. However, people "playing Indian" is not a new phenomenon, and the

cultural “saviors” of Native culture abound in organizations like the Boy Scouts of America. Furthermore, Boy Scout circulations and perpetuations of powwow as cultural practice, read as trope, warrants thorough examination because Boy Scout powwows contribute to a non-Native understanding of powwow. Finally, I focus on the White Eagle multicultural powwow held near Des Moines, IA. Unlike typical powwows that highlight Native culture specifically, Natives and non-Natives both perform traditional cultural dances at this powwow in order to better facilitate cultural understanding for all peoples. This is not to say that other powwows, even those that are being examined here, are not intercultural, but rather that this particular powwow highlights the multi-ethnic aspects of its circumstance. Here, one finds powwow as something altogether different than that expected (P. Deloria, 2004) by non-Natives of a Native powwow or a powwow put on by any non-Native group. Instead, one finds an intercultural endeavor couched in the tropological meaning of powwow. Like the two other powwows examined here, this powwow offers yet another meaning of powwow for non-Natives important for understanding the different ways powwow might be manifested. These particular powwows are not representative of powwow as a whole, but instead offer a window (Young, 1981) into how one might understand how non-Natives encounter powwow in tropological exchanges. Furthermore, they each operate within a general tropological circulation drawing on and contributing to what powwow means for Natives and non-Natives alike. The ultimate goal of this work is to begin to understand how non-Natives have been contemporarily encouraged to understand powwow in their public activity both within each of these case studies and powwow in general.

The conclusions I draw are that there is tropological overlap between Natives and non-Natives where the tropes of education and honor are exchanged and bought into. In attempting to work towards correcting historical and contemporary understandings of non-Natives, Native people with non-Native allies attempt to educate non-Natives. In this way, Native people perform important cultural rituals bringing honor to themselves and to their cultural group. Non-Natives, on the other hand, are also allowed to honor Native people through the discourse of broader tropological economies while also being addressed in this important way by Natives. Before getting to this particular argument, though, one must understand the historical context that led to the understanding of most non-Natives in the United States and to the development of contemporary practices of powwow.

Historical Relationships

The intercultural relationship between non-Natives and Natives in the United States specifically and the North American continent in general has a very long history. These histories, though, can be broken down into three major areas of examination based on the tensions created inter-culturally. This is not an attempt to essentialize the historical relationships between the two groups. Significant amounts have been written on the subject (Aleiss, 2005; Bird, 1996; V. Deloria, 1988, 1997, 2000; P. Deloria, 1998, 2004; Evans-Pritchard, 1987; Siebert, 2015; Rosier, 2012; Washburn, 1989), but for brevity, I provide a minor portion here for basic context. I will consider these three concepts as they relate to Native and non-Native relationships, giving a brief overview of each and detailing in more depth below, beginning with land. Land has played a major historical

role in identity and economic status of the United States. In fact, land ownership continues to be one of the cornerstones of the mythic American Dream. However, land possession has been something historically defined differently for Native people. The practices of the United State federal government have in many ways placed the Native people at a strategically weakened position when negotiating land rights. This has been a major area of Native non-Native relationships both historically and contemporarily.

Land rights have also contributed to questions about tribal sovereignty as well. One of the cornerstones of modern democracy has been the ability to choose freely and independently the future of groups of people for their best interest. The historical actions of non-Natives have led to a great erosion of Native sovereignty that only in recent years has begun to be returned to tribal authority.

Finally, lack of sovereignty has contributed to the very purposeful erosion of Native customs and practices by the United States federal government. This may not be so purposeful for the past 70 years, but under policies of enculturation guised as religious reform, liberal education, and land privatization, many of the traditions of individual tribes were threatened and/or lost only to be recovered through painstaking efforts to revive tribalism by elders and anthropologists.

Land

The relationship between Native and non-Native peoples begins with the narrative of discovery leading to eventual stewardship. The story is well known, and so I will not dedicate much space to retelling that story. However, after Columbus “discovered” the Americas, the story inevitably switched to the colonial story of the new world.

Pommersheim (2009) explains in great detail the relationship between Native peoples and the European colonists, who were focused on economics. The story here, too, is fairly common. The imperial powers, mostly France, Spain, and England had need of raw materials, and the colonists had need for basics such as furs and food. Colonists sought out trade relationships with the local Natives to meet these needs and traded such things as alcohol and firearms for such things as pots and beads. However, this was to change: “As their economic status slipped because of the change in international market forces, Indians and their tribes began to find themselves increasingly politically disadvantaged in dealing with the colonists and their colonies” (Pommersheim, 2009, p.13). As markets became saturated and the economy of the new world became more sophisticated, colonists had less need for Native peoples and their goods. This also meant a decline in the perceived worth of Native people on the part of many settlers.

Lack of respect for Native Americans on the part of some colonialists and their governments, and the need and want for property to continue colonial expansion, eventually led to chaos in the new world. Settlers moved in and took over property and then demanded that colonial governments recognize their property rights. Colonial governments would also engage in taking over Native lands. Ultimately this led to bigger problems for colonial powers, vying for power, and Native peoples, being stripped of land rights, than for settlers. Pommersheim (2009) explains that at issue was the inherent rights to property. On the one side were Natives who believed in rights of property closely related to usufructuary rights in which collective ownership by a group of people allowed for the benefits of the property collectively as well. On the other were colonists

who were interested in creating the best possible economic condition for themselves as individuals, totally ignoring Native rights.

Although such a system of property rights was similar to the notion of usufructuary rights that existed in England in earlier times, it was no longer much practiced, understood, or respected by invading Europeans. Europeans were not interested in Indian conceptions of property, only in identifying the individuals with real (or apparent) right to transfer property that would then be protected and interpreted under English (or other European) law. (Pommersheim, p. 18)

In 1763, the English government attempted to correct the chaos they had created by addressing property rights, especially the recognition of property sales to colonists, in the Royal Proclamation of 1763. However, by the time anyone attempted to correct the problem, too much damage had been done. Even as the American Revolution raged on, Native property rights were ignored. The treaties that had been negotiated prior to independence lost their authority and treaties negotiated by the new United States government would become suspect.

The taking of land by states and settlers without federal authority soon brought trouble for the new government and set later precedent in property rights that would become an indicator of the relationship between the United States Federal Government and Natives all across the country. In 1823, the Supreme Court ruled, in *Johnson v. McIntosh*, that individual non-Natives could no longer purchase lands from American Indians. This was already the standing practice, although not usually enforced. The justification for the ruling was much more important, though. The Supreme Court, under

Chief Justice John Marshall, ruled that Native peoples were to be “dependent” upon the federal government, and this opinion would prove one of the first devastating rulings in property rights, leading to the erosion of Native sovereignty:

The guardian-ward analogy eventually became doctrine in the development of the trust relationship, in which the United States acts as the trustee for the beneficiary tribe (and individual Indians) in regard to matters of (trust) land and natural resources, as well as ‘protecting’ tribes from their ‘deadliest enemies,’ the states. Yet, the precise standard of care for the trustee was, and is, by no means clear. (Pommersheim, 2009, p.105)

The guardian-ward analogy, although conceived under potentially well-meaning terms, as some may argue, it left more questions than answers as Pommersheim (2009) and others (Fletcher, 2010; Fletcher, 2012; Pevar, 2012) point out. Who was to decide what was best or in other words, who would be the acting trustee? The answer lay with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a branch of the war department. Moreover, the decision in *Johnson v. McIntosh* would be solidified in cases brought by the Cherokee people in 1831 and 1832.

The continued loss of Native lands and vanishing sovereignty led to the American Indian wars that culminated in Battle of Little Big Horn in 1876 and retaliation in 1890 at the Massacre of Wounded Knee. Although more violence between Native and non-Native people would continue, on a much smaller scale of course, Wounded Knee served as a turning point, according to Philip Deloria (2004), leading to a perceived change in the ways that Natives handled their role as wards of the United States government. This also

changed the way many non-Natives, especially in government, dealt with and perceived Native people.

One of the most devastating laws passed impacting Native land ownership was the Dawes Act of 1887, officially known as the General Allotment Act. The Dawes Act promoted the private ownership of Native lands to individual American Indians. The impact was to erode collective control over property management. The law stipulated that heads of households would gain ownership of one portion of an allotment totaling not more than 160 acres, and that each adult over the age of 18 years old would have ownership over another 80 acres. It also stated that those under the age of 18 years old could receive 40 acres to be titled to them after their 18th birthday. The thought behind this legislation was that property ownership would promote assimilation into the white community and equality and self-sufficiency for the American Indian while also having the advantage of removing the need for government support for those individuals.

“Implicitly in the ideology behind the law was the idea of the basic sameness of humanity. Just leaving tribal society was, to the originators of the law, comparable to achieving an equal status with whites” (V. Deloria, 1988, p.46). Vine Deloria (1988) explicates, as tribes adopted the premise of the Dawes Act, they continued to lose the recognition, thus support, they had traditionally received from the United States Federal Government. The law was amended again in 1891, 1906, and 1910, and active termination of all tribal lands seemed imminent.

One of the problems associated with the Dawes Act was its inexplicit definition of who was to carry out the program and what the effects would be. Pommersheim (2009) argues, “The naivety flowed from the almost total lack of discussion and understanding

of how to implement such a policy. There was little understanding of Indian culture and almost no communication with Indian people about what they wanted” (p.127). Such precedent should not surprise anyone, though. The government had already decided that such rash decisions in Indian country were par for the course (Fletcher, 2010). Even as the Bureau of Indian Affairs negotiated its new positions in the Interior Department, more problems were created by their inability to underestimate the position they were in. “The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), the agency to be charged with carrying out this responsibility, would have unfettered discretion in implementing this policy, but it had no administrative competence or legislative oversight in carrying out this massive undertaking” (Pommersheim, 2009, p.127).

Allotment was devastating. Native property totaling 138 million acres in 1887, which in and of itself was a totalizing loss from property controls prior to and even shortly after first contacts, was depleted to below 50 million acres in 1934. Of the lands lost, 26 million acres were lost to individual Natives, as private property, in an attempt to enculturate them as non-Natives, and 64 million acres were claimed by the federal government as surplus tribal lands.

Land rights played a major role in the defining of Native sovereignty and cultural practices. Although questions of property would continue, the Dawes Act tilted the property rights scale significantly in favor of the federal government’s power to dictate Native community’s futures. Until it was challenged much later, the courts continued to draw upon *Johnson v. McIntosh* in justifying the Dawes Act’s premise eroding Native sovereignty. As time passed, though, the federal government abandoned the allotment program. This is most likely because of the boarding school era that actively intended to

erase Native culture, although Pommersheim (2009) notes that the abandoning of allotment might have been a step in the right direction: “After the allotment era, Congress began to pass statues with the sole purpose of conferring citizenship on certain segments of the Indian population. None of these statues required the surrender of tribal membership. Taken as a whole, they reflect movement away from the naturalization model and the attendant elements of racial animus” (p.163). What is clear, though, is that Native and non-Native relationships were still strained and in flux (Wilkins, 1997; Deloria & Wilkins, 1999).

Sovereignty

Continued losses of land led to the ultimate blow to sovereignty in a 1902 decision in the case of Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock (Fletcher, 2012) giving the United States Federal Government ultimate control over tribes mostly to the detriment of tribal rights. In dispute was the federal government’s continued allotment of Native lands, conceded in treaties signed years before, to non-Native settlers. In this particular case, Kiowa Chief Lone Wolf claimed that the United States congress violated the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867 by giving Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache lands to white settlers. The court upheld the policy of anti-Native sovereignty, noting that American Indians were considered wards of the United States as set down in the Johnson v. McIntosh decision, and as clarified in 1831 in the case of the *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* granting government power over Native properties.

The Lone Wolf decision presented problems for Native communities in sovereignty cases based on the court’s decision to take itself out of the picture. The court

in *Lone Wolf* ruled that treaties were a plenary power not subject to judicial review. Plenary power, first cited in the *Gibbons v. Ogden* case in 1824, did not allow for the review of treaties by the court and thus negated the court's liability in such matters. The plenary power doctrine basically allowed for the U.S. Constitution to be interpreted according to the spirit of its intent. Pommersheim (2009) argues, "The violations of treaty guarantees, taking another's property without consent, and blatant self-dealing constituted the reality to be avoided, not confronted" (p.137).

Sovereignty is not limited to issues associated with land. Wilkins (1997) and Deloria and Wilkins (1999) outline an even more important notion. Sovereignty also deals with a group's ability to define group inclusion and practices both by law and by cultural practice. Allotment practices ultimately led to a doctrine of assimilation. Once a Native became a private individual with private property, she/he gave up official tribal affiliation, according to the federal government. Furthermore, after containment of American Indian people on reservations, the role of the BIA within the war department became questionable. With Natives seemingly pacified according to the government, the BIA shifted to the Interior Department, and a greater role was presented to non-government agencies within Native communities.

The Christian church was the most active non-government agency to find a role in the Americanizing of the American Indian. Both Catholic and Protestant sects advocated for a role in the lives of Natives, and, as Vine Deloria (1988) points out, the various churches got their way with the government arbitrarily giving spheres of influence to certain sectors of the faith. Many Natives were able to keep their traditional lifestyle despite church influence (DeMallie & Parks, 1989), and even after conversion, many

found a way to interpret their traditional beliefs within church doctrine (V. Deloria, 1988). With the rise of the boarding schools, that sovereignty would become more important.

Boarding schools and day schools served as another way, on top of transferring tribal land to private property, to assimilate American Indians. Few non-Natives outside of the academy really understand the era and its impact on Native culture. The major presumption behind school boarding was that erasing traditional Native culture would result in reprogramming Native peoples to accept Western civilization and promote assimilation. Advocates of the policy targeted some of the most vulnerable in the population. Niezen (2000) argues that “Young people, whose personal sovereignty was still fragile and whose beliefs were still malleable, were the focus of a new phase of cultural annexation” (p.47). However, there was a strategic build up to this policy.

Richard Pratt, an Indian educator, built the coalition to erase much of Native culture with the founding of the Carlisle School based on his work with Native prisoners at Fort Marion in Florida. What Pratt wished to demonstrate was that “Blanket Indians,” or those who chose a traditional way of life, could be taught to be “civilized,” as defined by Pratt. His first pupils were those incarcerated at Fort Marion. There he taught a curriculum in English and Grammar along with other courses infused with Christian theology. In the years he taught there, he demonstrated his “effectiveness” putting on demonstrations for onlookers. Pratt was unsatisfied by the impact he was making. Wanting to do more, Pratt opened the Carlisle Boarding school in 1879 in an old Civil War barracks in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

Pratt was effective at gaining students, attaining the timid support of many Native leaders including Chief Spotted Tail, who would later work ardently to remove the Native children from the school. The curriculum would be made to teach children how the beliefs of their ancestors were inherently “inferior” and “barbarous,” according to Pratt, compared to American/European culture while also promoting Christianity. This was first done with the choosing of a non-Indian name; this was an act seen as highly hostile by Native people (Niezen, 2000). Pratt continued to showcase Native children as successes of his ability to Americanize the American Indian. This would have major consequences for all Native peoples.

Boarding schools were, by the 1880s commonly seen as the answer to the civilizing initiative begun a decade earlier; and it was usually clearly understood that parents would not be willing to give up their children to school superintendents, that schools must impose such a form of education by force if necessary... Mandatory education, with boarding schools as the vehicle of assimilation, was called for as a way to resolve the “Indian problem,” the problem faced by expansion of the state into territories occupied and used by people with no conception of “improvement” of the land. (Niezen, 2000, p.66-67)

And so the individual and tribal sovereignty of Native peoples would be stripped again. This time not through land, but through cultural identity, and some Indian people had very little choice. In 1885, there were 114 boarding schools with 6,200 Native children attending (Adams, 1995). By the 1900s, boarding school attendance in many areas had become compulsory (Niezen, 2000) for Native children where BIA officials

gave power to churches running boarding schools, stripping American Indian families of their familial connections in favor of teaching them the way to be “real” Americans. In 1925, there were 153 boarding schools and 154 day schools with over 21,000 American Indian students attending (Adams, 1995).

Roughly 84% of Native children (about 22,000) were attending boarding or other government sanctioned schools at the turn of the century. That number would decrease to 36% by 1925, though that was still 23,000 students (Adams, 1995, p. 320). However, consequences were distressing on an individual level. Young children were only taught English and were taught by overzealous ministers to accept Christ and the teachings of the Bible wholesale. Many grew up without knowing the practices of their people, and were ostracized by their older family members. Niezen (2000) argues that this was far more devastating yet for the culture as a whole, “With language and economic pursuits usually integral to the community’s spirituality, those who attended residential school were often unable to connect with elders on another level: they lacked the qualifications for spiritual participation in the community.” Furthermore, many of those who had attended boarding schools would not pass on the cultural knowledge they did have to their children because of their experiences of boarding schools (Braun, Gagnon, & Hans, 2011). Having lost a connection with the community, practices would soon become known only to those few who had rejected non-Native indoctrination at a very early time in the process. It was thought by many Americans that much of the culture of American Indian people would die out. Although many thought Native culture might be inferior (Braun, Gagnon, & Hans, 2011), many also thought it was worth saving but only in terms of its academic worth to the study of beliefs and practices of “primitive” people.

By 1920, the idea of containment was beginning to be abandoned by policy makers. Containment had been linked to a fear of Native violence outbreak. Philip Deloria (2004) argues, “Outbreak, rebellion, uprising- such words revealed a fear of Indian people escaping the special, economic, political, social, and military restrictions placed on them by the reservation regime” (p.21). By this time, it seemed unlikely that Native peoples would become violent because of the material conditions they were forced to face. Under BIA commissioner John Collier, Native people found sympathy (Blackman, 2013).

Collier influenced passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934, and actively worked to reinstate sovereignty for recognized tribes. A major part of this was the return of lands and the rejection of Native boarding schools as compulsory. Religious practices such as dancing, smoking peyote, and other things of this nature, were allowed to be practiced much more openly. Collier’s actions were also followed up in the 1940s and the 1960s with increased federally recognized sovereignty laws.

However, as Blackman (2013) notes, sovereignty would not be enough following the Indian New Deal. “Compounding the situation was the inability of Native Americans to operate from a position of unity... Most tribal groups were decentralized and factionalized into a number of strongly held view points” (Blackman, 2013, p.36). Loss of tribal lands, rejected during the 1930s under Collier, would reach a climax, though, in the 1960s, and it was actively combated through the American Indian Movement giving rise to Red Power and Native American activism (Sanchez & Stuckey, 2000; Cobb & Fowler, 2007; Shreve, 2012)

Sparked by Indian reorganization, the BIA began to recognize some American Indian groups which had already been recognized by the government, returning more active tribal land rights on their reservation, and allowing others to purchase individual allotments back and create settlements in their own right doing the job of slowly gaining back those rights. Some claimed the importance of the American Constitution in encouraging the federal government to act in favor of Native land sovereignty, but Pommersheim notes the naivety in such thinking. "...basic constitutional principles do not appear to have much traction in Indian law" (Pommersheim, 2009, p.65). The new direction of sovereignty this has spurred is what is inherently important, but this has not always and not typically been the case (Pommersheim, 2012).

The historical loss of sovereignty is certainly a problem that many involved in the process must address to build better relationships with Native peoples. Vine Deloria notes that American Indians are probably more pragmatic about their relationship to the federal government. "It would be fair to say that the Indian people are ambivalent about all this. They fully realize that with no funds for investment in social services they are dependent upon the federal government for services which the ordinary citizen provides for himself and which other poor do not receive except under demeaning circumstances" (V. Deloria, 1988, p.124).

One thing that ought to be recognized, though, is that recent precedent has recognized equal footing for tribes within certain parts of the government structure. For instance, all recognized tribes are now, more or less, treated equally within the Bureau of Indian Affairs. "Thus a tribe is able to exercise its fundamental sovereignty at all levels of government" (V. Deloria, 1988, p.130). This means that in recent rulings in the courts

and other general dealings with the federal government, Native Americans have been recognized with power that they have historically been denied, although Natives do continue to get treated as wards. Furthermore, the general public, meaning mostly non-Natives, has begun to sympathize with the American Indian, but many still find do not see a justification for upholding former treaties. “In many instances, when the tribes have attempted to bring their case before the public, it has turned a deaf ear, claiming that the treaties are some historical fancy dreamed up by the Indian to justify his irresponsibility” (V. Deloria, 1988, p.41). Even when sovereignty is recognized, it is not always recognized for all tribal communities. In particular, groups of American Indians that traditionally occupied areas east of the Appalachian Mountains find it more difficult to get sovereignty rights recognized in court compared to those in the west (Wilkins & Lomawaima, 2001).

Custom and practices.

Loss of land eventually impeded sovereignty for American Indians. This impacted many of the customs and practices of Native peoples, ultimately shaping the development of powwow. As outlined above, boarding schools promoted assimilation, which eventually deteriorated relationships between young American Indians and elders who handed down customs and practices in under normal conditions. This was not the only problem, though.

After placing Natives on reservations, new practices associated with the Ghost Dance gave rise to new legislation and regulations to curtail Native practices. This especially impacted those who hoped to continue to practice traditional life. The Ghost

Dance, thought to be a ritual dance that could bring about an Indian messiah to provide justice for Indian people, began to grow in popularity. With this came a fear that the movement would turn violent as Native people would band together to perform the dance. This led to the ultimate move to curtail all Native dance and ritual under direction of the Interior Department, starting in 1883, and coming to a culmination in 1923 under BIA Commissioner Charles Burke (Ellis, 2005; Murphy, 2007). This also justified, to BIA agents that is, the use of violence to end all practices deemed potentially disruptive. Eventually, the Ghost Dance would spread to many nations, including to the Pine Ridge Reservation via Big Foot's band, leading to the Massacre of Wounded Knee (P. Deloria, 2004).

Native religious customs went underground and were seen as a way to defy Indian agents' authority. Troutman (2011) states, "Drawing upon symbols of American patriotism, they defied oppressive regulations against dancing and articulated their own definition of what it meant to be a citizen" (p.91). Taking practices underground proved a useful tactic for combatting assimilation, but there were problems for those who had attempted to assimilate and then return to tribal customs and practices.

Again, under Indian reorganization, Natives would be granted more autonomy and would eventually begin to rebuild their cultural practices. Many elders would only share with individuals who were sincere in their pursuit of knowledge. In the early 1900s, the criteria was fairly weak to gain knowledge. This would lead to problems for Native peoples that would share cultural knowledge with anthropologists and other researchers.

Academic researchers bemoaned the fact that Native practices were being destroyed systematically at the hands of the government and argued that these cultures

needed to be “preserved.” Such work meant collecting knowledge and artifacts that would then be categorized and archived. Theories of culture as static and scientific would abound in this era creating an environment of essentializing people. “The fundamental thesis of the anthropologist is that people are object for observation, people are then considered objects for experimentation, for manipulation, and for eventual extinction” (V. Deloria, 1988, p.81). These theories have been critiqued heavily (Said, 1979; Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Conquergood, 2013) but their impact has been clear: dehumanizing human practice.

For their part, anthropologists and ethnologists developed theories and practices that were created to help “re-educate” Native people in an attempt to correct for what the federal government had done. This became a major problem for American Indian activists like Vine Deloria who argues, “Reindianizing them [Native people] meant according to a white man’s idea of what they were like in the past and should logically become in the future” (p.92). Many of those who would grant knowledge to researchers would not totally understand the real motives behind learning about the practices and beliefs of Native people, meaning that the cultural importance of the practices would be forgotten. Coupled with the loss of this culturally held knowledge during the boarding school era, those who sought out the answers from the academy would be criticized by those practicing traditional culture.

Thus many ideas that pass for Indian thinking are in reality theories originally advanced by anthropologists and echoed by Indian people in an attempt to communicate the real situation... few Indians recognize that the condition was artificial from start to finish. The people were innocently

led astray and even the anthropologists did not realize what had happened.

(V. Deloria, 1988, p.82-87)

This quote suggests that although the practices of Native people were attempted to be “saved” by non-Native scholars, the scholars, in some cases, made mistaken extrapolations, according to Deloria.

The intersection of land, sovereignty, and customs, and beliefs would heavily influence the way non-Native and Native people relate to each other. In the wake of turn-of-the-century era American attempts to right the wrongs, Natives would find tactics to change non-Native perspectives. Most would be encouraged to conform to stereotypical expectations created by non-Native culture (P. Deloria, 2004). Such stereotypes would be created by the historical development of powwow, but as Natives began to assimilate, they would compete in American sports, popular culture music performances, and other practices that led to mobility and visibility within the non-Native world (P. Deloria, 2004). This does not mean that Native people accepted transgressions by the non-Indian world without resentment. Instead, Philip Deloria (2004) argues that this led to the creation of Native strategy. He argues, “Fear and resignation helped shape Indian people’s consciousness as colonized subjects while at the same time calling up a durable sense of resentment and resistance” (p.43).

Chief among the goals of such resistance was inclusion in American society. Such tactics would ultimately lead to more autonomy. “As an argument for nothing less than political autonomy, sovereignty has always lived, in the American context, in tension with the powerful idea of *inclusion*” (P. Deloria, 2004, p.234), and Native people would find it in participation in non-Native culture.

Today, many Native people have worked with some non-Natives to correct the past and have taken control of some Native American customs and practices; this is not to say that there is no room for progress nor that there is not a significant amount of work to do. Native and non-Natives continue to struggle to negotiate their power and subjectivities. However, as should be apparent, this history would have a major impact on the practice of powwow.

Historical Powwow

Powwow, although affected by the historical relationship outlined above, has a longer and more detailed history worth consideration here. Native people have had dance infused with their cultures for many years. In fact, it was during the first years of contact that non-Natives would be privileged to experience Native dance.

Indian people of all tribes of course had performance traditions built around dance and religious practice, but these were meant for Indian audiences. First performances for non-Indians most likely came as part of diplomatic protocols. As contact zones became busier and more widely spread, non-Indian visitors increasingly took Native ceremonies as entertaining spectacles. (P. Deloria, 2004, p.57)

Contemporary powwow, though, is influenced by the traditional practices of dancing that were not explicitly linked to what we know as powwow and the popularity of Wild West Shows.

Under assimilation directives and laws, such as those created and upheld by Commissioner Burke, both religious dance, like the Ghost Dance, and non-religious

dance was outlawed on reservations. Natives, especially those living on reservations, worked to make sure dancing became more public. In an attempt to promote the practice, some Natives began holding dancing celebrations on American holidays such as Memorial Day and Independence Day. These celebrations were read as a demonstration of the success of assimilation practices by BIA agents, and were allowed in celebration of their successes (Ellis, 2005). Native people understood this as a negotiation of Native identity in American society. However, off reservation, as in Indian and Wild West shows, dancing found value with non-Native audiences (Buddle, 2004; Ellis, 2005), allowing for an infusion of traditional and newer forms of dance.

As Natives lost lands and were pushed to stationary lifestyles on reservations, Natives would find an escape, both literal and emotional, from reservations in the Wild West Shows of William Cody, better known as Buffalo Bill, among others (McNenly, 2012). Amongst the most famous of Show Indians was Chief Sitting Bull. Cody's shows took on similarities of the Roman theater in the Colossus minus the deadly consequences. Performances with Native peoples would often be crafted to reenact actual battles of the Indian Wars where American armies would dominate. However, Philip Deloria (2004) argues that these performances served a purpose to "show Indians' highly masculine violence could, in fact, be simultaneously empowering (in relation to the hapless audience) and disempowering in their perpetual defeat at the hands of Cody" (p.65). Wild West shows allowed Native people to leave the reservation and travel the country and travel to Europe in some cases. Furthermore, Ellis (2003) notes that the actual impact the Wild West Show had on those who performed is unclear. On one hand, Native people were asked to experience the humiliation of a fantasized defeat while playing to a

particular stereotype crafted in large part by non-Natives. On the other hand, Natives were being paid to perform acts that they might otherwise be doing as well and were allowed freedom from the despotism and plagues of early reservation life. McNenly (2012) notes that while some scholars suggest that Natives had little power in their dealings with non-Natives, this was not the entire case in Wild West Shows. “Native people’s goals and lives are not limited by, or simply a response to, their relationships with dominant society and structures of power” (McNenly, 2012, p. 53). Instead, Native performers had a fair amount of agency when seeking employment and leaving employment in shows. This does not deny the fact that agency and power were unequal or that Natives were exploited in many cases. However, it does demonstrate that resistance could come when Native people asserted their own identities in performances (McNenly, 2012; Krystal, 2012).

Wild West Shows continued to grow in popularity, and Cody had many imitators follow in his steps. As the rise of Indian performances rose, there was a shift in the purpose for such performances. Philip Deloria (2004) argues a “shift in authority, from the real performer to the spectator’s judgment and desire, would be key to move away from Cody’s reenactment of nineteenth-century Indian violence and toward the imaginative images of Indian violence that would characterize the twentieth century” (p.73). What he suggests is that these performances would set the expectations non-Natives would have for Native people in media, such as Western movies, a growing genre with the birth of film in that time, and in the normative interactions between non-Natives and American Indians (P. Deloria, 2004; Murphy, 2007).

Powwow dancing would also change as film matured and reenactment shows would lose their novelty and utility. Many Natives witnessed the profitability and value of Indian performances. Moreover, with dances being actively discouraged until 1920, Native people transformed into powwow to legitimate Native culture within a non-Native society. Natives held special dances, the precursors of powwow today, on the Fourth of July and Memorial Day calling them powwow, but allowing them to engage in age old dancing culture. In this way Natives were able to change non-Native expectations and gain agency over parts of Native culture.

One major problem, though, was that researchers had ignored the impact of Cody and those that imitated his success in promoting the making an argument for traditional Native cultural practices. This has caused confusion for non-Natives in understanding the origin of powwow. Individuals like V. Deloria argue that non-Natives thought that the dances in Wild West Shows were always practiced by Native people. Anthropologists argued that Native people were essentially a dancing people and needed to reclaim that history, suggesting this relationship. One way was through Wild West Shows demonstrations. Criticism is found in this argument:

In fact, the people did keep up a substantial number of customs. But these customs had been transposed into church gatherings, participation in county fair, and tribal celebrations, particularly fairs and rodeos. The people did Indian dances. BUT THEY DIDN'T DO THEM ALL THE TIME... Today summers are taken up with one great orgy of dancing and celebrating as each small community of Indians sponsors a weekend

powwow for the people in the surrounding communities (V. Deloria, 1988, p. 87)

According to V. Deloria, the dances at powwow were only influenced by historical dances but some Natives and non-Natives thought these were long established practices. Therefore, some attempted to replicate dances from Wild West Shows as representative of former practices. Both charges, of historical authenticity, through the actual practices of Native people prior to containment, and anthropological influence, through which some researchers mistakenly replicated non-traditional practices, are true. What is important to note, though is the fact that Native culture was showcased in the most positive light within powwow as troops and families would travel and perform for non-Native audiences around the country with little to no non-Native influence over the performance. This autonomy and fondness for powwow led to the contemporary Native construction of powwow.

Contemporary Powwow

Historical powwow eventually would give rise, through governmental succession of authority and American Indian activism, to powwow of today. However, one of the major issues I have presented here is that, like Philip Deloria (2004) argues, our understandings of powwow are shaped by our expectations of how Native people will, or should, act at powwow. These expectations on behalf of non-Natives that do not understand the origin of this practice has been a major problem for researchers as they attempt to describe powwow and its meaning. This is an area that is addressed through the case studies of this dissertation. What are the expectations that are encouraged

through a tropological exchange? Before addressing such a question, one should consider the meaning of contemporary powwow from a Native perspective. The definition I offer here is by no means completely encompassing. No description can be made of such a cultural practice that is continually manifesting itself through its own practice and never for each individual (Krystal, 2012). What I present here is a representative understanding based on the available information from some notable Native scholars.

To begin, one must understand some essential defining characteristics of contemporary powwow. There are two broad forms of contemporary powwow that ought to be recognized here: those that are private powwows hosted by families and friends to celebrate personal achievements, and celebrations and public powwows hosted by large powwow committees to celebrate Native culture and facilitate cultural contests. Personal powwows often contain very personal songs, dances, and ceremonials (Young Bear & Theisz, 1994) and are not appropriately read by traditional theories of public for they do not function as a place of public tropological exchange the way that individuals like Sanchez (2001) and Buddle (2004) argue.

The second form, public powwow, is often staged as celebrations of the Native American way of life, meaning powwow and contemporary lifestyles (Sanchez, 2001). Many of these powwows are hosted on tribal properties to bring tourism, on college campuses to promote cultural engagement, or in other public spaces to promote cultural exchange. These practices, among others, reinforce their communication as ritual importance as well as their cultural maintenance for both Natives and non-Natives. Furthermore, these powwows often invite those both inside and outside of the Native

American community. These public displays are invitational by nature to a broader public audience in that their meanings are reinforced and extended by participation of those outside of the community. But how do they operate as public as has been explained above? One should look to Native American literature first to track the economy of tropes, then to the non-Native to find complementary and divergent understandings.

There are four major elements to public powwows that get circulated amongst the literature of Native and non-Native scholars. It should be noted that these are not the only elements, but are the most prominent ones. First, music and dance are essential to one's understanding of powwow culture. Second, regalia is inherently tied to dance, and contributes to the meaning behind the dances. Third, giveaways at a powwow are a means of honoring particular life events for Native people. Finally, cultural mediation plays an important role for Native and non-Native individuals in the space of exchange.

The first key element that non-Natives must understand is the importance of Native American music and dance. Traditions passed down through stories and songs are common in each Native community, although many have their own distinct significance (Young Bear & Theisz, 1994; Theisz 2005; Browner, 2009). As a cultural artifact, music has played an important role in the lives of all Native Americans (Ellis, 2005; Browner, 2004) as a means of honoring and remembering the past, present, and future (Young Bear & Theisz, 1994). Sercombe (2009) notes that in Northwestern tribes, as with most other Native communities, nearly all songs have some kind of spiritual meaning. He goes on to claim, "when the human and spirit worlds are thus linked in song, story tellers [singers] and listeners alike recognize the power of that evocation" (p. 49).

One example is Lakota musical culture. As in most Native cultures, music plays an important part in Lakota culture. Young Bear and Theisz (1994) explain that each band had an appointed head singer for all ceremonies and gatherings. This individual was responsible for calling all tribe members to events of the tribe, the passing down of songs for any occasion, and the creation of new songs to honor members and events. Today, drum leaders and lead singers serve these latter two purposes and these obligations are associated with major cultural power. As Ellis (2005) claims, “Power, knowledge, and status are at stake, and for many people the powwow is a way to assert a claim to one form or another of those things... Song knowledge, for example, is hotly contested, for singing carries considerable prestige and power,” (p.9).

Moreover, Young Bear explains at length how individuals drummed and sang in their own homes, continuing oral traditions within the family. Furthermore, healing aspects of music, in ceremony and outside of spiritual contexts, were recognized by Native Americans.

One of the things my dad used to talk about was that a long time ago the Lakota people never had psychiatrists, they never had mind problems or social problems, because every tipi or home always had a hand drum in it and somebody in the family was singing. He could always get that drum and would sing songs in the evening, or in the morning he would sing. That kept singing in the family. Happy feelings, sad feelings, or whatever feelings that family was going through would have songs that fit the mood. (Young Bear & Theisz, 1994, p. 46)

These healing aspects that Young Bear passes along to the reader demonstrate the inherent healing properties thought to be within the songs used by the Lakota people as with many Native communities. These songs speak to the soul and body. For Native Americans, there is a balance among spiritual, natural, physical, and emotional health, and as Vander notes, “often...power from the natural world to people is through, or as, song” (2009, p. 114). She goes on to note that the proper performance of song, dance, and word has great power to affect well-being. The most important element of song for many Native peoples is the drum.

The drum serves as a sacred connection to the heartbeat of the people attending the powwow, and in some instances of a larger tribal identity. Young Bear (Young Bear & Theisz, 1994) recalls that “old people said the drum was the heartbeat of *uncí* (grandmother) earth, the sound of the vibrating in the earth” (p.47). Von Rosen (2009) documents the importance of the drum with Passamoquoddy traditional singers showing the journey to bring drum traditions back to Native people of the Northeast.

Dancing is inherently tied to the music of powwow and is yet another important element. Each has its own style and regalia tied to it. Perhaps the most representative element of powwow, most non-Natives recall this aspect first and foremost. Dance styles, content, and meaning have evolved through the history of powwow. As demonstrated above, warrior society reenactments after battles and hunts were predominately the beginnings of powwow dance. As powwow evolved, the need for many types of dances led to the inclusion of many styles and types. Here I will outline six contemporary styles in Northern powwow, attempting to show the broad relationships through history. I will begin with one of the more common dances to come out of the warrior societies.

Grass Dance, otherwise known as Omaha dance, is historically considered the precursor for most contemporary dance, according to Browner (2004). She recalls the long history of honored warriors stomping down the grass (p.20). This is echoed by the narrative of Young Bear (Young Bear & Theisz, 1994). Browner (2004) quotes an Oglala Lakota woman saying “As they [the dancers after returning from a successful raid or war party] went into the dance arena before the People, they would stomp down the grass with their feet” (p.21). Grass Dance continues to be a favorite for young men to participate in. In contemporary Grass Dance, young men use yarn to imitate the grass that their ancestors would use as decoration for their regalia. The typical Grass Dancer will have a cape, apron, cuffs, and leggings decorated with hundreds of long pieces of yarn or ribbon meant to imitate the movement of grass in the wind as they dance. The footwork associated with Grass Dance makes the style more appropriate for younger men to participate in it. The dance is aerobic and includes significant amounts of fancy foot work that might have been used to demonstrate how their ancestors flattened the grass.

Another form of dance closely associated with warrior society is the men’s traditional dance. The form and design of regalia specifically can speak to the tribal preference of the individual participant or of the powwow venue specifically. Regalia typically includes a breastplate, choker, ribbon shirt, bustle, leggings, moccasins, and some hand material such as a fan or rattle. Footwork is much slower than in the Grass Dance, and the body is used in more definitive ways to mark the motions of animals (Browner, 2004). This dance contains many sub-forms as well, such as the “duck and dive” song, or the “sneak up” song. Each of these forms has a particular expectation of

performance style in tune with the music. Moreover, each of these relates in some form to the history of telling stories through dance.

The last men's style dance I will present here is the modern Fancy Dance. Having its roots most likely in Grass Dance history, Fancy Dance first premiered in its current form in Oklahoma after the First World War (Browner, 2004). This style combines some key elements of traditional dance attire with the fancy footwork and long fringe of the Grass Dance. The improved flashiness of the dance stems most likely from the increased showmanship and competition at powwow as it evolved into what it is today. In Fancy Dance, dancers wear bright neon colors and use reflective material to gain a judge's attention. They will also wear a back and neck bustle made from neon colored feathers, often set off by mirrors and other reflective material. They will also use dance whips, sticks with long strings and feathers attached, to create a bigger show. Dance steps are wild and often include ruffling of the feathers and cartwheels to show a beautiful performance of agility, endurance, and speed.

Women, too, have their place in contemporary powwow. Women participate in at least three different categories that are related to the men's categories. I will first consider women's traditional. Even though men were traditionally the only ones to dance, women had their role as well in warrior society rituals. Women, for the most part, would dance around the outside of the powwow ring in support of the warriors and their achievements. Today, the women's Traditional Dance, also known as Buckskin Dance, continues this tradition in competition. Women who dance Traditional Dance will have regalia that typically is a dress, sometimes of cotton fabric or of buckskin. A blanket will be draped over one arm with fringe hanging down and a fan will be held in the other. Footwork

resembles a side to side shuffle as the circle rotates; however, in some powwows women will stay in one spot as they dance on the outside of the circle.

Another important dance for women is the Jingle Dress Dance. This dance stems from a vision granted to a grandfather who prayed for a way to save his granddaughter who seemed likely to die. As the story goes he was told to make a special dress and instruct his granddaughter to dance in a special way. He did as instructed and she became better. The story is not entirely accepted in this fashion as Browner (2004) points out. There is at least one other narrative Browner presents, but both have the same general form: a special dress is made and an special dance is performed to promote healing. Jingle dresses are constructed using cotton fabric to which many tin tobacco lids are attached. Some believe that the number should be about 365 and that each jingle is a prayer, one per day. Young women, as the dance is athletic, are said to honor their elders by participating in the dance. Like the women's Traditional Dance, Jingle dress dancers typically shuffle side foot around the outside of the circle. As they do, they move their bodies to make the tobacco lids jingle, moving up and down and side to side. They will not usually carry anything in their hands, but if they do, it is typically a fan.

The final dance I consider in detail is the Fancy Shawl Dance. This dance style resembles the men's Fancy Dance in many respects. Regalia features a slimming dress of bright colors and a shawl spanning a woman's arm span coming down the middle to behind the knees. Shawls will typically be decorated or constructed with bright colors and with long flowing ribbon for fringe. Also called the Butterfly Dance, the narrative of the dance performs a transformation from caterpillar to butterfly (Browner, 2004). Young women will begin cocooned in their shawls towards the beginning of Fancy Shawl songs

and eventually emerge with the shawl imitating the wings of the butterfly. Footwork focuses on fast spinning and unique movement of the “wings” in time with the fancy footwork. Although this does not consider all dance types or sub-styles, these represent the most common dance styles seen at contemporary powwow. Each has a unique history and presentation. One can see the importance of music, dance, and the regalia that gives meaning to the powwow. However, two final elements should be mentioned. Giveaways, where individuals, usually Natives, bring items to be given to those less fortunate, usually fellow Natives, in recognition for their success, at a powwow perform an essential cultural role in powwow for Native peoples. This is not to say that non-Natives are not sometimes involved in giving or receiving at these events. These also inform a practice of cultural mediation. Cultural mediation at a powwow is an important element to the circulation of tropes both for Natives and non-Natives (Sanchez, 2001; Buddle, 2004).

First, giveaways function as a means to celebrate important life events in Native culture (Fowler, 2005; Roberts, 2005; Young Bear & Theisz, 1994). Fowler (2005) says, “The components of powwow ritual, including the giveaway ‘special,’ offer opportunities to express identity at the individual, family community, tribe, and joint-tribe levels” (p.77). Roberts (2005) says that giveaways are clearly focused on development of relationships between the individual givers and the tribal community stating explicitly “Indeed, in many ways the community itself is formed in a powwow giveaway” (p.162). Finally, contrasting with non-Native culture, Young Bear shows some of the meaning behind the relational work being done in this event:

Why do all this--- give so many things away to people, sometimes
hundreds of dollars’ worth or even a couple of thousand? The traditional

way of thinking tells us that when you have material possessions, the best thing you can do with them is to give them away, especially to those who are without or are having a hard time. A leader is not the guy who can store up and keep lots of things, but instead someone who will share them with the people. We are taught as young boys and girls that in order to honor ourselves and our relatives, we should always be ready to share.

(Young Bear & Theisz, 1994, p.57)

Giveaways enact the cultural values of the individuals. These performances at powwow further demonstrate the need to recognize meaning as publically created as giveaways are performed not just for the giver and receiver, but for the community as a whole to pass on traditional ways of life and to mediate between cultural practices of the people attending.

Powwow serves as a cultural mediation between Native peoples of differing backgrounds and understandings. The former narratives about song and dance demonstrate some of the struggles that have gone into defining powwow culture and this continues today. Sanchez (2001) argues that this intertribal interaction leads to negotiated meaning of Native culture and what might be the most powerful tool for Natives to use to claim power in a broader American public. From the aspect of song and music, powwows and Native culture have been influenced by the traveling of songs and prayers across tribal lines and ethnic lines. 49ers, for example, are Native imagined songs that include vocalics consistent with post reservation powwow songs, blended with English lyrics. Dance, too, changes as powwow participants negotiate meaning. For instance, the inclusion of round dances, crow hops, Southern Straight Dance, and so forth can be seen from local powwow to local powwow, but is not always a given. Depending on powwow

organizers, the emcee, and participants, these may be negotiated the day of a powwow, demonstrating the free flowing exchange of cultural meaning.

Summary

Powwow has a strong cultural meaning steeped in socially constructed meaning weaved with the general historical relationship non-Natives have with Native peoples. Although Natives are active in other areas of political deliberation and cultural restoration, powwow serves as one of the primary scenes of Native culture for non-Natives. This means that Natives are generally allowed to write the scripts for non-Natives and that means rewriting the scripts of historical inaccuracy infused with racism and overzealous American exceptionalism.

What I have presented here is some of the basic histories that affect the way non-Natives understand Natives in general and powwow specifically. These histories are well documented by the authors noted here and many more not. What is apparent is that these histories have impacts on our collective memories and understandings. In the next chapter, I outline one way of thinking about these negotiations through theories of publicity. Public theory allows us to consider the way that cultural meanings are negotiated in a collective way rejecting a scientific understanding of culture that is outlined in the critiques of the authors noted above. It also helps us to understand how individuals might approach the real problems of culture in their public lives.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Powwow can be better understood by examining the meanings circulated within them and the ways they function within public discourse. Meaning is created and circulated in public places, and can only be built through interaction (Lundberg, 2012; Butler, 2005). Public theory is effectively applied to powwow as well because of the nature of meaning, but also because public is a site of intercultural translation. Intercultural interactions are public in their delivery because the goal of most of these interactions is to create interactions between multiple identity groups causing interrogations of subjectivities of individuals involved in such interactions.

Scholars have written extensively on the public sphere from different perspectives. Each has contributed a different understanding for examining public phenomenon. However, these understandings must be discussed before applying a conception of publicity to powwow. Publics, traditionally, can be understood in two broad ways with respect to their relationship to the state. Habermas (1991) details a particular demographic of individuals who are able to hold the state accountable. Others, however, note that it is more important to focus on the social relationship between the individuals involved in particular publics and their relationship to multiple publics (Warner, 2004). Regardless, there seems to be agreement on the importance of publicity in academic research in general and in communication research specifically because of

the importance of the texts that are constitutive of group identity. Specifically, one must examine publics in light of two questions posed by Lundberg (2012): What work is the text in question doing for the subjects that attend to it, and why does the attention of strangers come together around one text or set of texts as opposed to another? Public theories have attempted to answer these in detail. In this chapter, I wish to detail the different theoretical positions within public theory while explaining the way powwow in general functions as a site of publicity. The theoretical positions, although useful, can be contradictory towards each other, and, therefore, require examination. I then wish to explain and advocate for a theoretical framework that utilizes Lundberg's reading of Lacan to provide a rich reading of the three powwows selected for analysis to understand how powwow functions as a specific public marked by particular discourses in public space for Natives and non-Natives.

The beginning of public theory finds genesis in the literature with Habermas and the transformation of the bourgeois public sphere. Habermas (1991) outlines the importance of economic conditions to give rise to the bourgeois class in order create the ideal situation for self-governance. In particular, the rise of print capitalism allows ideas of governance to spread much faster than under feudal systems in France, England, and Germany. Habermas was concerned with many Western democracies, through the discursive role of French salons, German *tischgesellschaften*, and English coffee houses played historically. This allowed for bourgeois individuals to become motivated to discuss the issues of state within cafés. Habermas's most important contribution was to clarify the carving out of a particular space for citizens to collaborate about affairs of the

state. Ultimately this led to the spread of more democratic practices and the spread of enlightenment ideology.

Enlightenment ideology became a cornerstone of Habermasian public theory because it was predicated on rationality within ideal speech situations within the public sphere. Within this position, a subject is expected to forget his or her own self-interest in order to make the best decision for the most people within the community. Rationality from this epistemological position within the public sphere has been greatly criticized.

Fraser (1990) criticizes Habermas for not articulating a post-bourgeois public theory that, in her mind, would account for the actual democratic practices and consequences of capitalism. In her description, as more individuals gained access to public discourse, the more stratified the sphere became. Self-interests became more and more represented and identities were no longer bracketed, giving rise to interest groups. Habermas's failure may be because he idealizes a notion of a classically liberal public. Fraser argues that this idealization led Habermas to overlook the potential of competing publics, or what she and others will call counter publics.

Detailing feminist struggles to compete against a hegemonic masculine dominated public sphere, Fraser argues that Habermas overlooks what ought to have been apparent: "Virtually from the beginning, counter publics contested the exclusionary norms of the bourgeois public, elaborating alternative styles of political behavior and alternative norms of public speech" (Fraser, 1990, p. 61). Fraser's analysis gave rise to examination of alternative publics as they acted to infiltrate the hegemonic public sphere. However, Fraser is not without her own detractors.

Galewski (2006) critiques Fraser for reinforcing the public/private dichotomy and the synecdochic power of representation. “Representation creates a power differential within the subaltern counter publics, since one part comes to determine how the whole should appear. Second, representation also perpetuates the logic of the commonplace even as it tries to break out of that same logic” (Galewski, 2006, p. 252). Here, one reads that matters of privacy are as political as those in the public sphere. A model of publicity that reinforces the dichotomy of Habermas and Fraser risks subordinating issues of privacy, reproducing some of the key elements for which Fraser critiques Habermas. Although Galewski attempts to save privacy or intimate issues of identity within public theory, she also suffers from a state centered argument.

These former theories of publicity detail a relationship to the state. Even Fraser’s (1990) theory of counter publics, with its ambitions to affect a hegemonic public, is concerned with affecting state governance. However, cultural critiques have recognized the impact that relationships between groups have had beyond the state. This has led to important insights regarding hegemonic relationships and subaltern positions. One should be able to see that although non-Natives in general and White Americans in particular have had an impact on Native Americans, the impact has not been limited to relationships to the state or government. Among scholars who reject forms of publicity predicated exclusively on the state, particularly important has been the work of Warner.

Warner (2002) notes the construction of public as being marked by seven distinct characteristics: it is self-organized, it has a particular status as a relationship amongst strangers, it uses personal and impersonal modes of address, it is constituted through mere attention, it is the social space created by the reflexive circulation of its discourse, it

acts historically according to the temporality of its circulation, and it is poetic world making.

First, in saying that a public is self-organized, Warner argues that each public is organized only through the discourse in which it participates. Without participation an individual could not be a part of particular public. Furthermore, circulation of a text a group can call its own is paramount to this notion of publicity. It is important to note, though, that mere attention itself is enough under Warner's argument. This will be of particular interest as powwow is discussed.

Warner's second element of publics is the particular status as a relationship amongst strangers. Here, Warner says, "publics orient us to strangers in a different way. They are no longer merely people whom one does not yet know; rather, an environment of strangerhood is the necessary premise of some of our most prized ways of being" (p. 75). One must assume he/she is able to identify with an other that is also constituted through discourse, but must also acknowledge a sense of ambiguity in that relationship. The power of this ambiguity is the keynote of Warner's argument.

Warner's (2002) third notion of public is that it uses both personal and impersonal modes of address. This argument stems from the previous notion of connectedness to strangers. Here, Warner attempts to show how individuals must be able to give up a part of their identity to ascribe themselves to a particular public.

Warner's (2002) fourth notion of public is that it is constituted through mere attention. Warner argues that in simply hearing or reading a text or discourse, one becomes a member of the public addressed. However, he makes it unclear as to whether one must maintain that attention for a prolonged amount of time. Warner is certainly right

to claim that one must give one's attention in order warrant and make his first argument correct. One must give attention to be constituted through address. My argument is that physical or actual attention is not needed by individuals to warrant publicity.

Fifth, Warner addresses how publicness is the social space created by the reflexive circulation of its discourse. Publics must circulate their discourse in order to constitutively add upon the social identity publicity creates because that discourse demands judgment. Without judgment, the discourse no longer circulates because it does not propose action. Without action, the identity and purpose of the public dissipates.

Warner's sixth criterion is that publics act historically according to the temporality of their circulation. In other words, Warner's basic argument is that publics can only exist in terms of activity in space and time. Without contemporary circulation, publics no longer offer the utility of making judgments and become less useful in understanding our society.

Finally, Warner (2002) looks at how publicness is poetic world making. Warner's description simply makes the argument that discourse circulation makes the argument for a particular ideology. This should not be surprising given Warner's other criteria. In order to be constituted, one must inevitably make particular commitments to the way things ought to be.

Warner's theory of publicity rejects the state centered model of Habermas, Fraser, and Galewski while maintaining the importance of elements of the private sphere within the public sphere. However, Warner offers very little insight as to why individuals might pay particular attention to circulated texts. Without understanding why an individual would invest in a particular discourse, it becomes difficult to provide a critical analysis of

the discourse. This leads to lean answers to Lundberg's important questions for publicity's utility for scholars. Lundberg's (2012) theory of publicity builds upon notions of circulated discourse, maintaining the strengths of Warner (2002), while providing a theoretical framework for subject motivation for investment. Therefore, I turn to Lundberg's theory of publicity for an analysis of powwow.

Lundberg relies heavily on rhetorical tradition because the cornerstone of rhetoric is the possibility of possibilities. He says, "Rhetoric names the site at which the essential lacks in the subject, sign, and social relation are produced and made manifest and is simultaneously the means through which subjects are produced, signifiers are made to refer to the world, and by which social relations are imagined" (p. 179). Warner, on the other hand, fails to recognize the subject/sign relationship beyond the circulation after the creation of the discourse. Instead, Lundberg, along with Farrell (1993), assumes that rhetoric is already at work before circulation. "'Rhetoric' is also at work before, or in advance of, the appearance and in fact exerts a determinative role in constituting the means by which and mode through which appearances function" (Lundberg, 2012, p. 183). Identities and meanings are constructed prior to our entering into them; this is an essential element of communication theory.

Furthermore, rhetoric's focus on relationships prior to and within the contexts of linguistic constitution further justifies a rhetorical framework for work on the relationship between non-Natives and Natives as they circulate around powwow. "It is necessary to wring rhetoric's neck by subjecting rhetoric's intersubjective fantasies to a rigorous symbolic analysis" (Lundberg, 2012, p. 181). Here, the strength of Lundberg allows one not only to ask what is important about powwow, but also to ask why the relationship

between non-Natives and Natives is important. This is essential to build an understanding of the contingent nature of semiotic investments where meanings slide. An analysis of this investment better articulates the relationship between subjects.

Locating rhetoric around an intersubjective center refers to what I have framed as the “ontological” constituents of rhetoric--- of trope, affective investment, and the imagined modes of affinity that constitute an audience--- and all the difficult questions that arise from this tangle of concepts regarding the proper objects of methods of rhetoric by subsuming them under the banner of under theorized conception of intersubjectively mediated “betweenness.” (Lundberg, 2012, p. 180)

Lundberg shifts the emphasis to the intersubjective nature of language, claiming that in order to establish subjectivity and understanding, all meaning is inherently negotiated.

Lundberg (2012) says, “the public is a space of appearance par excellence, and it therefore is not only a space within which a subject makes claims and consumes texts but through which the subject and its modes of relation to others are constituted” (p. 183).

What makes such an understanding productive for analysis is looking at sites where the meanings between subjects fail and needs are negotiated.

Lundberg details three important constituent parts to publicity in this case. First, practices of public are modes of affiliation that name the intersubjective positions of individuals in relationship to each other. This explains the importance of understanding public as tied to the public nature of all language and as a semiotic rather than only political endeavor. Second, specific publics emerge when individuals find enjoyment, investment, and identification in specific shared texts within an economy of tropes. Third,

public space is a particular site of practices that make up specific economies. This space is a context for specific exchange in specific economies.

Tropes are typically understood from three distinct perspectives in the rhetorical tradition according to Lundberg, but each is consistent with Lacan's explanation of trope as "a process of signifying connection, disconnection, and investment that underwrites both the subject and its discourses" (Lundberg, 2012, p. 3). The first way tropes are understood is in the sense that they are ornamental uses of language meant to dress up practices of address. In this way, tropes function in a similar way as understood in grammar school as making writing flow more fluidly and adding vibrancy and imagery to the text. This use of trope was used by Ramus to dismiss the stylistic notions of rhetoric as manipulative in the elocutionist era of rhetorical studies. What ornaments do, though, is invite readers into a more intimate relationship to the text through their rich descriptive qualities, complementing their connective qualities in theories of publicity.

The second way tropes are understood is as descriptions tied to certain concepts in order to define a certain genre or topic. Lundberg's example is the tropes surrounding the concept of war. This most aligns with the notion of tropes linked to metaphor demonstrated by Lakoff and Johnson (2008). In their explanation, certain words stand in for a concept to change and organize the way we think about it. For instance, love is like a rose. Although grammatically a simile, Lakoff and Johnson explain that the significations we make about a rose representing love metaphorically suggest a particular understanding about love as a whole. Many concepts such as love, war, democracy, have particular tropes surrounding them that give an indication of their nature according to this understanding. "Tropes of X," as Lundberg refers to them as (p. 76), demonstrate the

connection, disconnection, and investment individuals make through language because they demonstrate the way that certain words and phrases attach themselves to particular significations. This understanding is essential for explaining the way that certain tropes take on more power than others, and why certain tropes appear in relationship to each other.

The third way that tropes are understood is articulated by Burke (1950) in which certain language is used to draw attention to the nature of reality surrounding events. For instance, using the term “Washington” to represent the federal government utilizes the trope of synecdoche in which the part stands in for the whole. Describing the federal government this way signifies a particular amount of power the location of “Washington” has over the rest of the country. This, too, suggests a coalescing of language around certain terms, but with the added emphasis on the way that certain relationships dictate the reality that is available for the subjects attending to these tropes. This means that this conception of trope allows scholars to critique structure economies through the tropes’ investment practices.

Tropes become the objects of analysis in rhetorical analysis since they are the objects of relational value. For Lundberg, this is a rejection of trope as simply adding an appealing affect to rhetoric and as descriptive. “Lacan’s work is to define, in exacting detail, the operations of an economy of ornament that, on first glance, seems only to supplement or ‘add-on’ to an account of human discourse but, on further analysis, serves as the constitutive principle for it” (Lundberg, 2012, p. 182). That is not to say that trope is not ornamental. “Trope is ornamental in the original sense of the term, in that it names

the principles of relation, distinction, and interconnection that produce subjects and their discourses” (Lundberg, 2012, p. 182).

Lundberg’s definition of trope seems to account for all of these usages, but instead of focusing on the persuasive nature rhetoric has given trope through ornamentation or description, he focuses on their ontological nature, situating trope in relationship to the semiotic and public nature of language. Lundberg (2012) says, “Lacan’s conception of trope as generative of all signs and, by extension, meanings represents an alternative understanding of trope that views the tropes as generative as opposed to simply ornamental and as constitutive of discourse as opposed to being a discrete manifestation of it” (p. 77). Utilizing trope in this way, scholars are better able to track down the meaning of reality for the subjects invested in specific publics like powwow and for the general economy of tropes because they are the commodity of trade. Specifically, one must examine the metonymic and metaphoric functions of language to examine the way tropes are productive of our understandings of the world and within specific publics.

Lundberg demonstrates a different understanding of these terms than what is commonly understood. Metonymy typically signifies a word or phrase where the whole stands in for a part. For example, one might refer to a business executive as a “suit,” having the typical attire of a business professional stand in for the signifier of the business executive. Lacan’s use of metonymy works in a similar way, but distinct with a theoretical purpose. Lundberg says metonymy has two functions. Metonymy marks the difference between signifiers, giving them meanings, and also links them in contiguous fashion, making their meanings similar. In doing so, what is signified through the chain

of meaning slips and becomes concealed in the chain of signification. This can cause disruptions in the symbolic order of understanding when specific publics interact with the general economy of tropes.

Metaphor, as well, has a grammatical understanding. Here, certain words stand in for concepts used to describe another concept. For instance, one might claim that time is a valuable commodity, having “commodity” stand in for “time” to suggest the importance of time. Lacan’s use of metaphor is similar in that the similarities between certain usages of language become inextricably linked. Lundberg says metaphor helps to describe the way metonymically linked signifiers form around particular texts by allowing them to stand in for each other and that metaphor names the way that certain tropes can gain more importance than others in the signification chain.

These functions also suggest that some tropes might function in a way to organize other tropes based on the metaphoric and metonymic function of each. We might call these master tropes¹. Master tropes, from this understanding, would be tropes that organize signifying chains in particular ways. For instance, in the wake of 9/11 patriotism as a trope was disciplined in certain ways to mean revenge for the tragedy. Specifically, many government officials made an America flag lapel pin a permanent part of their wardrobes. However, when, then-Senator Barack Obama showed up without one, a controversy began questioning his patriotism. This was linked explicitly to 9/11 according to Wright and Miller (2007).

Analyzing the function of tropes, meaning whether they function metonymically or metaphorically, can help researchers to understand the reasons for investments leading

¹ Burke (1950) utilizes this term to describe four functions of irony, synecdoche, metaphor, and metonymy, but the signifying theory of publicity from Lacan and Lundberg suggest another function of a master trope.

to identification and enjoyment for the subjects attending to specific economies of tropes. As Chaitin (1996) explains, certain kinds of investments are made metonymically in that they assure us of our material identities while others are metaphoric, helping us to feign for unicity with the Other. The remaining concern, then, is the way specific publics are investigated according to Lundberg.

Lundberg (2012), using Lacan's theoretical framework, proposes three registers of examining specific publics for analysis. First, public practices of address are constituted by specific modes of relation to other subjects that invest practices of public talk with an imaginary sense of the public as a space of the mutual negotiation of meaning making practices. This is very similar to some of Warner's defining characteristics of publicity, but with a key difference. Lundberg says, "The question is how one might account for the transition between the general economy of exchange that produces the public as a space of appearance and the specific economies of tropological exchange that underwrite specific publics" (p. 135). One of the ways is through the tropological function.

What is really important here is that public space is always a symbolic site of relationship creation surrounding attempts at feigned unicity. In order to methodologically understand publics in this way, one must attend to the practices of the subjects investing in attempts at unicity or identification. Lundberg (2012) says, "Addressivity defines the fact that practices of public making cannot be reduced simply to the articulation of symbolic forms, requiring attention to concrete habits and modes of social relation implied in the public as a mode of performing a relation to others" (p. 135).

One might read powwow as a means of negotiating specific Native to Native relationships; however, this is a limited reading of Lacan and Lundberg's use, because relationships in general are the motivating factor for action. "A relationship of address inheres both in the subject's imaginary relation to other subjects in the subject's relation to the order of discourse more generally; thus, the addressive nature of rhetoric is present in the Imaginary register and in the Symbolic" (Lundberg, 2012, p. 136). Operating within Imaginary and Symbolic registers, analyses of publicity in specific publics must acknowledge effects caused by exchanging economies in a mutual relationship of influence.

Second, publics intersect within specific identity politics. Identity is the lifeblood of specific publics, and a public is a mode of shared affinity between subjects that is both a site of tropological production and a site of investment. Specifically, Lundberg (2012) argues that one's commitment to an economy of tropes is an identifying marker that subjects take on. Lundberg's argument is clear: "Here, Lacan affirms the basic insight of even the most conservative elements of the rhetorical tradition in characterizing the public relation: the objects (whether they be texts or more abstract ideographic forms) that subjects attend to and invest in configure both publics and public identities" (p. 139). These might also be understood as the metonymic relationships between subjects created by economies of trope.

To be a part of an economy, one must invest oneself. Lundberg's explanation of one's commitment is lean in this respect. One must recognize that buy in to a particular economy of tropes informs the symbolic creation of an identity and/or reflects the identity of those investors. Furthermore, subjects must give up something in order to buy

into the economy. Lundberg (2012) argues, “sublimation is less a function of the individual psyche than a ‘socially validated’ process whereby subjects organize collective identities around specific nodal sites” (p. 139). The reading of this economy from inside or outside a community is important to track for our understanding of powwow’s function of publicity; however, Lundberg charges us to answer three more essential questions. He says, “A public identity is always constituted by a relationship of inclusion and exclusion” (p. 141). This forces scholars to answer questions such as, what is the character of public space? How does it function as a social bond? And what are the conditions for inclusion in public space?

With respect to powwow, one can ask what might be given up in attending to powwow for Natives and non-Natives alike. Of course, the simple answer is to say that individuals give up parts of their own agency. For instance, Natives competing in dance or drumming and singing must adhere to special rules in order to compete. In a more ritualistic way, those wanting to be seen as authentically Native will make their regalia in particular ways and will interact with other Natives in certain ways. A more interesting question is what happens when non-Natives are brought into the interaction. One primary abstraction that happens is a partial re-articulation of the history previously mentioned. That does not mean complete erasure. In many instances, the history between non-Natives and Natives is brought up, but the cultural agency of non-Natives is cast away in order to attempt unicity because of past injustices.

Third, publics are always a space of appearance. Lundberg, here, refers to the fact that entry into a publically shared language entails the labor of abstraction, which is the condition of possibility for establishing a shared language, disfiguring the subjects that

enter into public discourse. This is similar to the first claim, but works in a different way. In other words, without entering into an economy of tropes, subjects do not allow themselves to be worked upon in private. The investment in the economy of tropes is inherently public because of the trafficking of meaning and the feigning of unicity; this is the metaphoric function at work. Furthermore, meaning making and relationship building can only happen in a space that is public because investment is authenticated in the public space through recognition of others.

Lacan's comments on the mirror stage begin to clarify Lundberg's three concepts of publicity, which also helps in understanding the importance of his rhetorical theory of publicity. Defining concepts associated with the psychoanalytic mirror stage, Lacan explains that the "I" of an individual is linguistically constitutive and that there is a tension between an idealized "I" and the "I" that is encountered in the real, both of which appear as exterior to a subject. Even as one works towards a sense of identification or an ideal "I," its negation suggests failure to achieve such a subject position. Lacan (2006) says, specifically, "Through these two aspects of its appearance, this gestalt... symbolizes the 'I's' mental permanence, at the same time as it prefigures its alienating destination" (p. 76). The lack of a relationship to an ideal subject position in relation to others is captured by the mirror stage. "The mirror stage is a drama whose internal pressure pushes precipitously from insufficiency to anticipation- and, for the subject caught up in the lure of spatial identification, turns out fantasies that proceed from a fragmented image of the body" (Lacan, 2006, p. 78). Addressivity within the mirror stage allows those fantasies to play out for the subject in relationship to identity, appearance, and unicity. Lundberg

(2012) notes that the value of the labor involved in unicity is what gives the mirror stage such an important role.

The failure of unicity represents the fact that the sign intervenes or, better yet, prohibits a transcendent whole that unites signifier and signified, the subject and the social, or even speech and speaker in effortless communion. Although unicity fails, the labor of feigned unicity affords the subject the possibility of contingent, localized univities, wrought only through the rhetorical labor of form and sustained by the subject's investment in imagined univities. (Lundberg, 2012, p. 179)

One final comment on Lundberg's use of these three notions of public is important to consider. Lundberg argues, "If the object has public utility, it is precisely because it is the site of this translational process, and because it serves as a site for articulating practices of public making with the economy of tropes and investments that knits together the sign, subject, and social as nodal articulations of an underlying process of tropological exchange" (p. 143). Objects, defined broadly in rhetorical terms, must offer the opportunity of economic exchange of meaning. By doing so, they allow for individuals to negotiate and translate meaning for the Imaginary register; this is essentially Lundberg's public theory boiled down to one comment. However, returning to Lacan, we find even more reason this particular reading of publicity is justified. Lacan (2006, p. 79) notes that the mirror stage bringing about the fantasies of unicity and the failure of that unicity are dictated by cultural intervention. Without cultural intervention, sites of economical exchange and investment become empty without value.

Lundberg's three defining characteristics of the public registers essentially claim that publics name the habituated modes of imaginary affiliation and address that position subjects relative to others. In this reading, one departs from ideas of democracy and dichotomies of citizenry and state common in other reiterations of public theory. Instead, the focus is on the relationship between subjects. Although inherent in some of the previous literature, this relationship is paramount for Lundberg's reading of public theory:

A tripartite theory of public-making functions that understands publics as a product of a symbolic economy, and through which subjects come into being and relate with other subjects, affords rhetoric an account of the site of and concrete means by which human discourses are constituted.

(Lundberg, 2012, p. 183)

Powwow as Public

For non-Natives, cultural mediation becomes an important way to frame the tropological exchange, especially in powwow. Sanchez (2001) notes the inclusion of non-Natives as an important means for non-Natives to engage a broader audience for political action. However, although Sanchez reads Philip Deloria (1998), she fails to recognize the tropological work done in a non-Native economy. Philip Deloria claims that there have been at least two specific kinds of non-Natives that have attended to powwow. Looking specifically at groups formed shortly after World War II, he claims there are object hobbyists and people hobbyists: "One group, bearing the informal label of object hobbyists, favored the replication of old Indian artifacts and costumes... Indians were

objects of desire...Another faction- people hobbyists- enjoyed the intercultural contact and boundary crossing they found at contemporary powwows” (P. Deloria, 1998, p. 135).

This distinction continues to operate today.

Both object and people hobbyists rely on the economy of tropes to build the communities to which they attend. For instance, members of the Improved Order of Red Men, a fraternal non-Native group of men playing Indian, had certain elements of ritual as part of their initiation process (P. Deloria, 1998). In many cases, these would include totems created by members that allegedly would be connected to great Native Americans like Crazy Horse. In other instances, people hobbyists would associate themselves with the writings of authors like Charles Easton, even though they may not have granted his non-Native work any legitimacy. However, what should be noted here is the inclusion of Native tropes legitimates the economy of non-Natives. Non-Natives have attended powwow to create identities for themselves. Philip Deloria (1998) says, “If authentic Indian culture was learned behavior, then individual non-Indians could also learn it, grasp hold of the authentic, and thus consolidate a unique personal identity” (p. 141). Again, one can see that Native tropes circulated by real American Indians were and continue to be picked up by non-Natives in their own economies of discourse.

Circulations by non-Natives are most assuredly shown when examining non-Native groups that hold their own powwow. Philip Deloria (1998) and Huhndorf (2012) note many of these groups, such as the Redman Society and The Boy Scouts of America. Groups that perform such things claim a more authentic relationship to old Indian culture by arguing that contemporary Natives have abandoned the old ways. However, even those who simply attend and watch participate in an exchange of tropes that create an

identity not tied to the Native economy. “Indianness, with its multilayered history of evocative symbolisms, offered a rich palette of additional meanings- nature, patriotic rebellion, freedom, and Americanness itself” (P. Deloria, 1998, p. 142). This suggests that those who feel they understand the Native position without having lived the experiences of the Native tropological exchange can never actually find themselves in that specific economy. Instead, tropes from the Native experience are commoditized, and taken up by those non-Natives in the non-Native economy for the enjoyment of themselves. This happens at the same time as economies are circulated, meaning an overlap occurs. This experience of Americanness tied to Nativeness, as tracked by Philip Deloria, only works when Native economies legitimate non-Native economies. Without the legitimating function, object and especially people hobbyists, have to work harder and find more effective ways to create economies of Native culture within their own economy. However, this is not where the implications end.

Tropological exchange in this case is an important consideration. On one side, Natives have used powwow to function as an alternative to a hegemonic economy they have been forced to participate in. In this way, Natives have tried to restructure the metonymic chains developed by non-Natives that Natives have been bound by. When non-Natives attend powwow, their experiences change the state of their knowledge as well and contribute to an economy of tropes in particular ways. As Natives speak back to non-Natives in powwow, non-Natives take certain messages up and leave others behind in their exchange. For instance, if Native groups bring up oppression during presentations at powwow, non-Natives are confronted with this narrative, but do not have to give it the same power in their own economy as Natives do.

For Natives, powwow demands attention as a means of reclaiming and maintaining Native American culture as a whole. The literature cited in the first chapter, especially Young Bear and Theisz (1994), shows how powwow functions for Native people and how cherished these meanings and relationships are, especially in light of non-Native attempts to lay claim to these tropes. For Native people, these embodied meanings are continually in danger, both because some non-Natives continue to claim authority to Native culture, and because of transformation in cultural values in light of modernity.

For non-Natives, powwow functions as a public to help connect some non-Natives to what seems like a more authentic identity. It can do so only because non-Natives that attend to powwow find themselves connected to Natives as a way of legitimating the circulation of particular tropes for their community. Without a seemingly willing participation of Natives in this legitimating function, non-Natives would be forced to find other cultural activities to legitimate their public meanings. The veiled exchange that happens simultaneously between Native and non-Native economies surrounding powwow warrants the examination of powwow as a site of tropological exchange as a specific public circulating general understandings of both groups in this context.

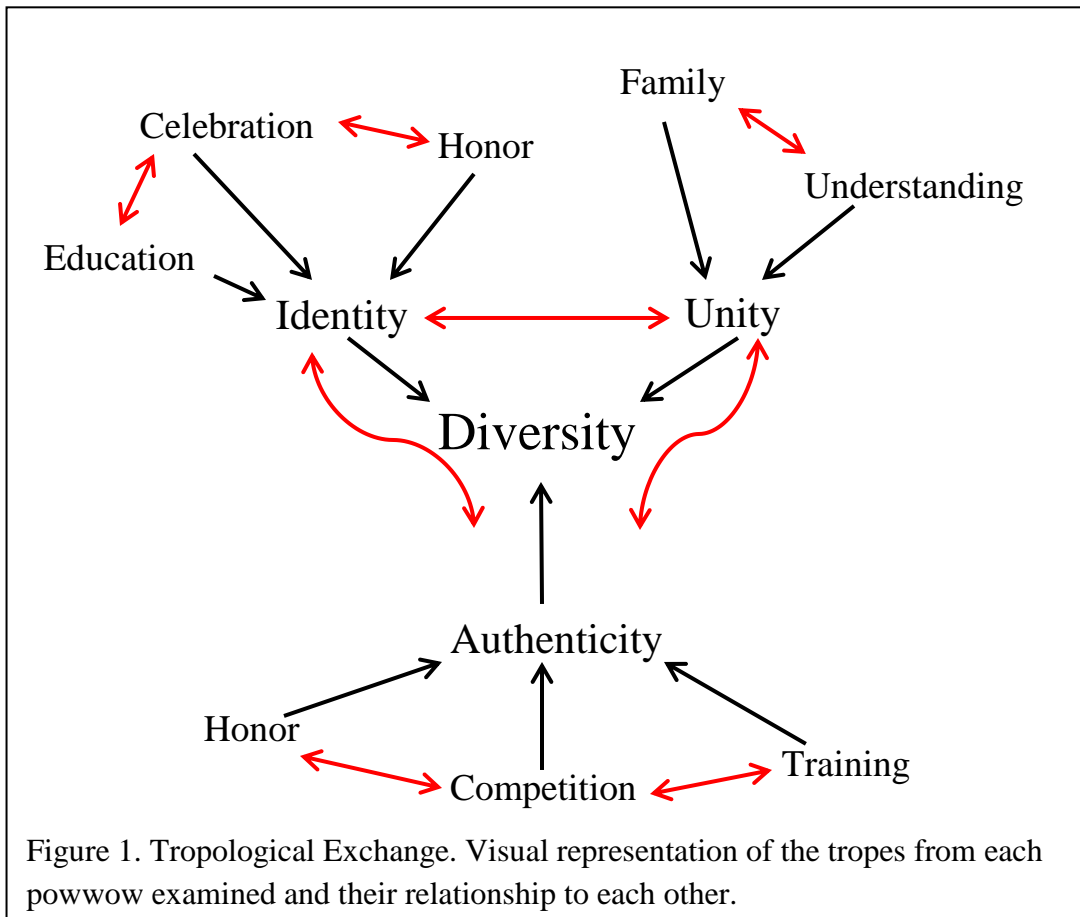
Methodology: Tracking Economies of Powwow

The circulation of media has been noted as one of the key ways to define particular publics (Habermas, 1991; Warner, 2002; Lundberg, 2012). Furthermore, as Natives attempt to break into the non-Native publics they advertise participation within

powwow. At the same time, non-Native media circulates meaning of powwow within its own circulation of texts. Therefore, in order to concretely track down the circulated tropes of powwow for non-Natives, I analyzed powwow advertisements, informational pamphlets, and news media coverage for economic exchanges of tropes. I have included a list of documents in the beginning of the reference section, organized by powwow. I found a majority of these documents by performing a search of indexed archives of the organization's hosting the powwow. I also utilized Google Search tools and DEVONagent Pro, software that completes deep digital searches. I also obtained a copy of other materials by personally attending the powwow at the University of North Dakota.

To begin my reading, I identified documents that were important to each specific powwow to perform my analysis. (See below for specifics.) Then I performed a close read of each document. Specifically, I paid attention to elements that were deemed of value to the stakeholders presenting the information, their descriptions related to performances of Nativeness and non-Nativeness, and the unstated status of the relationship between the cultural groups through the use of tropes. The results were to identify the unstated assumptions of meaning between Natives and non-Natives in relation to powwow. To do this, I looked for common words and phrases that were used to describe what exactly was happening at each powwow. Once I had identified these words and phrases, I categorized them into tropes, which I identified as words and phrases that occurred over multiple documents. I then examined the relationship between these primary tropes and identified master tropes, which organized and dictated the function of the primary tropes. I categorized these relationships based on where the

content behind the usage of the words or phrases was similar. I identified master tropes based on how these categories were organized by more guiding concepts. By identifying master, primary, and secondary tropes, I was able to demonstrate the relationship between Natives and non-Natives in the context of these specific powwows and powwow in general. A visual representation of these tropes and their relationships can be found in figure 1.



In figure 1, “diversity” is shown as the master trope, dictating what can be included in the different powwows. Each case study, as explained below, contains a primary trope that dictates the metaphoric relationship to diversity each powwow emphasizes. The primary tropes are “identity,” “unity,” and “authenticity.” Each of these

primary tropes disciplined secondary tropes the same way “diversity” disciplined primary tropes dictating what was included and not included in each economy. A detailed analysis of each primary and secondary trope in the context of their specific powwow is below. Black arrows in this figure represent metaphoric relationships and red arrows represent metonymic relationships.

I focused on the three powwows examined in the case studies because of the way they involved non-Natives. The exact nature of the documents I examined was contingent on the specific powwow in question. First, the University of North Dakota (UND) hosts a major indoor powwow in the Northern plains area. The UND powwow is organized by Native American students and advisers to celebrate Native culture in North Dakota. Non-Native participation is limited to attendance to view, unless non-Natives are invited to participate by powwow organizers. Pamphlets and programs are available explaining powwow elements in general, including grand entry, giveaway, and song and dance. Websites associated with the university provide history and media coverage of the powwow as well. News coverage was analyzed from *The Grand Forks Herald* and *The Dakota Student*. These because they are the most common media forms that non-Natives consult for information about this specific public practice. The relationship between non-Natives and Native people is compounded by an issue surrounding the “Fighting Sioux” nickname and logo used by the university that was retired at the end of 2012. This adds an element of tropological exchange that is analyzed in the next chapter on this powwow.

Second, the Boy Scouts of America is a candidate for examination for understanding powwow and the organization’s relationship to the Native American community because of a problematic relationship with colonial subjects. The Boy Scouts

of America has been accused of borrowing from Native American culture for a significant amount of its programming content history. Philip Deloria (1998) notes the way that the founders of the organization relied heavily on Native American spiritual concepts to reinforce American identities. This has been particularly problematic and demonstrates the way that hegemonic cultural positions are able to steal from subaltern positions. Furthermore, the honor camping society of the Boy Scouts of America, the Order of the Arrow, is modeled after the non-Native ideas of Native American culture represented in *The Last of the Mohicans*. Founded in 1915, the Order of the Arrow hosts powwows on local and national levels that are organized and attended mainly by non-Natives, particularly White individuals. This type of powwow represents different form which offers yet another representation of the tropological exchange influencing the meaning for powwow in general. I specifically analyzed the National Order of the Arrow Conference (NOAC) powwow. Each NOAC has a press corps and covers the American Indian Activities section of the conference. Reports by the press corps come out in the form of blogs and newsletters posted online for members. These are the most important documents to analyze in understanding the way the Boy Scouts of America understand powwow because these are the primary documents through which articulations of powwow are made present.

Third, Des Moines, Iowa, hosts a multicultural powwow each August. Entering its fourteenth year, the White Eagle Powwow is named after Ralph Moisa, III, who dreamed of overcoming cultural misunderstandings. In 2000, Moisa's parents organized the first powwow in memory of their son and invited community members in an attempt to bring all races and nations together. As the powwow has grown, organizers have invited

individuals from the Philippines, Greece, Ireland, Japan, and numerous other countries to showcase traditional cultural practices. The White Eagle Powwow is representative of a move to allow more participation of non-Natives within the powwow, and is noted as the only powwow in North America to do so (KCCI, 2012). This changes the types of tropological exchange happening within powwow. News coverage of the White Eagle Powwow is fairly slim, but organizers have attempted to advertise the event in many venues. In order to track down the tropological economy of this powwow I conducted a deep web search using DEVONagent pro to find any reference to White Eagle Powwow. Results were thorough, ranging from local news coverage and photographers to YouTube videos of interviews from the powwow organizers. These documents were essential because they represented the only official circulation of tropes circulated at the White Eagle Powwow.

It is important to note that I am also a member of the discourse that flows through each of these powwows. I am a student at the University of North Dakota, originally from Des Moines, Iowa, and am a leader in the Boy Scouts of American and the Order of the Arrow. These powwows were, however, also chosen because of the relationship that is highlighted between non-Native and Native peoples in each. These powwows are compounded by some intersection with an economy of tropes that transcends Native people and intersects with a broader non-Native economy.

CHAPTER III

FIGHTING WHO? THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA POWWOW

In June 2012, the University of North Dakota (UND) officially retired the Fighting Sioux nickname it had used since the 1930s (Associated Press, 2012a). The nickname debate was surrounded by deep feelings on both sides of the nickname issue that utilized Native American identity to brand the university as a strong and fierce warrior. Each side had Natives and non-Natives working to preserve or change the image projected by the university, and although those challenging use of the Fighting Sioux logo won, many in the community still espouse support for its use. This is especially true in cases dealing with the men's hockey team and the Ralph Englested Arena.

Created in 1966 during the American Indian Movement era, a Native American civil rights group, the University of North Dakota American Indian Association (UNDIA) was formed in part due to alienation of Native students because of the use of the Fighting Sioux nickname. Further alienating students was the use of "Sammy Sioux," a childlike caricature of a Native person, as the mascot. According to the UNDIA's website, "These students claimed their alienation from the student body could be attributed, in part, to the use of the nickname and logo. They strongly believed the nickname and logo provided an opportunity for derogatory activities" (UNDIA, 2014a). Natives and non-Natives alike felt that something must be done to change the climate of the university for Native students.

In 1969, the first annual University of North Dakota powwow was held. With money provided by UND president Tom Clifford, Natives were able to organize a powwow, which they referred to as wacipi, which is a Dakota word meaning “they dance” (UNDIA, 2014b), to help educate the campus and community about Native people. Since then, UNDIA has hosted a plethora of activities as part of Time-Out Week and the Wacipi to bring Native issues to the greater community, including issues of Native identity and images.

In this chapter, I present the UND powwow as a case study for the circulation of meaning within non-Native economies of tropes, arguing that “identity” serves as a master trope functioning as a metaphor for Natives and non-Natives. The UND powwow circulates a trope of “education” for non-Natives to learn about some aspects of Native culture and identity. These aspects include rituals associated with powwow and a cadre of other issues confronting Natives presented through the Time-Out, a week of educational seminars, themes presented by the University of North Dakota Indian Studies Association (UNDISA). More importantly, metonymically speaking, “education” is meant to purchase and gain respect for Natives by garnering cultural understanding for/from non-Natives through “celebration” and “honor.” This economic exchange is all the more important given the context of the nickname issue at the university. Furthermore, “celebration” functions as a trope that helps to highlight the importance of diversity through metonymic linkages. “Celebration” works with “education” to buy respect, but does so in a way that veils the paternal overtones of correction of past histories that “education” can sometimes suggest. Finally, “honor” creeps into circulations surrounding the UND powwow, functioning as metaphor, as issues associated with the Fighting Sioux

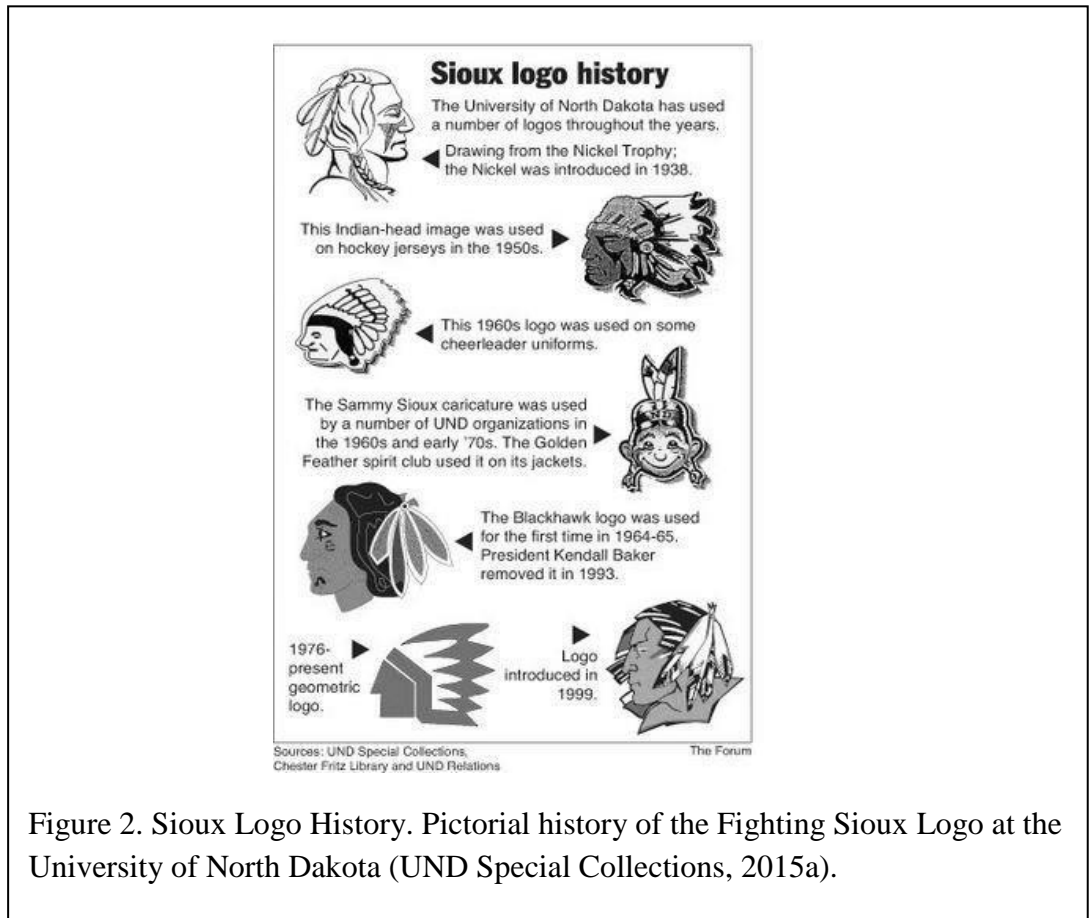
nickname get circulated with notions of “honor” within literature put out by the hosts of the powwow. These three tropes circulate to highlight the importance of cross cultural experience in the university experience. So, I begin by examining the non-Native to Native relationships at UND focusing on the Fighting Sioux nickname and attempts to recruit and retain Native students. I then examine the history of the UND powwow. I then examine the tropological exchanges within the powwow and the meanings circulated for the UND powwow specifically and powwow in general.

The Fighting Sioux Nickname

Native and non-Native relationships at UND are colored by the Sioux nickname issue. The fact that the UND powwow came about at least in part because of the logo warrants a better understanding of the issues surrounding its adoption, use, and eventual retirement. In this section, I outline these three elements to give context to the reader. Although this may seem outside the purview of the powwow’s contemporary circulation of tropes, as late as 2011 nickname issues were discussed explicitly during the Time-Out week’s educational presentations, making it an important topic of discussion. Furthermore, this is not a complete history, as that would be a major work in and of itself. I hope to discuss the most pertinent issues of adoption, use, and retirement as they relate to the powwow itself. I, myself, am against the use of the nickname and logo, but I present the argument of both sides to demonstrate the complexity of the dispute.

On October 1, 1930, the University of North Dakota adopted the nickname “Sioux,” abandoning the former name the “Fickertails” (Longie, 2012; Wentz, 2011). The change was supposedly meant to bring about more pride in the athletic teams,

especially as they competed against instate rivals, the North Dakota State Bison. The move was not without controversy. Fred Traynor, former UND Alumni Association President discouraged the change as the perception of Natives was not a positive one. Instead, he claimed that most found the Sioux as a violent and backwards people (Wentz, 2011). This was also at a time when Native American students were banned from attending UND. According to Longie (2012), supporters argued that Traynor's claim of violence was not a problem and that in fact it was one reason to adopt the nickname. Although controversial from its beginning, the popularity of the nickname grew, and non-Native stakeholders of the university continued to draw upon Native culture in general to build upon the community culture at UND. For instance, student convocations soon became referred to as powwows. Furthermore, 1956 marked the founding of the Golden Feather Club, a booster organization meant to increase school spirit first by selecting cheerleaders and then for fundraising in general (UND Special Collections, 2015b). The Golden Feather Club was the first to introduce the Sammy Sioux mascot, a cartoon caricature of a Native boy wearing two feathers in a headband (Figure 2). The word "fighting" would be added to the UND nickname in the 1969 under the direction of Athletic Information Director Lee Bohnet (The Daily Beast, 2014; Associated Press, 2012b).



As more and more Natives were recruited and attended UND, non-Natives met resistance in the use of the Native nickname at UND. The American Indian Movement brought more attention to the political and social issues of the Native communities of the time, and one of those things would be the use of American Indian identities for non-Native ends. In 1969, the first Time Out Week and Wacipi, powwow, was held, in part due to the presentation of Native issues in the community. According to the UNDIA the UND powwow was created “as a way to educate [the] UND campus and Grand Forks community about American Indian people and cultures” (UNDIA, 2014a). Cultural understanding takes a significant amount of work and willingness, and issues continued to arise between Natives and non-Natives surrounding the nickname.

Some Native students began protesting more and more the use of the Fighting Sioux nickname and gained support from various university and community stakeholders (Longie, 2012). Major conflict erupted in 1972 during the King Kold Karivnal, a student organized party, when a fraternity had a derogatory ice sculpture of a woman with a sign saying “Lik’em Sioux” concluding in assault charges (Longie, 2012).

Although not as graphic or as escalated as the King Kold Karnival, incidents continued to arise, such as taunts towards Native students by non-Natives. Many UND stakeholders found it ever more important to educate the community on the contemporary Sioux and Northern Plains Native cultures and people to combat these incidents. Ultimately, the university, rather ineffectually, attempted to make changes to the logo and nickname until in 2005 when the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) voted to end the use of Native American nicknames, which, following research by the American Psychological Association on the harm of Native American mascots to Native peoples, was labelled as abusive and derogatory. This vote affected at least 18 different schools, and those failing to make changes would face heavy sanctions (Wentz, 2011) including, but not limited to, not being able to host or participate in post-season championship playoffs.

The University, and its various stakeholders, attempted to keep the NCAA from banning its use of Fighting Sioux by suing the sports organization for overstepping its regulatory power. Eventually, an agreement was reached similar to one reached with Florida State University and its use of the Seminoles as a nickname. The NCAA agreed that if UND received the support of the two closest tribes/reservations with the name

Sioux, the Standing Rock Sioux and the Spirit Lake Sioux, the university would be able to keep the nickname (Associated Press, 2012b; Wentz, 2011).

Natives had a significant amount to say about the issue. American Indians fell on both sides of the issue. Although the use of the logo was brought into question by some aspects of the Native community and their non-Native allies in the 1960s, other Native people fully supported the use of the nickname. According to Longie (2012) what seemed like official support came in 1969 when a delegation of American Indians from Standing Rock Indian Reservation, which included grandson of Sitting Bull, Chief White Buffalo Man, visited campus and participated in a pipe ceremony conferring usage of the name on the university. The ceremony is not documented and is somewhat controversial for both sides of the argument because of the lack of documentation.

What is clear, though, is that not all American Indian stakeholders of the university were against the use of the Fighting Sioux nickname. In what is essentially the most detailed argument against getting rid of the Sioux nomenclature surrounding the university from a Dakota Sioux perspective, Eunice Davidson outlines the chronology of her group's efforts to forgo the ban. Davidson's (2014) argument outlines key distinctions between Dakota Sioux and Lakota Sioux Natives, making the claim that differences ought to matter, rejecting pan Indianism that has been critiqued by some Native scholars (V. Deloria, 1988; Krystal, 2012; McNenly, 2012). Furthermore, she asks non-Natives to question the legitimacy of having Sioux people from South Dakota, a function of Standing Rock straddling two states, vote on the nickname approval. These questions ultimately are left for the reader to judge for themselves, but what ought to be

recognized is that these questions intersect in meaningful ways with authenticity and identity.

Davidson (2014) also outlines the efforts to organize a vote at Spirit Lake as a member of the committee that attempted to organize such a vote. In 2009, the Spirit Lake Nation gave its approval with 67% voting to grant permission for nickname and logo usage. Standing Rock would never have a vote, however, noting its tribal council resolution requesting discontinuance (Longie, 2012). Davidson (2014) argues that many of the surveys her group did at Standing Rock suggested that members of that reservation would support the nickname at UND, but because of the tribal chair's disagreement those people would never get to even give their input. Standing Rock's lack of a vote would allow the NCAA to enforce a nickname change, but some Spirit Lake stakeholders would file suit on the NCAA and garner over 1,000 support signatures who say "losing the Sioux name means losing the ties between tribes and the university" (Associated Press, 2012b).

Those who oppose the nickname and logo, though, have solid warrants for their opposition. Although the literature about representation and identity politics ought to be enough to suggest the discontinued use of the logo, scholars have documented the psychological and political problems presented in the university's use of Native mascots (Davis, 2002; De La Cruz, 2003; King & Springwood, 2000; Leavitt, 2015). An important contribution to this area of research was made by Fryberg, Markus, Oyserman, and Stone (2008). They found that use of Native mascots led to significantly lower self-esteem levels in Native Americans, and that these lower levels of self-esteem also translated into more negative feelings towards the Native community in general by

Natives themselves. One of the most extensive studies of the use of “Fighting Sioux” at UND was conducted by Phillips and Rice (2010). They argue that the use of the Native mascot at UND legitimized systemic and cultural racism that was vehemently violent against its largest minority population, and that it did not seem that this wrong-doing was what was behind the university’s willingness to change. “The perpetuation of harmful stereotypes (a form of ignorance), appropriating the sacred symbols of a historically oppressed people (white privilege), and using inaccurate and false claims to defend this practice (academic dishonesty), is contrary to the very purpose for which the university exists... Unfortunately, collective insight into the inherent racism of American Indian nicknames and logos is not the reason for abandonment of the ‘Fighting Sioux’” (Phillips & Rice, 2010, p. 522). Instead, it seems, the university has made a strategic, rather than an ethical decision.

Efforts have been made at the time-out week program to demonstrate the negative effects of Native nicknames on Native people (Erickson, 2012) and UND has begun the formal process of adopting a new nickname and logo to aid in putting the Fighting Sioux issue to rest. This process will take a significant amount of time, and the way non-Natives and Natives interact at UND is shadowed by this history. However, powwow organizers have apparently moved on in their programming choices.

The Fighting Sioux history of the University of North Dakota is an important consideration for the UND powwow. The beginning of the powwow sparked, in part, by the rise of the American Indian Movement and the contested meaning of American Indian identity constructed by non-Natives at the University, serves as the exigent factor

for the powwow and, more importantly as we will see below, for the need for more cultural understanding.

Economies of Tropes within the University of North Dakota Powwow

The UND powwow is one of the largest cultural events in the Grand Forks community and at the University of North Dakota (Thomas, 2008; Thomas, Molstad, & Krause, 2010; Mead, 2011). Although the nickname issue seems to have faded into the background, although the process is still ongoing, “honor” and issues of representation circulate within the tropological exchange along with “education” and “celebration.” Both “education,” celebrated as cultural sensitivity and engagement, and the term “celebration,” often used to hide the explicit historical correction work that the UND powwow attempts to do, are used as tropes within the economy of powwow in this context. By attempting to correct the misunderstandings through education and celebration of culture, community members “honor” the Native American stakeholders of the university and the Grand Forks Community, avoiding guilty feelings that indictments over historical events might otherwise create.

Fifty articles were analyzed dating between 2006 and 2014, with five of those years, between 2010 and 2014 being analyzed specifically for powwow tropological exchanges. Articles came from a local town newspaper, *The Grand Forks Herald*, and the UND Student newspaper, *The Dakota Student*. 2008 articles from these publications were included for analysis because in November of that year, student organizers of the UND powwow announced that in 2009 there would be no powwow hosted at the university. Articles from the 2008 decision draw upon the historical justification for the powwow

that is a major trope within the economic circulations. Three powwow programs were attained from attending the powwows of 2012 to 2014. No official archive of powwow programs has been started, so no programs for 2010 or 2011 were available. Although problematic for thoroughness, what will be seen below is that most of the information in the three years of programs is identical to each other, alleviating concerns of major tropes being left out. A general handout was also available at the UND Indian Student Center entitled *A Guide to Understanding the Powwow as a Celebration of Life* (UNDIA, 2006). Before discussing the circulated tropes, though, it is important to discuss the cancellation of the 2009 powwow. This cancellation set up the ability to more clearly find the tropes that were circulating prior to the cancellation as seen in the 2006 document, but also further explains why the particular tropes of celebration, education, and honor get circulated.

The 2008/2009 Cancellation

In November of 2008, it was announced that there would be no 2009 powwow. Organizers noted that there was a lack of support by the university and the Grand Forks community. According to former UND Indian Studies Association President Amber Annis, canceling the 2009 powwow was the best option: “The president of the UND Indian Studies Association says the decision to cancel the 40th annual Time Out Week and Wacipi was based on principle. American Indian students are seeking stronger institutional support” (Johnson, 2008, p. A6). Lack of support for the powwow that year demonstrated the frustration that many Native stakeholders had been facing at UND.

Little funding was coming from the university, including the Student Government which had been one of the major funding sources for previous powwows.

Claims were contested, however, that organizations like the Student Government were not doing enough. Quoting UND Student Government President Tyrone Grandstand, the *Grand Forks Herald* reported ““It’s really difficult every year for them to raise money... But in my two years with student government, we’ve stepped out of our normal procedure to fund them”” (Johnson, 2008, p. A6). Grandstand’s argument that the Student Government had changed the funding requirements to help support the powwow more than any other student organization went unnoticed in other articles. What was particularly agreed upon, though, was that the loss of the powwow for 2009 was unfortunate and reflected the need to educate non-Natives.

One Native student from UND noted how upsetting it was that the organizers had to cancel in a letter to the editor: “when actual Native people who live here to try to share their culture, their efforts are almost wholly ignored” (Baker-Demaray, 2008, p. A4). The choice not to engage in the Native culture of fellow stakeholders was contested. On one side of the debate was the lack of funding and on the other was backlash in response to growing anxiety surrounding the nickname in 2008 from those who supported the nickname.

The hotly contested debate over the use of the logo and nickname has been a major issue facing the university, Native Americans, and students- the effect of which have created a significant rift among students, faculty and staff on the campus, and the lack of support for the largest cultural event at

UND is, according to Annis, is just another example of its growing impact. (Thomas, 2008, p. 7)

The *Dakota Student* focused many articles on the growing argument circulating around the nickname issue, and the above quotation accompanied an article about the cancellation of the 2009 powwow. Although Annis, quoted by the *Dakota Student* above, lends authority to the idea that organizers might have been led to the decision by the growing anxiety, she and other organizers attempted to argue that the logo was not the issue: “Both UNDIA and ISA students said they understand the Fighting Sioux nickname might be seen as an underlying factor to the cancellation but emphasized a lack of community support as ‘the truth of the matter’” (Herald Staff Report, 2008, p. A7). However, most non-Natives and some Natives alike disagreed, as reflected in the letter to the editor of Baker-Demaray (2008). “This is, of course, endlessly frustrating. Time-Out has been around for almost four decades, but there still are people who have lived here their entire lives and have never been to one Time-Out event or powwow. To me, this is unconscionable, particularly when race relations are as strained as they are in this community” (Baker-Demaray, 2008, p. A4).

The nickname issue was most certainly a part of the lack of support from the greater UND and Grand Forks community. What is in contention is the actual amount of influence it had. I would argue that the extent to which non-Natives perceived its influence is probably far greater than the actual influence it did have. However, perception is highly important in exchanges of meaning and regardless of the actual power the logo issue has, its perceived influence led to the cancellation to the 2009 powwow. Although the nickname issue was not entirely put to rest in 2010, the

community did put much more effort into supporting the Native stakeholders of the university and the powwow specifically. One editorial by the *Grand Forks Herald* editorial board recognized the influence of the nickname issue, but pushed hard for support by all despite the unstated contention.

But putting the community and university support aside, the recent decision by the North Dakota State Board of Higher Education to retire the nickname means that a cultural event like this is more important than ever. The debate surrounding the Fighting Sioux nickname and logo is arguably more pervasive and controversial today than it was a year ago- that became abundantly clear in the hours and days after the Board announced their decision. (Thomas, Molstad & Krause, 2010)

The editors went on to claim that despite the conflict, support was vital to maintain this important event in the community. This new support has been aided by and compliant in the three tropes circulated in the past five years, which were also present in previous powwows, though not as explicitly because of the greater amount of circulation of issues surrounding to the nickname problem than to the powwow.

Celebration

A great deal of the discourse surrounding powwow in general mentions the festive nature of powwow as a way to celebrate the Native culture in general (Lawlor, 2006; Ellis, Lassiter, & Dunham, 2005). Moreover, powwow also attempts to highlight specific communities to demonstrate the contributions of and distinctions between certain tribal entities (Krystal, 2012). These are important attributions of powwow to remember as the

circulation of “celebration” at the UND powwow draws upon this trope from a general economy of powwow.

“Celebration” is an important trope for the organizers of UND powwow as they metonymically link the UND powwow to the importance of cultural exchange valued at most academic institutions. As places of diversity, most colleges and universities attempt to highlight the cultural experiences that most students and community members experience when participating in the academic life. The same is essentially true for the UND powwow. One article in the *Dakota Student* highlights this aspect quoting the UND American Indian Student Services Director, Leigh Jeanotte.

“The annual UNDIA Time Out Wacipi is truly a community wide celebration in every aspect, a celebration of our campus, community, cultural contributions and diversity, and certainly student persistence, contributions and accomplishments and leadership,” Jeanotte said. “This truly beautiful celebration of community featuring the tribal cultures and diversity, truly sets UND apart from any other institution of higher learning.” (Marquis, 2011, p. 6)

Jeanotte’s quote points out the important aspect diversity plays in the legitimating of celebration as an important meaning of the UND powwow. His statement also lends to the discussion of education considered below.

What are the most influential documents demonstrating the UND powwow as a “celebration,” though, come from documents prepared by the UND Indian Association (UNDIA). One general guide put out by the group in 2006 defines powwow for those unfamiliar with it as “celebration.” “A powwow is considered a celebration of life. It is

called Wacipi (WAH CHEE PEE) in Lakota/Dakota and Ni-Mi-Win in Anishinabe (Chippewa/Ojibwa). This celebration is a time when people of all ages can gather together, to sing, dance, renew old friendships, make new friends and share the beauty of life” (UNDIA, 2006). Here, the UNDIA demonstrates the general understanding of powwow for the Native stakeholders and identify them mainly as Northern tribal conceptions. These understandings of powwow as “celebration” exist throughout the United States and Canada, but the identification of Lakota/Dakota Sioux and Anishinabe do important work to show specific significance for the local Native American community.

Furthermore, the three powwow programs handed out to spectators of the powwow note the significance of powwow as “celebration.” In a letter published in each of the three programs by the 2012-2014 UNDIA President, Deanna Rainbow, “celebration” is brought to the forefront. The letter is nearly the same each year, with changes to dates and some key stakeholders in each year, but in general she states “This is the [42nd, 43rd, 44th] year of celebrating and striving to educate the campus community about the value of traditional and contemporary American Indian cultures” (Rainbow, 2012; 2013; 2014). Also in each of the programs is a replication in spirit of the 2006 document defining wacipi. “A Wacipi is a traditional Native American cultural ‘celebration’ where the generations gather to dance, sing, and socialize. In the Dakota language, the word ‘Wacipi’ (wah-chee-pee) means ‘they dance’” (UNDIA, 2012; 2013; 2014b).

Newspaper coverage of the powwow also highlighted “celebration” as a central meaning for powwow. Editors pushed for more support of the powwow after its hiatus,

noting the celebratory nature. Thomas, Molstad, and Krause (2010) argued “Last year the UND campus went without a Powwow and what was arguably the largest celebration of Native American dance, song, food, art and culture was never put on due largely to a considerable lack of funding and support by Student Government, the university and the greater Grand Forks community” (p. 4).

One article also cited the historical motive for hosting the UND powwow as both “celebration” and “education.” “UND held the first Wacipi and Time-Out Week in 1969 as a way to educate the general public and to celebrate the American Indian peoples and cultures” (Mead, 2011, p. 1). Former UNDIA president, BJ Rainbow, brought out the fact that the “celebration” within powwow is not only for Natives, adding to the cultural interaction and defining of powwow for non-Natives that he hopes they will adopt. “‘The powwow is just not for American Indian people, it is open to all,’ Rainbow said. ‘The Wacipi is a celebration of life, where people of all ages come together to sing, dance, renew old friendships, make new friends and share the beauty of life’” (Roy, 2012, p. 3). One non-Native staff writer for the *Grand Forks Herald* attempted to cast all powwow as “celebration” adding to the evidence that celebration, is a central trope to non-Native understandings of powwow. “Indians have been having powwows for a long time, but they have evolved over the years. Historically, a powwow was a social gathering, a celebration, a time of thanksgiving, a time to dance and sing together, to meet family and friends, to make new friends... there were no dancing competitions, which are part of most powwows today” (Tobin, 2011c, B3). Here is highlighted the inherent importance of understand powwow not strictly as a means of political demonstration, but one of coming together through the trope of “celebration.” “Celebration,” however, does buy a

significant amount of political capital by stressing the political activism that powwow performs. This is vital to non-Native consumption of exchanges circulating within powwow.

These understandings of powwow as “celebration” are very important in the understanding that non-Natives are encouraged to take upon themselves because of the trope of “education.” When individuals, regardless of race, feel they are being corrected, they tend to be turned off by the message. However, “celebration” metonymically linked to “education” lessens the impact the correction for historical ignorance and violations has while achieving the political ends of powwow noted above.

Education

As “celebration” diminishes the guilt non-Natives might have if subjected to an overtly or over-corrected “education” on Native identity and practices, “education” does, in fact, come to light in the tropes circulated. Many of the articles analyzed discussed the importance education played in the UND powwow and the seminars and presentations the led into the powwow during the week it had been scheduled. These aspects were recognized by students, administrators, and community leaders in their discussion of the powwow and their encouraging of cultural interaction at the events surrounding the wacipi.

This is perhaps seen in the three programs handed out to spectators. Each includes a copy of a proclamation by city officials in Grand Forks, ND and East Grand Forks, MN on the important educational benefits of the powwow. Mostly standard and reusable proclamations similar to Deanna Rainbow’s letters, these proclamations follow a similar

pattern from year to year. From the City of Grand Forks the proclamation rationale for Time-Out week reads,

Whereas, the University of North Dakota Indian Association and Indian Studies Association are promoting community understanding of the cultures, history, traditions, and issue relating to American Indians; and whereas, it is of the utmost importance at this time in history that all Americans understand and appreciate American Indian culture; and whereas, American Indians are becoming increasingly active in the political, social, economic, and ecological affairs that concern all Americans; and whereas, the culture, history, accomplishments, and aspirations of American Indian people are central to the story of our area, past-present-and-future. (Brown, 2012; 2013; 2014)

Similarly, the East Grand Forks proclamation rationale reads

The University of North Dakota Indian Association and Indian Studies Association are promoting a better understanding of the culture, history, and traditions of American Indians; and whereas, it is of the utmost importance at this time in history that all Americans understand and appreciate American Indian culture; and whereas, the culture, history, and accomplishments and aspirations of the American Indian people are central to the story of our region, past-present-and future. (Strauss, 2012; 2013; 2014)

Both city mayors note the importance of cultural awareness that can come from participation and interaction at the powwow and during the educational presentations at

the university. Moreover, they note the essential need for such interactions to help understand the history of the region, suggesting a rejection of pan-tribalism and advocating for more specific education on the Natives of the Northern plains. Such statements set forth in these proclamations never use the word “education,” but hint it by using words like “understanding” and “appreciation,” further aiding in the work that the trope of “celebration” is doing through metonymy. This work also happens in proclamations created by the UND Student Government. Each statement, although signed by a different student body president, is replicated word for word in the powwow programs for which proclamations from the student government were included. Each uses the word “education” only to refer to UND as an institution. Any other reference to education is masked similarly, as the city proclamations:

Whereas, the students of the University of North Dakota are enriched by the culture, history, accomplishments, and aspirations of American Indian people and their contributions to the University of North Dakota; and whereas, the students of North Dakota believe that it is in their utmost interest, in this time in history, to understand and appreciate the indigenous tribes of our state and region. (Overson, 2012; Fletcher, 2013)

Once again, words like “understand,” “appreciate”, and “enrich” are used to hint at and metonymically link to “education,” but to downplay the natural tendency to link “education” to a formal classroom setting and to the correction of historical problems. I do not mean to suggest that the primary goal of “education” is to chastise and reprimand non-Natives during powwow, but rather that the perception for non-Natives that this may happen is an important consideration for the tropological exchange.

However, proclamations from the university president, Robert Kelley, and by the director of the American Indian Student Services Center, Leigh Jeanotte, do use the word “education” explicitly. Jeanotte’s letters begin by acknowledging the important work that had gone into the planning of the Wacipi events, especially those of the UNDIA and the American Indian Studies Association (ISA). Jeanotte says, “The student members of [ISA] and [UNDIA] have worked extremely hard and devoted countless hours to planning and organizing this outstanding educational program and celebration of American Indian traditional and contemporary life” (2012; 2013; 2014). Again, one finds the specific recognition of the UND powwow as “celebration,” but first is “education” in his explication of what in fact the powwow means at UND. Although using “education” explicitly at the beginning of his note, it also utilizes other words to stress “education.” “Thank you, students, for sharing so much of yourselves while helping to promote cultural awareness and understanding throughout the campus and community” (Jeanotte, 2012; 2013; 2014). Jeanotte links “understanding” and “awareness” to “education.”

UND president Robert Kelley continues the extensive use of “education” as a trope in the economy of tropes within the UND powwow. Kelley’s proclamation reads in part:

The University of North Dakota is committed to actively recruit American Indian students to share in the educational process, and for the education of American Indians in preparation for careers of their choice... the University of North Dakota is committed to acquainting non-Indian students with the rich historical and cultural heritage of our country’s

American Indians, and to make the University as culturally sensitive and responsible as possible. (Kelley, 2012; 2013; 2014)

Kelley's statements call to the forefront the educational purpose of the university and link that objective to the cultural interactions that take place at the powwow. Furthermore, they provide a categorical justification for the merging of "education" and awareness of culture through the use of responsibility. This directly links issues of diversity as "education" that are brought up on articles in the *Dakota Student* and *Grand Forks Herald*.

Paraphrasing Jeanotte, one article drew upon the expertise of the UND Indian Student Services Director to stress the educational aspects of the powwow. "Jeanotte encourages students to take advantage of this opportunity and experience the traditions of a culture many do not know much about" (Jewett, 2010, p. 8). This echoes the sentiment of each of the letters included in the powwow programs noted above. Another article quoted a Native American student and organizer of the powwow drawing upon "education" as a key element of powwow. "I encourage everyone to come," Serich said. "We open it up to anyone who is curious to learn about Native American culture. It is not just a week for Native American students, but it is for everyone interested in learning" (Marquis, 2011, p. 6). Similarly to BJ Rainbow's quote above, this powwow organizer encourages non-Natives to attend, but not just for celebrating, as Rainbow notes, but for "educational" opportunities.

Others noted that education is tied to "celebration" demonstrating the link once again between the two tropes as they circulate within the economy surrounding the UND powwow. Using fun as a fill in for "celebration," one staff writer at the *Dakota Student*

stated “It is a week’s worth of fun and educational events meant to educate people about Native American life and culture” (Carpenter, 2011, p. 1). Another writer, commenting on a request for funds from the student government for the powwow links the two tropes explicitly. “Their request would fund a powwow, meal and overall time of celebration and cultural education. UNDIA representatives say it is important to educate students at UND and the Grand Forks community about American Indian people and their culture through this annual event” (Bezdicek, 2012, p. 1). Furthermore, the UND Student Government, although sometimes portrayed as adversarial towards the Native stakeholders of the powwow because of budget issues, generally agrees upon the importance in general of the powwow and the essential quality of the “education” experience it offers. Quoting Student Government Treasurer Derek Rood, one article noted, “‘This event is a large cultural event, a lot of people in this area will never be able to experience,’ Rood said. ‘When you have that opportunity and you don’t do it, you look unintelligent’” (Bezdicek, 2013, p. 2). It ought to be clear that “education” is one of the major components of the UND powwow, and this is supported by the literature on powwows in general such as that of Krystal (2012), who says, “Moving beyond imitations of the imaginary Indian, powwow often takes on an overtly educational tone. That is, it frequently works consciously to express particular Native culture and to shift the conception of Indianness for the better” (p. 99). The UND powwow calls to the attention of non-Native people the cultures and identities of specific individuals of Grand Forks and University of North Dakota, very specifically for the betterment of the relationships between Native and non-Native stakeholders as expressed by the exchange between “celebration” and, especially, “education.” By providing a better understanding

interculturally, the UND powwow looks to honor the contributions of Natives as well as the support by non-Natives to support Native stakeholders. This becomes clear looking at the literature examined.

Two quotations are important for understanding the trope of “education” as linked to another trope. Two links are clear: “education” leads to healing, which ought to be read as “honoring,” of cultures other than non-Native. In particular is a quote by UNDIA president, Deanna Rainbow, where she claims the powwow is about healing. Linking this to the tropes of “celebration” and “education” and intersecting them with the Fighting Sioux nickname issues one can see that her comments lead into notions of “honoring” Native culture at UND.

“Time-Out week got its name so the campus and Grand Forks community can take a time-out to learn about a culture other than their own,” said Deanna Rainbow, president of the University of North Dakota’s Indian Association. “The Wacipi, a four day healing tradition, is important because it brings cultural awareness to the UND campus and the community.” (Roy, 2012, p. 1)

Healing gets brought up in other areas as well, but is most explicitly linked to the tropological exchanges in the particular economy of UND. Cultural awareness read as “education” and “celebrating” brings about healing and become linked to “honor” at the UND Wacipi. This is also explicated by writers discussing the historical development of powwow. “Sommer [an organizer of the powwow] explained that the first Time Out Week was organized by 1969 UND President Tom Clifford and that Time Out was meant to educate and uplift the university, its students, and the surrounding community and is

about taking time to embrace student's history, culture and language" (Hill, 2013, pp. 1, 3). Education is brought up once again as the driving force for the creation of the powwow as in other areas presented above, but now another piece is added. Using here the term "uplift" suggests healing, and brings about the tripartite exchange between "celebration," "education," and the final trope to be examined, "honor."

Honor

"Honor" is an essential part of powwow generally, and is highlighted in the discourse surrounding the UND powwow. Where "celebration" and "education" are mentioned and linked metonymically, one finds hints of "honor" as uplifting Native culture for Natives and non-Natives alike. In doing this kind of work, individuals "honor" past, present, and future investments in the communities and, more importantly for our purposes, in powwow. There are places within the discourse that only hint at "honor," but there are also discourses that make specific claims about "honor." By focusing on those specific cases, one ought to see the link between "honor" and those discourses that hint at this important trope. "Honor" works metaphorically to stand in for actual acts and, in many ways, diminishes attempts at addressing disruptions in the relationship between Natives and non-Natives.

As with the other central tropes, "honor" is explicitly mentioned in the powwow programs. In giving advice to those who are not familiar with powwow, program planners provide a guide for etiquette. It begins by stating "The Indian way is about respect for culture, family, veterans, children, elders, and for the Creator" (UNDIA, 2012; 2013; 2014b). It goes onto further detail respect in a paragraph, "Please show respect

during Grand Entry, Honor Songs, and prayers by standing and removing your cap or hat... The Wacipi is a sacred gathering.” And later it discusses the powwow arena, which at UND is the Hyslop gymnasium or a former athletic center for the university. The programs states, “The arena has been blessed for the gathering and is considered sacred.” It goes onto mention very specific items and events which must be honored such as prayers, Honor Songs, flags, and Eagle Feathers Staffs. All of these descriptions are specific attempts at helping non-Natives, and some Natives alike, to understand the honors that are afforded to aspects of the powwow. Participants in the powwow are honored by being central to the success of the sacred traditions of things like grand entry, dancing, and drumming, and prayer. In this way, “honor” stands in for the acts being performed.

In describing the grand entry, the programs mention some of those sacred things to be honored in the arena: “The first to enter the Arena are veterans carrying the Eagle Feather Staff and national, state, tribal, and veteran’s flags. Visiting dignitaries and royalty enter next... after all the dancers have entered, a prayer is said followed by flag and veterans’ songs” (UNDIA, 2012; 2013; 2014b). Mentioning the flags, which are cited earlier as tokens deserving respect draws a correlation to veterans, and the use of the terms dignitaries and royalty further suggest the honoring that happens within the powwow even at the very outset of the event. The program also details some of the other practices such as specific dances and giveaways, in most cases using words like “honor” or “respect” to describe the elements of each. Even news coverage of the powwow mentions the grand entry as a magnificent event mentioning many of the same sacred elements. “The Grand Entry is a parade of all the dancers lead by war veterans and

honored guests carrying flags and eagle staffs, all wearing traditional Native American dress” (Carpenter, 2011, p. 6). Another article said, “Leading the grand entry are veterans and a color guard carrying the American flag and the flags and eagle staffs of the host tribe and visiting tribes” (Tobin, 2011c, B1). Citing veterans in terms of “honor” is significant because veterans are mentioned multiple times using this trope. Again, mentions of “honor” stand in for acts of respect.

Veteran status is made explicit in the powwow program. “Veterans, who are greatly esteemed in Native cultures, will bring the flags and staffs during Grand Entry. Indian people have a great and long tradition of serving in the United States military. Veterans are honored not only for their willingness to serve and protect others, but also for their willingness to offer their life to keep others safe” (UNDIA, 2012; 2013; 2014b). Veterans, as honored individuals, bridge Native and non-Native cultures. In many instances, veterans are honored in non-Native culture with special days like Memorial Day and Veterans day and are usually featured in civic ceremonies as honored individuals. In Native cultures, veteran status often harkens back to the days of honored warriors. Even the use of the term warrior draws a link between non-Native and Native cultures. Most importantly, though, is the position of honor afforded them that allows powwow to draw more significance as a trope within the economy of powwow.

Importantly, the program also mentions the drum in a very specific manner. In many Native cultures, the drum is treated with great respect and is anthropomorphized (Young Bear & Theisz, 1994). This is echoed in the description offered by the UNDIA (2012; 2013; 2014b): “the drum is the central element of native life, drumming out the heartbeat of mother earth. Without the drum, there could be no powwow... It is both an

honor and a responsibility to keep the drum. The drum must know many songs and keep their responsibility seriously.” BJ Rainbow is once again quoted concerning the powwow, but mentioning the drum draws honor to a plethora of other elements at powwow. ““The significance of a wacipi,’ UNDIA president BJ Rainbow said, ‘is to come together as a people, reunite with friends and relatives and to have fun while listening to the heartbeat of the drums’” (Mead, 2011, p. 1). The drum is a central symbol of Native culture and the fact that it is linked here with honor further solidifies honor as a circulated trope within powwow. There is one other prime area “honor” comes in without being explicitly mentioned.

Within powwow discourse, circulated in the general public, which includes Natives and non-Natives, are competition powwows. As described earlier, dance and drumming competitions are parts of powwow that grew out of Native practices shortly after, tribes claimed powwow for themselves in the post-Wild West show period. Native individuals came together and competed against each other, normalizing what it meant to be quality singers and dancers. This would eventually lead to specific rules based judging like those rules outlined above when providing non-Natives guidelines on powwow etiquette. The UND powwow program outlines the following for spectators: “At our contest powwow, dancers compete for prize money. Judges selected by the powwow committee will evaluate a dancer’s performance based on three criteria: knowledge and skill with specific moves of their category; ability to keep time with the drum; and their regalia” (UNDIA, 2012; 2013; 2014b). To do well is to perform “honor” in two ways. First, winners of the competition receive honors as prize money and accolades as exceptionally proficient practitioners in Native cultural practices. Second, all dancers, but

especially the winners, honor the customs and practices of their elders by participating in the replication of Native cultural customs. This double work embodies “honor,” “celebration,” and “education” by celebrating the past while educating the dancers and spectators on Native culture.

Although these publications put forth by Native stakeholders explicitly link “honor” to the practices surrounded by “education” and “celebration,” non-Native circulations also point to “honor,” but in different ways. Instead, hinting at “education” again, non-Native discourse suggests that by engaging in the educational and celebratory aspects of the wacipi, non-Natives can honor the Native stakeholders of UND. One writer at the *Grand Forks Herald* directly refutes the stereotypical representation many non-Natives have about American Indians, stating the UND’s powwow is a way to get a better understanding. “If you’re a non-Indian and would like a glimpse of modern American Indian life (as opposed to the stereotypical portrayals in movies and elsewhere), now’s your chance and this is the event” (Dennis, 2010, A4). Furthermore, some student writers felt that the powwow ought to be considered one of the most important events a student could participate in specifically at UND, honoring it as a university tradition. “However, after last weekend I think there is one more thing that everyone should add to this list: attending the Wacipi Powwow” (Jewett, 2011, p. 5).

In most cases, though, these stories were paired with an editorial or other opinion piece about the importance of the powwow. Participation leads to commonality and honoring of the other in these pieces. Editors of the *Dakota Student*, Thomas, Molstad, and Krause (2010) say “Yet the 40th Annual Time-Out Week and Wacipi is still happening on this campus despite the all too evident hostility abound both throughout

UND and the Grand Forks community” (p. 4). These discourses were circulated with issues related to the nickname and logo. This is an important note, because “honor” as cultural understanding is used in two ways. On one hand, it is used in similar methods to the Native stakeholders cited above. Powwow “honors” the contributions of those stakeholders, and provides for more ethical and mutually beneficial environments of interaction. On the other hand, these “honoring” tropes are used as a legitimizing factor for the use of the logo by some non-Natives, demonstrating the way “identity” as a trope is at work as a master trope and metaphorically allowing non-Natives to occupy Fighting Sioux as a subject position.

Those using “honor” as a trope to legitimate the use of the Fighting Sioux nickname create more questions than they do answers about what “honor” means at the UND powwow. Most acknowledge the conflict, but suggest that by uplifting Native culture UND is able to tropologically purchase representation rights. In acknowledging the Student Government’s continual debates around fund allocations, one article attempts to set aside the political issues. “Money matters aside, the Wacipi powwow is an important part of our campus’s history and culture. The ancestors of the people participating in the Wacipi were the inspiration for the symbol of this university and the root many students’ school spirit and pride” (Jewett, 2011, p. 5). Jewett’s attempt at advocating the honoring of Native culture suggests that as non-Natives participate, the claim that the Fighting Sioux nickname does not honor Native peoples goes without a warrant. This is problematic, but is often the case when non-Natives wish to appropriate Native identity (Deloria, 1998; Huhndorf, 2012). This is even more the case, as Deloria

(1998) explains, when individuals attempt to use those Natives to legitimate their argument acting as people hobbyists.

One writer went as far as to call out those non-Natives who, in their opinion, were attempting to falsely honor Native supporters of the logo and nickname at UND.

People can buy all the logo gear they want and it will change nothing. The bottom line is that the scene I witnessed on Friday of tribal members leading (a majority white) Nickname supporters in prayer was fake, an obscenity on the part of the white nickname supporters (the indigenous folks at the rally are obviously free to use their prayers as they see fit). The racist logic that sustains the use of the nickname within white consciousness cannot be outrun by identifying with the nickname. (Wentz, 2010, p. 8)

Wentz's comments call into question the way honor functions for those who support the nickname, but also demonstrate how honor as a trope is doing this double work here as well. Though these notions of honor can often be in conflict, their circulations suggest the power of each is not negated by their clash, but is instead is supported by the tropological exchanges of education and celebration.

Power and Representation: Identity as Celebration, Education, and Honor

Celebration, education, and honor as tropological understandings of the UND powwow are essential to an understanding of non-Native meanings of powwow and of the relationship between Natives and non-Natives at UND. These tropes are found in fluctuation with the continued discourse of the nickname at UND, explicitly and

implicitly, and are contributing and appropriating tropes of powwow in general. For this reason, “identity” becomes a master organizing trope of all three. For many non-Natives at UND, claiming the name Fighting Sioux establishes a particular identity. The typical argument offered is that if Natives could only understand that non-Natives are seeking to honor and celebrate Nativeness through the nickname and mascot, there would not be any issue. This argument is made so that non-Natives may metaphorically stand in for actual Native people; however, this is incredibly problematic. On the other hand, the correctives pushed for by many in the Native community suggest the way “identity” in the Native community can be better understood through “education,” “celebration,” and “honor.” I draw some important questions from these exchanges to be considered as a means of summary. First, I turn to the nickname issues.

The circulation of celebration, education, and honor are inherently tied to the issues of the Fighting Sioux nickname and logo issue at the University of North Dakota because each suggests something about identity, the master trope disciplining these three others. For non-Natives, there is a desire to take upon the identity of Native Americans without any real understanding of practice. For Natives, there is a desire to correct the ignorance of non-Natives and to demonstrate their real identity. As part of the legitimating reason for the UND Wacipi’s genesis, the logo issue is continually infused into the discourse. Sometimes this is explicit, as it was in 2009 and 2010 when the powwow was canceled and the State Board of Higher Education officially retired the logo. These explicit usages of the logo always mention the need to educate non-Natives on the damage that is done to Native stakeholders, especially students at UND. Providing this education about the way the nickname damages identity for Native peoples, it is

hoped, will negate the want for the logo and provide for better cultural understandings. These arguments are made explicit as well, without mentioning the nickname issue. As cited above, Natives and non-Natives alike understand that there are issues of representation competing for attention in non-Native discourses. Many of the articles mentioned contemporary Native life or real Native people in contention with how some non-Natives understand the American Indian. Ignorance seems to abound in non-Native discourses according to the tropological economy of the UND powwow. Of course cultural understanding can be bought with the purchasing power of “education,” but “education” is hardly a commodity of great need when it is accompanied by feelings of guilt caused by the historical relationship between Natives and non-Natives. Instead, coupled in a sort of “buy one get two free deal,” “education” circulates with “celebration” and “honor” to make their purchasing power in intercultural relations multiply, bypassing the cost of guilt for the historical violence committed by non-Natives.

Powwows’ inherent educational purpose when performed for non-Natives is made much more appealing when it is made entertaining. However, even when non-Natives do feel the pain of historical guilt, the UND powwow suggests that such guilt should not be magnified by intercultural interactions. In part, this is a secondary effect of the purchase. It allows for a cultural understanding of Native peoples, but participation also buys respect for non-Natives by Native peoples who see concentrated efforts to celebrate and “honor” Native people through their learning about those cultures.

Although the nickname issue may never entirely be erased from the collective memory of UND, the tropological exchange continues to add to its importance. However, there are some key questions that still are unanswered. Who is really honored in these

tropological exchanges? I have suggested above that Natives feel honor because there are inherent notions of honor in the powwow practices themselves, made explicit in the powwow programs. Furthermore, non-Native writers also corroborate honoring of Native peoples from their descriptions of the work that powwow does. And whereas, some individual non-Natives are called out for their lack of legitimate authenticity in the honoring of Native people, beyond Native people, non-Native ideologies of the academy are honored as well.

Institutions of higher learning wish to advocate for diverse interactions between a multiplicity of stakeholders. This goal is made explicit in many of the mission and vision statements of colleges and universities. This is especially true at the University of North Dakota where President Robert Kelley has implemented what he calls “Exceptional UND.” Exceptional UND focuses on five strategic priorities; enrich the student experience, encourage gathering, facilitate collaboration, expand UND’s Presence, and enhance quality of life (UND, 2014). The UND powwow, as “celebration,” “education,” and “honor,” allows non-Natives like Kelley to claim fulfillment of the “Exceptional UND” ends, bringing honor to non-Native values of education.

The UND powwow honors Natives and non-Natives alike by confirming the importance of the intercultural experience. These experiences lead to a more ethical environment for all stakeholders. While legitimating the cultural practices of Natives and non-Natives alike, it does this connecting work that is needed much more importantly for mutual understanding. This is not to say that there will not be conflict, as demonstrated by the nickname issues that still circulate, but each step closer is a step in a more ethical direction.

CHAPTER IV

DANCING BOYS: THE ORDER OF THE ARROW POWWOW

The Boy Scouts of America has had a significant impact on American society (Boy Scouts of America, 2012). As an organization, it mobilized young men during the First and Second World Wars to help support the war effort, and it continues to have a deep impact in socializing young men. The socialization of the Boy Scouts of America has not been without critique. As an organization, it has been accused of participating in many discriminating activities including, sexism, racism, and homophobia. Furthermore, the Boy Scout's relationship with Native American identity and culture has been called into question many times as it has placed real Natives and Native culture in subservient subject positions (P. Deloria, 1998; Huhndorf, 2001; Meyer & Royer, 2001; Lopenzina, 2003). This relationship has had profound consequences for American culture and on how non-Natives understand Native culture.

Philip Deloria (1998) argues that Native American culture has had a deep impact on American identity. Specifically claiming that early Americans struggled to define themselves, Philip Deloria makes the case that Americans continue to have a tendency of highlighting a mythical Native identity in themselves while working to negate real American Indian identity. For many non-Native Americans, American Indians have been constructed as stoic and wise individuals with deep connections to nature and a significant level of spiritual well-being. This has been accepted as a more authentic self

because of the connection to a Great Spirit. One reason for seeking to take on this construction of American Indian identity for non-Natives is because non-Native Americans have found a lack in their own identities. This is part of the motivation for economic exchange expressed by Lacan (2006) and Lundberg (2012) detailed above. Exacerbating this was the notion of anthropologists that Native cultures could be reconstructed as mentioned in chapter one (V. Deloria, 1988). Philip Deloria (1998) says, “If authentic Indian culture was learned behavior, then individual non-Indians could also learn it, grasp hold of the authentic, and thus consolidate a unique personal identity” (p. 141). Many groups, like the Society of the Redman, the Boy Scouts of America, and others took note of anthropological work being done by researchers, and have thought Native culture to be something they can take upon themselves for the needs of their members.

The Boy Scouts of America have a very specific history in relationship to Native culture. One of its most influential founders, Ernest Thomas Seton, was an anthropologist who would use Native American culture as a pedagogical example for building masculinity during a perceived crisis of masculinity in the Victorian age (Mechling, 2004). As a result, the Boy Scouts have picked particular narratives to tell about Native Americans while ignoring others, falling into the same problems of playing Indian noted by Philip Deloria of the general American culture. For most scouting organizations, this is done through participation at local resident camps and participation in the honor camping society of the Boy Scouts of America, The Order of the Arrow. But why and how has this appropriation happened? Furthermore, how does this affect tropological circulations surrounding powwow?

The Order of the Arrow is a major part of the scouting program and serves nearly every council in the United States as well as the scouting organizations that have members that are U.S. citizens overseas. Approximately every three years, the Order of the Arrow hosts the National Order of the Arrow Conference (NOAC), held primarily to promote training and service work while celebrating the accomplishments of its members. As part of this initiative, the Order of the Arrow holds dancing and drumming competitions while instructing young boys in the organizations on how to better replicate Native practices including powwow. The conference often holds a large powwow on the concluding day of the conference called “Founders’ Day.”

Three NOACs were examined over the course of six years to identify tropes that circulated within scouting’s major powwow. Three tropes, each with its own mode of circulation, were identified with most focusing on competition and preserving and honoring Native cultures. First, boy scouts compete in dancing, drumming and singing, and regalia competitions, making “competition” a trope in economic cultural exchange. Competition works metonymically to link “training” and “honor” to “authenticity.” Second, “training” is a trope because competition obliges scouts to be better competitors. “Training” is also necessitated by the desire to suggest cultural sensitivity to American Indian people and their culture, suggesting that “training” works metaphorically. Third, if the Boy Scouts of America is successful at demonstrating sensitivity through training and competition, they feel they can honor Native people through replication, making “honor” a vital part of the tropological exchange for the NOAC powwow. Such work allows “honor” to work metaphorically by allowing acts of replication stand in for actual acts of intercultural understanding and tolerance. The master trope within the economy of the

Boy Scouts of America's powwow is "authenticity" because each subordinate trope works at allowing members of the organization to metaphorically gain authentic subject positions as understood through the organization's pedagogical practices. In what follows, I present a rationale for using these particular powwows based on the history of the Boy Scouts of America and the Order of the Arrow and their impact on American society. I then provide a detailed analysis of the tropological exchanges taking place within the reporting on the NOAC powwow. I conclude by exploring the implications of this particular economy in context. Specifically, I explore how "honor" gets played out for the Boy Scouts and how it is dependent upon their circulation of what "authenticity" means.

The History of the Boy Scouts of America and the Order of the Arrow

As one of the largest youth organizations in the United States and with an impact within their communities, the Boy Scouts of America and the Order of the Arrow contribute to the construction of powwow where scouting continues to focus on Native practices. To begin to understand the importance of this particular powwow and the impact of scouting on powwow, one must begin with an examination of the organization's history.

I want to begin by looking at the founding of the Scouting movement in the early twentieth century. At this time, during the Victorian era, masculinity was under siege in the English and American society. Many felt that as urbanization continued in response to the industrial revolution, a new way to train men to be "real" men was needed. I then look at how Native culture, meaning more pan-Indian as scouting's founders suggest in

their construction of American Indian people, gets picked up by the Boy Scouts of America in the Order of the Arrow and a history of the National Order of the Arrow Conference and their largest powwow event. These powwow suggest a particular economy of tropes that are related and often codify non-Native expectations of powwow, although statistically speaking they have very little involvement from Native people.

The Boy Scout movement was founded in 1907, by Robert Baden Powell and has made significant contributions in its over 100 year history, although not without problems (Liebelson, 2013; Krattenmaker, 2013; Wian & Pearson, 2013; Warrem, 2010; Ezard, 2000). Powell's mission was to provide a more positive outlet of socialization for the young boys of London. He had noticed on his return to a hero's welcome after the Boer Wars that many young men were joining gangs and were getting into trouble. Modeled after his experiences in the British Army, Powell developed his *Scouting for Boys*, a handbook for young men that would soon become the official guidebook for his organization. The organization became a huge success and was soon to impact America via a wealthy business man who had encountered the good turn of an anonymous British scout in 1910.

The founding of the Boy Scouts of America begins with the story of W. D. Boyce, an American publisher who got lost on the foggy streets of London one evening. Distressed, Boyce was assisted by one of Powell's scouts who escorted Mr. Boyce to his meeting. When Boyce offered payment for the assistance, the scout refused, stating he was only doing his good turn. Boyce then sought out a private meeting with Powell, and set into motion the exporting of the Scouting movement to the United States.

Powell journeyed to America in search of those who would aid him in creating a new scouting organization. Two men, Daniel Carter Beard and Earnest Thomas Seton, were instrumental in the early success of the Boy Scouts of America. Both had formed organizations focusing on survival in the outdoors as a reaction to the perceived softening of America's young urban boys with the decline of an agricultural economy. Beard had formed the Sons of Daniel Boone, an organization modeled on the successes of the early American pioneers, in 1905. The organization specifically canonized Davey Crockett, Daniel Boone, and Johnny Appleseed amongst others (Beard, 1905) as the prime examples of American masculinity. Co-founder of the Boy Scouts of America, Seton, on the other hand, was characterized as an expert in Native American culture. Trained specifically as an artist and naturalist, Seton's travels gave him great access to Native people, especially those in Eastern Canada, and he adopted many of the practices of anthropologists of the time, although he was not trained as such. In 1902, Seton began work on constructing his own program for young men called the Woodcraft Indians (Seton Institute, 2013). Modeled after Native American culture, boys were formed into clans and were asked to perform acts of tribal importance to attain coups. These acts typically asked boys to learn an antiquated skill like tracking or sleeping out with no equipment, invoking a playful sacrifice of modernism and implying ruggedness.

Although Seton mainly interacted with and knew much more about the Native people of Eastern Canada, his appropriation of Native cultures was not limited to those tribes. In fact, Seton drew upon myths and practices of many Native peoples including, Navajo, Lakota, Annishanabe, and Inuit. Therefore, while referring to Native cultures here, I intend to suggest that Seton, along with many others of the time encouraged and in

some cases authored theories that adopted the pan-Indian educational practices many non-Natives have been subject to. This has led to many specific Native identities and practices being blended creating disrespect in some places in the United States, especially in the Boy Scouts of America. For instance, at Camp Wilderness in Northern Minnesota, controversy has been raised about the construction of a totem pole, a cultural artifact used by the camp to visually imitate Native culture, but ignores the Lakota and Dakota culture that the camp tries to mimic in most of its programming. What ought to be clear, is that Seton's usage of the Native cultures he was specifically knowledgeable in did not necessarily limit his creative appropriation of those and other Native cultures.

When Powell was looking for community leaders to help create the American version of his Scouting movement in 1909, Seton proved very useful. Seton used the Boy Scouts of America as a way to spread his work of Indian woodcraft skills as his own program waned due to lack of buy in from communities that were unfamiliar with his work. Seton saw the new organization as a way to teach the ways of the American Indian, and Powell and Beard would welcome much of Seton's input. Seton's naturalist background would make him responsible for much of the nature requirements for advancement. He would contribute work with fellow founders in writing the requirements for many merit badges for Eagle Scout, scouting's highest and most recognized award, including Indianlore merit badge, an award originally needed to advance in rank and that most Boy Scouts earn today by attending their resident summer camps.

In 1910, under the direction of James E. West, another American businessman who would become the first Chief Scout executive, the programs of Seton and Beard would merge and along with help from the YMCA and other youth movements, the Boy

Scouts of America was officially incorporated, and later were recognized by the United States Congress.

Not entirely unlike Powell, the founders of the Boy Scouts of American were concerned with the education of young men. Philip Deloria (1998) and Mechling (2004) note that the culture of the time would be of particular importance. What masculinity meant was under crisis during this Victorian age, and the choices made by the founders of the Boy Scouts of America would matter greatly as they defined masculinity for young men.

Beard and Seton had originally attempted to answer this challenge on their own, but with the Boy Scouts of America, there was an added endeavor. In the negotiation of the merger, Beard and Seton were generally cordial with each other, but as Seton and Beard both advanced particular agendas particularly related to their use of pioneers and Indians as pedagogical tools, tension began to mount (Philip Deloria, 1998). The tensions seemed to focus around whether or not Native Americans were in fact good exemplars of masculinity for young American boys. Beard claimed that as Natives were fading into history, the organization needed to abandon Natives as a pedagogical practice. Given that this was the same time the federal government was actively encouraging assimilation through the allotment system and boarding schools, many leaders who had been working for the government in some capacity agreed with Beard. However, Seton continued to espouse “playing Indian” in the program design, and regularly wrote about Native American culture in *Boys Life*, the official publication of the Boy Scouts of America. Furthermore, Seton continued to assist with merit badge instruction and rank advancement requirements. He claimed boys learned the best notions of connectedness to

the land and respect for others through the model of the American Indian. Beard continued to argue that this was un-American and that Seton needed to move on. Eventually pushing Seton out, Beard won the battle but not the war. Seton left scouting, and, with his wife, founded the Campfire girls, an organization that would replicate Native American society in more detail leading to a stronger play as American Indian.

Although early leaders rejected Seton's move to have young men learn by mimicking American Indians, those leaders still allowed Native American cultures to be mirrored in the scouting program, although in a less serious fashion than that of Seton's vision. Many in the Boy Scouts of America recognize Seton today as a visionary despite the problems that led to his departure, and scouting has recognized Seton with a museum named in his honor at the Philmont Scout Ranch, Scouting's first and premier high adventure base.

It would be Seton's playing Indian that contributed to the early success of many camps and to the program as a whole. Philip Deloria (1998) claims that this success is indicative of the love affair that American society has had with playing Indian. Noting his argument again is that Native American imagery has been used to negotiate a struggle between an identity that is savage and free and an identity that is disciplined and bound juxtaposing American masculinity with Victorian masculinity. No place is this more evident in the upbringing of a young man where unbridled masculine freedom and discipline are juxtaposed. The negotiation of these elements is evident in the Boy Scouts of America, and this perpetuates particular tropological economies of American society and its relationship with Native Americans not necessarily under review here, but

nevertheless important for our consideration (P. Deloria, 1998). What would happen, though, upon Seton's departure would be even more interesting.

Indian constructions by non-Natives were more fully confirmed and codified in 1915 with the introduction of the Order of the Arrow into the scouting program (Order of the Arrow, 2013) along with numerous other honor societies, such as Tribe of Mic O Say and Silver Tomahawk, modeled after Native rituals. The Order of the Arrow became the most influential of these societies. Modeled after James Fenimore Cooper's fictive story *Last of the Mohicans*, and infused with research done by founders E. Urner Goodman and Carroll A. Edson on the Delaware Indians, the Order of the Arrow became the official national honor society of the Boy Scouts of America in 1922 (US Scouts, 2013). The Order of the Arrow was created as an honor camper society to help retain older boys and does so through their ceremonial practices which highlight Nativeness.

To be inducted into the Order of the Arrow, members of the Boy Scouts of America must have a little more than two weeks' worth of days and nights camping, including a long term camp lasting at least seven days. They must also be a First Class Scout, which requires them to have the minimal amount of scout training for camping, first aid, nature, and the like which were first developed by Beard and Seton. Once selected by members of their troop, candidates for induction undergo a calling out ceremony. At many summer camps, this means other members of the Order of the Arrow dress as Native Americans and perform rituals to identify those who have been elected. Once called out, candidates complete a four part initiation process which includes sleeping outside under the stars, laboring in service for the camp in which they are a local scout in silence, and receiving small amounts of food throughout the day (Order of the

Arrow, 2013). This process is called the Ordeal, or the process of initiation into the Order, and is a ritual process reinforcing sacrifice to teach service to others as a means of doing "Duty to God and Country." It also reinforces the notion of the Native warrior able to perform any task for the good of the tribe, something that is always a focus of the Boy Scout program. Speaking of scouts in general Deloria (1998) states, "Young men experienced ritual rites of passage, as their own rebellious inclinations were defused and contained by a structure that reproduced and reinforced the larger [American] political system" (p. 62). This holds even truer in the case of scouting's Native mimicking honor societies as they reinforce notions of service and as non-Natives mine from Native culture.

After the ritual comes the Ordeal ceremony. In this ceremony, a legend is told about a group of Natives that were being threatened by encroachment of non-Natives and other Native neighbors. The group comes together to fight back the invaders and are bound in a brotherhood, which legend has it is the forbear of the Order of the Arrow. Drawn in by the myth and a desire to replicate it, members provide service while perpetuating the legend and tokens drawn from "Native culture," although not truthfully from actual Native cultures.

The Order of the Arrow has three levels of membership. Once attaining the Ordeal, members that continue to serve their lodge through service or ceremonies are offered the rank of Brotherhood where each is required to demonstrate their commitment to the organization. After attaining Brotherhood, one can become eligible for Vigil Honor after completing a two year tenure as Brotherhood. According to the national lodge, Vigil Honor members are selected by an exclusive committee set up by each local lodge and

each lodge has only a certain amount of positions to award at this level based on their paid dues membership.

Vigil honor is the epitome of playing Indian for some members of the organization. Once selected, members participate in the Vigil Honor ceremony, which requires tending to a fire out in the wilderness on one's own for a night. This ceremony is meant to mimic the vision quest of the Lakota and Dakota beliefs (Stolzman, 1994) without its deeply important rationale. Once completed, Vigil Honor members are given a Native American name, such as a word or phrase in the Lenne Lanape language, similar to individuals that undergo naming rituals in historic and contemporary Osage culture along with other Native cultures (Pratt, Pratt, & Miller, 2012).

Throughout this process, local lodges put together committees to fulfill administrative and program duties in carrying out its charge to recognize members and serve local councils. For instance, most lodges construct ceremony teams for each stage of membership (Ordeal, Brotherhood, and Vigil Honor) to facilitate induction ceremony processes. These teams will consist of young men who dress up as Native people and play scripted parts such as chief and medicine man. Furthermore, most lodges will have dance teams to provide another opportunity for its members to learn about and preserve Native culture. Such was the vision of the founders, Goodman and Edson.

As the organization began to grow, and as Goodman and Edson encouraged interaction between the local lodges, they began to organize national meetings. At these meetings, local lodge youth and adult leaders came together and discussed the best practices for attaining the goals of the national organization. Furthermore, competitions between lodges such as relays and ceremony performances would take place and winners

would take home honor medals. The practice continues today, and includes competition for dancers and drum groups replicating the competitions of contemporary Native American powwow.

The National Order of the Arrow Conference

The National Order of the Arrow Conference (NOAC) began as a meeting of the local lodges in a single location. In 1948 the first NOAC was held at Indiana University as the 15th national meeting. 1,200 delegates representing 146 lodges attended and were addressed by founder E. Urner Goodman who announced at this first NOAC that the Order of the Arrow had become the official honor camping program of the Boy Scouts of America (Order of the Arrow, 2014a). Since the first NOAC, the National Planning Committee for the Order of the Arrow has held NOAC's around the country at other universities hosting at least 1,000 members and sometimes as many as 8,000 (Order of the Arrow, 2014b), the largest single gathering of Order of the Arrow members in the country.

According to the Order of the Arrow history website, there are 11 program areas that are emphasized. These include arena shows, national awards, outdoor challenge experiences, and opportunities to meet national committee members. However, three areas are highlighted: National Order of the Arrow competitions, focusing on American Indian dance competitions and ceremony competitions, training, noted as “the single greatest program emphasis” (Order of the Arrow, 2014b), and Founder's Day, which “boasts some of the best events that a NOAC has to offer” (Order of the Arrow, 2014b), including the Founder's Day Powwow.

The Order of the Arrow's emphasis on Native American culture has been a primary interest for its members, especially at events like the Indian Summer Seminar, where members receive intense training on Native American cultures, and NOAC, which focuses on training and competition. According to the National Order of the Arrow archives,

Since its earliest beginnings, the Order of the Arrow has enjoyed an almost spiritual relationship with the histories and traditions of Native American peoples. This kindred spirit is evident in the OA's ceremonies, its symbols, and even in its name. By borrowing so much in the way of culture and crafts from the American Indian, the Order has accepted an obligation to maintain the highest standards of authenticity. (Order of the Arrow, 2014c)

One can see the importance of a national event that reaches more than 5,000 members, mostly young men, at each national conference and impact it might have on notions of powwow for a non-Native public.

For the past ten years, NOAC has been held every three years to offset with the National Boy Scout Jamboree and to coincide with the centennial celebration of the founding of the Order of the Arrow in 2015. In 2006, meetings would begin to plan the 100th anniversary at the NOAC held at Michigan State University. Plans would become more solidified at the 2009 NOAC held at Indiana University, the location of the first NOAC. In 2012 held at Michigan State University, the National Lodge released specific orders of how lodges were to celebrate the upcoming 2015 NOAC to be held again at Michigan State University. The 2015 NOAC promises to be the biggest one yet according

to National Order of the Arrow Vice Chairman for National Events, Mike Hoffman (Hoffman, 2014). In a statement released on October 16, 2014, Hoffman stated that negotiations were in place with Michigan State University to secure 14,000 beds for the event, and even that would not allow the organization to clear the waitlist created for members. Furthermore, the 2015 NOAC promises to be its largest yet with competitors from lodges across the United States in dancing and drumming.

Economies of Tropes within the Order of the Arrow NOAC Powwow

The three most recent powwows were analyzed for their circulation of tropes related to powwow. Thirty-eight articles mentioned the NOAC powwow specifically. Three major tropes were identified. These major tropes were “competition,” “training,” and “honor.” Each of these tropes was subordinated to the work of “authenticity” in the circulation of tropes by the organization. Under “competition” were mentions of specific dances and singing and drumming competitions. Within a trope of “training” were details about the various classes held at NOAC to assist members in cultural mimicking. Finally, within the trope of “honor” were links to preservation. Each suggests a particular relationship to Native American culture for non-Native participants and observers, mainly that of cultural appropriation and preservation. Furthermore, it should be noted that none of these tropes circulates within isolation of each other and that each builds upon the circulation of the others.

Competition

“Competition” was a major trope circulating within the National Order of the Arrow Conference Powwow. Many attendees compete in American Indian Activities sponsored events and are judged on meeting scout definitions of “authentic” duplication of Native culture. In 2006, over 300 individuals competed in five specific types of dances (NOAC Daily News, 2006a) and in 2012, another 300 were involved in competitions including dancing, singing, and drumming (Giacalone, 2012).

One of the major components is Native regalia, the term used by the majority of Order of the Arrow publications, although “costume” has sometimes been used (2009NOAC, 2009a). In one article from 2006, “The judges base their decisions not only on the technical aspects of the dance, but on the poise of the dancers and the appearance of their regalia, which can take many months to create” (NOAC Daily News, 2006a). Moreover, the term “authenticating” (NOAC Daily News, 2006a, 2006b) is used in describing the success a dancer has in competing.

Also related to regalia and “authenticity,” one article discussed the need to teach scouts the importance of distinguishing by region. “These (American Indian Activity) committees will evaluate both individuals and teams to make sure the ceremonial costumes... do a proper job of reflecting the message of the ceremonies” (NOAC Live, 2012a). What this suggests is that in order for the correct message of the organization to be reflected in the powwow, members need to understand how to be more like actual Natives and one way to encourage this is through competition. However, “actual Natives” for many in the leadership of the Boy Scouts and the Order of the Arrow, are

actually the historically constructed image of Natives, making the claim of “authenticity” problematic for both Natives and non-Natives.

Dance and dance types are another set of tropes that are connected to “competition.” There are seven specific dancing categories mentioned during the powwows examined that members can compete in. Some of these dances are described in detail while others have sparse information given about them (2009NOAC, 2009a). Traditional dancing is mentioned as a dance meant to be similar to what is meant by traditional Northern style dance I discussed in the first chapter. The articles also mention Old Time Sioux and Straight Dance without any explanation of their meaning. Fancy Dance and Grass Dance are both mentioned and are meant to portray the same things, again from chapter one. The last two remaining dance categories mentioned are authentic historical dance and group dance.



Figure 3. Eagle Dance. Order of the Arrow members participate in Group Dancing competition performing what is thought to be an eagle dance (Order of the Arrow, 2009a).

Group dances allow members to team up with fellow members to perform a specific dance routine that is supposed to be historically tied to a specific tribal group. One example seen in pictures has young men in what appears to be eagle costumes performing what is thought to be an Eagle Dance, although no details accompany the photograph (Figure 3).

In 2012, the competition results note specifically an “authenticity” award for historical dance going to Eswau Huppeday Lodge (NOAC Live, 2012b), a lodge located in Gastonia, North Carolina. In no other NOACs examined is there such a thing mentioned as an award for “authenticity.” However, it ought to be noted that “authenticity” is implied in each and every one of these competitions as they are meant to replicate the actual practices by Natives as understood by the leaders of the Order of the Arrow and the judges of each competition. In this way, competition is metonymically linked to “authenticity” and “honor.” These replications may or may not be the actual practices, however, suggesting that they do not honor Natives at all.

Singing and drumming competitions are also mentioned, but less often than dancing. In articles that cited singing and drumming, most mentioned that Southern and Northern styles were categories groups could enter, and noted the winners of those competitions. However, no distinction is made in terms of style or history in the articles. One thing of importance to note, though, is that among the many pictures of American Indian Activities at NOAC a fair amount of them include singing and drumming, although again, less often than dancing competitions.

One consequence of these circulations noted by the National Order of the Arrow program is that “By participating in these dance competitions lodges can further improve

themselves and show great respect for the Order's Native American Heritage" (Boyer, 2012). Competitions aid in the circulation of a trope of "honor" of Native culture while further allowing for cultural appropriation through "authenticity" and preservation which is outlined in a circulation of "honor." However, one other major event in the examination of this trope is worth noting.

Winners of these competitions are given great honors, especially when they are showcased at the major arena shows during a NOAC arena show to be seen by all participants. This has been a common occurrence, but one NOAC in particular shows the cross over in tropological exchange. 2009 saw one of the most extravagant shows linked to the competition results. At this particular NOAC, one show entitled "Founding Fathers" featured the top singers and dancers of the competition and the example of Native histories as the best the Order of the Arrow has to offer (Cornerstone, 2009a). One article said, "If you have an interest in American Indian Culture and enjoy Indian dance, Monday's show could possibly have been your favorite show" (2009NOAC, 2009b). The "Founding Fathers" show used the image "The Founding Fathers II" by Australian artist David Behrens (2014) as a motif for the convention theme "The Power of One" to stress the sacrifice Native leaders portrayed in the image made for their tribes. This suggests that the honoring of these winners of competitions places even more emphasis on honoring Natives, especially in light of this arena show discussed in more detail below.

Circulations of "competition" show how members of the Order of the Arrow and the Boy Scouts of America understand cultural practices such as powwow as those to be judged and awarded. The particular criteria mentioned speak to "authenticity" as

perceived by the leaders of the organization for members in mimicking Native practices while providing very little detailed insight into each of these types of styles of dancing, styles of regalia, or singing and drumming types. This is mirrored in the circulation of training in Native American artifacts and practices by the Order of the Arrow. As leaders attempt to socialize members into their understanding of Native customs, “training” is essential to establishing criteria for competition and for a better understanding of how replication can actually “honor” Native people.

Training

“Training” and teaching are a very important aspect of the activities at NOAC. We saw “education” as an important trope within the UND powwow. There certainly is a metonymic link between the two concepts, but “training,” although also “education” within the Boy Scouts of America, is very specific in educating members to replicate the practices of American Indians as defined by the organization. In this way, “training” works metaphorically, rather than how “education” worked metonymically in the previous chapter.

Approximations of American Indian practices are among the most common types of classes taught, from dances, singing, and drumming like at powwow, to American Indian games and outfitting. There are a plethora of classes that are offered. According to one article, “These educational opportunities included a number of different American Indian dances, cultural background training, beadwork, bone work, and regalia construction captivated Arrowmen” (NOAC Daily News, 2006c).

Many members will attend these classes to learn the basics of very complicated cultural artifacts. Most classes will last only an hour, or an hour and half at most. “Experts” as identified by the national planning committee “will teach basics of how to make such regalia to Arrowmen during the week” (2009NOAC, 2009c). These basics are meant to introduce members to the most elementary elements of Native culture, but often lack a deep understanding. Furthermore, in one article, experts and other members who have been competing through multiple NOAC’s are referred to as curators who wish to propagate these basic understandings. “The ‘curators’ of the exhibition encouraged attending Arrowmen to ask questions about the garments on display to learn more about crafting their own during this year’s NOAC” (NOAC Daily News, 2006d). However, “training” does not stop here as a tropological exchange. Members are not only curators of a fading tradition, nor only thespians putting on great shows; they are the agents of cultural production, even though many are not a part of the American Indian culture.

To the end of having members learn and duplicate the basics of American Indian craftsmanship, NOACs typically have retail shops. Referred to as trading posts, these shops sell various kinds of event merchandise, but they also feature Native American craft items or ready-made regalia items. These shops also include books and other various media to teach oneself about creating Native American items (CornerstONE, 2009b). Many members will visit these shops in order to get craft items like bells and feathers and beads to complete outfitting for powwow dancing and ceremony participation. What makes these “training” tropes even more powerful is their circulation with “competition” and “honor.”

Like the crossover between “competition” and “honor,” “training,” too, sees overlaps. Within “competition” were multiple intersections, further demonstrating its metonymic function, and promoting the metaphoric function of “training.” For instance, one article discussed the importance of getting feedback from expert judges to craft better regalia and dancing and drumming techniques. These “better” fragments of cultural production are meant to encourage members to play the correct parts in “honoring” and “competing.” “They (competitors) are judged by persons who are knowledgeable in different areas of American Indian history. The competition offers participants an opportunity to receive feedback on their design and final product. The creation of American Indian regalia is an art and the participants are looking to improve their craft” (NOAC Daily News, 2006e). Furthermore, articles stated that this crafting was an ongoing and time intensive process to help better replicate items for competitions. “Many hours of study, practice, and craftsmanship go into the competitions” (CornerstONE, 2009c) and another article by Boyer (2012) notes that there is a significant amount of training that goes into these competitions as well. The need to do things correctly is noted above as well under competition, but is worth noting again here to demonstrate the way that the exchange between “competition,” “training,” and “honor” takes place. “These (American Indian Activities) committees will evaluate both individuals and teams to make sure the ceremonial costumes... do a proper job of reflecting the message of the ceremonies” (NOAC Live, 2012a). The article goes onto claim that the instructors of the courses and judges of the competition hope that attendees will take the knowledge home to other members not attending NOAC and that the ultimate goal is that members dress and act appropriately. One sees the shadow of non-Native notions of authentic Native

culture as the leaders encourage the replication of potential stereotypes through the circulation of all three of these tropes together. However, there is one other crossover.

I have also noted that “competition” circulates with “honoring,” and so we can also see that “training” circulates with “honor” as it circulates with “competition.” One article stated, “Their (members’) desire to improve their craft, in order to honor those who came before them is truly inspirational” (NOAC Daily News, 2006d). Training for better competition further reflects the power of imitation in honoring Native Americans in the Order of the Arrow specifically and the Boy Scouts of American in general. If this is not suggested, although I argue it is, it is stated explicitly in the trope of “honor.”

Honor

From the statement provided by the Order of the Arrow above concerning Native culture cited above (Order of the Arrow, 2014c), it should be clear that one of the major relationships within the tropological exchange would be that of “honor.” As the Order of the Arrow draws upon Native culture in its construction of ceremonies and awards makes clear, the leaders of the organization feel a strong need to claim some kind of authenticity for themselves in their subject positions by clinging to a particular kind of authenticity as explained by Philip Deloria (1998).

“Authentication,” mentioned under “competition,” finds an important intersection here in “honoring” as well. Many articles mentioned how having authentic replication gave honor to American Indians. “The sense of connection with the past, and the appreciation for the history of the Order was palpable” (NOAC Daily News, 2006b). Furthermore, “Honoring the American Indians through respectful imitation is just one

way the Order helps to preserve and educate future generations on the earlier ways of the first ‘Americans’” (NOAC Daily News, 2006c). These articles link the activities of the Order of the Arrow specifically to imitation, which one can read as attempting to recreate authentically the practices and artifacts of Native American culture. There are a few questions to be asked, though. For instance, what is authenticity for the NOAC participants, how does such imitation honor, and who defines what this honor is or what it means? For now, it is enough for us to ponder these things here in our discussion of honor as a trope within an economy of powwow but I will provide some insights as I discuss the circulation of these tropes together to conclude this chapter. However, I return to the intersection of these three tropes.

Within “honor” discourse, we find the overlap of “training” and “competition” as well. One article went as far as to claim “The dedication required to study each dance and the long hours that are required to become proficient truly show the respect and admiration that these Arrowmen have for the history and customs of the American Indians” (NOAC Daily News, 2006a). This demonstrates how learning and being trained in Native culture somehow shows honor for Native peoples, metaphorically standing in for such acts that might actually do so. Furthermore, within “competition,” members feel they are showing a deep respect for American Indians by replicating their practices. One competitor is quoted as saying, “It felt neat that we were honoring another culture” (NOAC Live, 2012c). Although the question of “honor” is again before us, what this demonstrates for us is that economies are reinforced when tropes prop each other up, through metaphor and metonymy, in their circulation, like that of “honor,” “training,” and

“competition.” However, one other interesting thing should be noted about how the Order of the Arrow honors Native peoples.

The national programming committee attempts to include actual Native American people in the planning and execution of NOAC. Little information is provided through the advertising and event coverage, but there are notes of where actual Natives have participated. One such person honored with the Red Arrow Award, the highest national award for non-members of the Order of the Arrow, in 2009 (Boyer, 2009). Rosetta LeClair, a Ponka and Otoe American Indian of White Eagle, OK, is noted specifically for offering the invocation at the beginning of the 2006 NOAC powwow and for other contributions to the Order specifically related to her sharing her knowledge of Native culture with her local lodge as well as the national lodge (NOAC Daily News, 2006e; Boyer, 2009). Native participation with the Order of the Arrow and NOAC suggests that some Native Americans do not find imitation as problematic as some like Vine Deloria or Philip Deloria might. However, this does not suggest that the NOAC powwow, in its attempt to honor Native people, does not beg more critical examination. In only this instance does actual Native participation come to be recognized in the tropological exchange of the NOAC powwow. In this way, it goes to reinforce the markers of “authenticity” one finds in circulations of “competition” and “training,” especially when noting LeClair’s sharing of knowledge.

“Honor,” as a trope, is particularly important for the Order of the Arrow as it draws upon the authenticity it wishes to claim for its members and for the Boy Scouts of America, functioning metaphorically. As demonstrated above, this authenticity is problematic, but these problems are masked as honoring actual Native peoples, first by

honoring those that participate and second, by not mentioning those that are not involved in correcting the organization.

Boy Scout Powwows: Authenticity as Non-Native Fetish

From this examination, one can begin to understand the function of Boy Scout powwows within a particular economy circulated by non-Native scouts and scouters, a reference to adult members of the organization. Addressing the symbolic site of relationships as Lundberg (2012) asks us to do, the tropological exchange of Native identities for Boy Scouts through “honoring” and “competing” help to create unicity for participants and onlookers. This is feigned, as it always is, but even more so because these are non-Natives playing Natives, a subject position that is necessarily fleeting from them. This playing with identity reinforces the political issues surrounding the non-Native to Native relationships expressed in the history of those relationships. Finally, these performances are always public in their meaning creation and reinforce the issues presented in creating unicity and constructing identity. So, what do these circulations tell us about the relationship specifically?

The Boy Scouts of America is steeped in a history that attempted to replicate some of the sociological elements of Native tribal communities of the early 18th and 19th centuries through the pedagogical practices of Seton. However, with the rise of American exceptionalism, especially in the shadow of World War I and the rejection of Beard and Powell, this would see less official usage in the mainstream Boy Scout program. However, it would be picked up in a more intensive way through the Order of the Arrow. The leaders of the Order put a major emphasis on the ability to sacrifice one’s own

personal ambitions for the needs of others, something non-Natives often attribute to historical Native peoples. For this reason, the Order of the Arrow continues to claim “our identification as an organization is most notably tied to that of Native American tribes” (NOAC Live, 2012a).

This can be problematic for those who recognize the problems with cultural play, especially when actual people are ignored. The Order of the Arrow’s tropological exchanges surrounding the NOAC powwow hardly ever mention actual Native people, and even in the one case they appear, it is tied to that person’s passing on historical knowledge. In this way, the Boy Scouts of America create problems of historical replication mentioned by Vine Deloria (1984) and the problems perpetuated by anthropologists.

The circulations within the NOAC powwow demonstrate this more than any of the other information from the Order of the Arrow, although that information circulates and gets reinforced in other areas (Order of the Arrow, 2014d). Within “training” and “competition,” members are told they are “honoring” actual Native people and practices. I mentioned earlier that this calls into question what “honor” actual means. From the circulations surrounding “honor,” it means imitation and replication and these are done through “training” and “competition,” demonstrating their metonymic and metaphoric qualities and creating a vicious cycle of “honoring” at the expense of contemporary Native people who find this actually a dishonor. Replication cannot metaphorically stand in for actual acts by Native people and still bring honor. This is similar to what is seen in the previous chapter in connection to the Fighting Sioux and identity for Natives and non-Natives.

This dishonor can come in multiple forms, but from the circulations of these tropes, we find that it is through a very superficial understanding of historical Native practices that are practiced by some contemporary Natives, but more often than not, are simply a replication of the expectations, or stereotypes, non-Natives have of Native peoples as outlined by Philip Deloria (1998; 2004). However, this is not seen by many of the Order of the Arrow members because duplication equals “honor” in this particular economy of tropes. Which brings me back to the questions posed above; what is “authenticity” for the NOAC participants, how does such imitation “honor,” and who defines what this “honor” is or what it means?

The latter two questions about “honor” are answered in detail above. Whether limitation is “honor,” and what this honoring does or means, is inherently dependent on the individuals who are approaching the question. For some Natives who are involved in the Order of the Arrow program, by assisting in training and competition events honor is given to their culture. For other Natives, working with the program might offer a kind of corrective. For even more Natives, though, such imitation of stereotypes or historical understandings of Native people, especially as they contribute to the pan-Indian movement as the Boy Scout founders did, is a dishonor and a blatant disregard for the way real contemporary Natives live their cultures. Such is the problem noted by the training/education offered to the non-Natives who encounter the University of North Dakota powwow. Contemporary Native people have an actual presence in stating what honor might actual be for Native American people. This is not necessarily always the case for the Boy Scouts and the Order of the Arrow.

The question of authenticity, though, is incredibly important. I have claimed that some have written about non-Natives' need to find an authentic subject position. Authenticity in this sense is not always specific to Natives, but for writers like Philip Deloria and Huhndorf it is. Native American people have been perceived as inherently more connected to some kind of ephemeral reality, something that is attractive for everyone, not just non-Natives. This is because of the need for individuals to have a better understanding of themselves and a connection to something meaningful. This is the crux of Lacanian theory of subjectivity and culture.

“Authenticity,” though, ought to be considered nothing more than a trope in the economy surrounding culture and identity. “Authenticity” works metaphorically to allow subjects to occupy a subject position they may not feel they otherwise can without specific cultural acts. As a concept, authenticity holds power only in that individuals give it buying power in the creation of subject positions. From this standpoint, it is an empty signifier that is granted power for strategic purposes in the economic exchange of language. This is not only true in the case of powwow and non-Natives approach to Native culture, but the problems of authenticity's exchange are exacerbated in this instance. Authenticity is used by the Boy Scouts of America as a way of giving power to their construction of Native culture while actual Natives might use it as a way of excluding those definitions.

Kwame Anthony Appiah (2006) claims that authenticity has problems because of the “contamination” that happens within cultural exchange. Appiah (2006) says, “Living cultures do not, in any case, evolve from purity into contamination; change is more a gradual transformation from one mixture to a new mixture, a process that usually takes

place at some distance from rules and rulers, in the conversions that occur across cultural boundaries” (p. 5). The notion that cultures, or identities, start from a pure (read authentic) base and remain static is simply one of ignorance. However, as argued above, authenticity is used in this way to purchase cultural capital in its exchange so that Boy Scout members may buy “authentic” subject positions.

This is explained in great detail by Lacan. Writing about Lacanian theory of culture, Chaitin (1996) explains, “It is culture, not nature that abhors a vacuum, above all that of its own pure contingency. Yet its very existence depends on its ability to convince its members of its sustainability; that is, to deny the non-being at its heart” (p. 5).

Cultural agents typically deny the exchange that creates culture because those in power wish to maintain power through the use of the trope of authenticity (Krystal, 2012). This rejects the circulation of tropological exchange and the natural function of language and culture. Yet even if one chooses to reject this inherent task and essential process, Chaitin explains that in every replication or imitation some change is effected, thus creating more exchange and loss of any real authenticity. “He [the subject] wants to find his uniqueness by reproducing the ‘identically identical,’ the pure particularity, of the original object of satisfaction [culture], a patent impossibility since by its very nature every repetition must differ from previous instances of the ‘same’” (Chaitin, 1996, p. 9).

Authenticity for the Boy Scouts of America and the Order of the Arrow, then, is a trope that is used to aid in their understanding of competition, training, and honor. This understanding has great power within their own economic exchange of tropes. Outside of their own culture, authenticity is defined in other ways that make their own definition highly offensive in some cases. If we can approach authenticity as a trope itself and track

down its usages as a commodity in cultural understanding we can better understand how individuals can come together to create real relationships. What we learn from the NOAC exchange is that authenticity is used to push an antiquated understanding of Native culture and identity in order to appropriate what some hope to be an inherently meaningful subject position, or identity in Lundberg’s terms, for non-Natives.

I want to return to one final point that highlights this appropriation of identity more than any other. I mentioned above that the historical invocation of Native culture was used in 2009 to demonstrate the most important aspects of member identity for the Order of the Arrow.

The “Founding Fathers” show invoked Chiefs Joseph, Sitting Bull, Geronimo, and Red Cloud, four historical Native individuals, to stress the importance of sacrifice. The show had one scout encounter each chief, played by non-Native scouts, who would provide knowledge for the young man to live his life by, as seen in Figure 4.

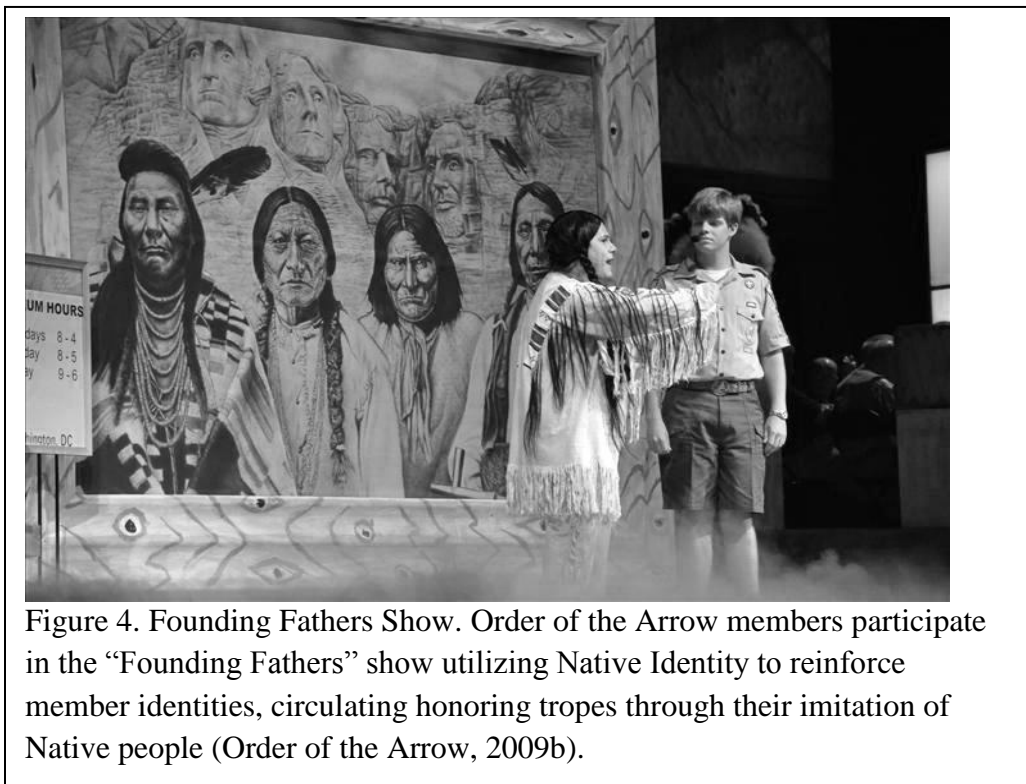


Figure 4. Founding Fathers Show. Order of the Arrow members participate in the “Founding Fathers” show utilizing Native Identity to reinforce member identities, circulating honoring tropes through their imitation of Native people (Order of the Arrow, 2009b).

The show would end when “The Scout in the skit rededicates himself to the principals of the Order after listening to each of these four Indian leaders describe how great leaders embrace the same strength, perseverance and courage as those embodied in the American Indian culture” (2009NOAC, 2009b). Adding a show like this to the powwow only reinforces the driving force of authenticity that circulates within a broader economy for non-Natives and for the members specifically of the Boy Scouts of America.

CHAPTER V

HEALING THE SACRED HOOP: THE WHITE EAGLE POWWOW

The White Eagle Multicultural Powwow began in 2000 as a memorial celebration to the life of Ralph Moisa, III, son of Ralph, Jr. and Carol Moisa. The younger Moisa, whose Native American name was White Eagle, died at the age of 19 while trying to save a wounded Red Tail Hawk trapped in a set of power lines along the highway (White Eagle, 2015a). Having known racial intolerance from an early age, Moisa, III endeavored to learn about his own and other cultures while also educating others. This was unknown to his parents, but upon his death, they discovered journals describing his efforts and his vision for the future. “He [Ralph Moisa, III] wrote that by respecting his individual heritage and learning about the traditions of others, he would gain a greater appreciation for all and begin to mend the Sacred Hoop” (Discover Adel, 2012). From the inception of this powwow, the emphasis has been on unity through understanding. For this reason, “family” and “understanding” function as tropes within this particular powwow. “Family” functions metonymically linking what happens at powwow to the values of multiple publics and to the trope of “understanding.” “Understanding” functions metaphorically, standing in for actually knowing a significant amount of information about the multiple ethnicities that are present at this powwow performance. Each of these concepts is secondary to the trope of “unity” which ties itself metaphorically to powwow as a means to unite all in intercultural relationships.

The two previous powwows I have discussed were very different from this powwow. For the University of North Dakota, Sioux people specifically, along with other Natives, have a stake in the construction of Native identity at UND. This has led to a racial component in the performance and consumption of powwow. Furthermore, as the organizers of the powwow have created a contest powwow as well as an educational event, they have found themselves following a particular format and attracting specific kinds of dancers. For instance, Southern Straight dancers might attend but the majority of traditional dancers at the UND powwow dance traditional northern style.

Having the contest dictates a certain criterion for judging as well as a limited amount of time to allow non-competitors to dance, given the format of most contest powwows. White Eagle, on the other hand, does not function as a contest powwow, and while it also has a large stake in Native identity, the history of the powwow is not as fraught with the same identity politics as the UND powwow.

The Boy Scouts of America, on the other hand, draw upon a kind of pan-Indian identity as constructed by their founders, especially Seton, and other non-Native anthropologists of an earlier era who erased many of the distinctions between tribal practices and beliefs in relationship to dancing and singing. If we recall from above, one of the main tropes for the Boy Scouts is honor through replication. The Boy Scouts attempt to offer understandings to groups other than Natives, thus creating a contradiction in honoring actual Natives through the way they have constructed it.

Furthermore, the attempted understandings are created through the training courses offered to its members. Unlike the UND powwow, which educates on customs and practices of contemporary real Natives, the Boy Scouts continue to push the

replication of historical inaccuracies and inauthentic tradition. Something interesting is at work at the White Eagle Powwow due to the location and intent of the powwow organizers.

Moisa Jr.'s background would suggest a more Southwestern understanding and style of powwow. In many ways, these types of powwows follow in stylistic step powwow as described earlier. However, Southern dance and vocal styles can vary depending on tribal identity. Moisa, Jr. is of the Yaqui nation (IPTV, 2015). Yaqui Native tribes are mainly based contemporarily out of Texas and Arizona (Glines, 2002). Cultural practices from this tribe typically borrow from more Latin American traditional beliefs and include mask dances (Valenzuela, 2002) typified in Southwestern tribes like Navajo and Pueblo (V. Deloria, 2009). White Eagle Powwow does not explicitly showcase Southwest style dancers, though.

With Moisa III's emphasis, along with his father's (IPTV, 2015) on cultural understanding, the powwow organizers invite a plethora of other traditional celebratory dancers and singers. The major emphasis is on multicultural experience drawing on a prominent trope in general economies of race and diversity very seriously. What I mean to argue from that stance is that although the UND and Boy Scout powwows do have notions of multiculturalism through education and training, these powwows do so from particular subject positions. At UND, Natives teach onlookers about Native culture almost explicitly. Again, this can be attributed to the racial history of the community and the contest paradigm of the event. In the Boy Scouts of America, no other culture has been introduced to be mimicked in ceremony-like pan-Native culture. At White Eagle Powwow, spectators see many other cultural performances other than Natives. For

instance, in 2014 the powwow featured the Juan Carlos Dancers, a Hispanic Folklore dance group that began as part of a youth outreach program for Iowa's Youth and Shelter Services in 1996 (YSS, 2015). An invitation often goes out to many different cultural groups, and participants have included Irish, Japanese, and Filipino groups to name a few. In this way, the subject position of Native people at the White Eagle Powwow vacillates between producers and consumers of multicultural understanding. At the UND powwow, Native people function as producers of information for non-Natives and at the Order of the Arrow powwow they are almost exclusively the object of consumption. This is best demonstrated through an examination of the tropological exchange.

White Eagle Powwow and the Tropological Economy

The White Eagle Powwow is, perhaps, the only multicultural focused powwow in the world (KCCI, 2012). In a community that does not have the same kind of race relations issues as the University of North Dakota and Grand Forks, this powwow capitalizes on the most diverse community in the state of Iowa bringing many cultures together. However, the personal history of the Moisa family impacts the tropological commodities exchanged. This does not negate the impact or importance of these tropes. Furthermore, this is not to say that because it is multicultural that it is without problems.

Two tropes are exchanged in the circulations of White Eagle Powwow. First, "family" is highlighted in very specific ways, with a major emphasis on children. This is most likely because of the genesis of the powwow stemming from Moisa, III's death and the writings he left behind for his parents. "Family" functions metonymically bringing the various attendees together in particular familial relationships. We ought not to be

surprised by this as it is an effective trope to break into not only powwow but non-Native and Native economies in general, as most groups place value on family and children. The usage of “family” here makes it even more effective at delivering on the second trope.

“Understanding” serves as a second trope of exchange, making the message of family more macro. Instead of focusing on grieving the loss of their son and the bigotry he experienced, the Moisas capitalize on the opportunity to help teach people about the Native community. Again, there is no surprise, given what I have discussed within the UND powwow. In this case, though, education and learning are couched in understanding and respect in much subtler ways than are even apparent at UND or especially through the Boy Scouts. Through understanding, individuals are brought together and made like-family in the economy of the White Eagle Powwow, not only in the Indian way, but in a way that takes seriously the idea of being cosmopolitan (Appiah, 2006; Papastergiadis, 2013) and multicultural (Canclini, 2005). In this way, “understanding” functions metaphorically allowing individuals to stand in for one another in the family structure. Although this sounds well and good, unity, even through these basic tenants of diversity and multiculturalism, can never be achieved. Instead, White Eagle looks to encourage unity as a material product of the exchange.

The master trope organizing these tropes is “unity.” The origin of this powwow, with an emphasis on healing the sacred hoop, dictates the way that this might be done through unifying the various ethnicities and races. As I argue below, through familial connections the powwow organizers attempt to promote intercultural understanding in order to create a healing effect through unity. In this way, “unity” becomes the most important outcome and the most powerful trope within this specific powwow.

Furthermore, “unity” works metaphorically in a broader tropological exchange because it stands in for bringing individuals together in unicity, which is never achieved in reality.

Unlike the UND and Boy Scout powwows, little public information is circulated about the White Eagle Powwow. There could be many reasons for this, but I would argue that it is mainly because of a lack of urgency to have such an event in this community. The Des Moines community and the surrounding area is perhaps the most diverse in the state of Iowa and there is not a long standing Native specific history as there is at UND or with the Boy Scouts of America. To track down the tropes for this powwow, I consulted the official website of the White Eagle Powwow and did deep web searches using DEVONagent pro. Eleven articles in the form of news reports, schedules, and event promotions were examined for written content. Ten YouTube videos were available as well, with many of them featuring Moisa, Jr. discussing the powwow. Finally, approximately 15 sites were found that featured pictures as evidence of the events at the powwow, some of which I have included here.

Family

The first major trope in the exchange at White Eagle Powwow is “family,” especially in relationship to children. As the Moisas lost a son who was very dedicated to bringing individuals together, it should not be surprising that in their own description of the powwow, they use familial terms to help individuals understand their intent and vision. In many instances, the Moisa family discuss the vision of their son and the way that their hosting the powwow is an honoring of his memory and his goal. However, the message of “family” goes from blood ties to more spiritual bonds as they discuss others

who have entered the powwow circle and taken the dream of the Moisa family beyond creating familial like bonds.

Many of the elements mentioned on the White Eagle Powwow website mention family and children being an essential element in life. Furthermore, there are mentions of the “Sacred Hoop,” a reference to Native American spirituality and religion (Young Bear & Theisz, 1994; Niezen, 2000). Describing the history of the powwow the website says, “In order to mend the ‘Sacred Hoop,’ we must remember what is important- family, children, and community. It is our goal to bring families of different races together, to bring down the walls of misunderstanding to share a little of our heritage, through music and dance, and to understand that we are all not that different” (White Eagle, 2015b). In another area the Sacred Hoop is invoked again in relationship to family and children. “The native Americans feel that the Sacred Hoop has been broken. They feel that this means that we have forgotten what is important to us, our children, families, communities and most of all our Mother Earth. If we fail to take care of these different aspects of the hoop, then the hoop will continue to be broken” (White Eagle, 2015a). Powwow organizers urge non-Native audiences to understand the important spiritual aspects of the powwow as demonstrated through the use of the circle or hoop.

Earlier, I looked at Young Bear’s discussion of the importance of casting light on the relationship between participants and the circle of powwow as cited above (Young Bear & Theisz, 1994). Through entering into the circle or sacred hoop, one becomes more aware of the relational dimensions of all life. White Eagle Powwow draws us further into the mythology surrounding the circle or hoop through the use of this mythology or spirituality. One of the major components of the hoop, according to the

website, is the familial relationship and how family impacts communal relations. One first draws this connection from the description of Ralph Moisa, III's vision for cultural unity as his relationship to his parents and the communal relationship he wished to develop with others is emphasized. Placing these relationships into Native spirituality and placing more emphasis on it here, than in the previous two powwows, demonstrates the major arguments concerning new age spirituality in the non-Native imagination of P. Deloria (1998; 2004) and Huhndorf (2001). Spiritual unity through "family" becomes an object of desire, and a valuable commodity in the tropological exchange. This is made even more urgent by the need to repair the hoop.

The hoop and the basic structure of family in exchange for larger community units is seen in other places as well. In news coverage by a local municipal newspaper, the connection is made fairly explicit: "The ever-expanding network of family, community, country and the world is joined together to form the Sacred Hoop. But the ties that bind us fray with each intolerant act, tarnishing the spirit of connectivity each race shares. White Eagle dreamt of a gathering not only to repair these bonds, but also to strengthen them" (Discover Adel, 2012). The reporter in this article suggests that through strengthening the bonds of family and community that unity can be created as a sort of religious endeavor.

The connection between family and spirituality is made again when Moisa, III's mother, Carol Moisa, comments on his vision, articulating basic social organizations with familial memories. "We do a powwow in his (Moisa, III) memory now, and he was going into schools teaching about all races being one, and churches and organizations" (KCCI,

2012). The connection to their son is also demonstrated in Figure 5, where Moisa, Jr. releases a Red Tailed Hawk in memory of his son.



Figure 5. Sacred Creature. Ralph Moisa, Jr. releases a Red Tailed Hawk in honor of his son and his attempt to free a Red Tail Hawk that ultimately led to his death (Mrachina, 2011).

The connection must be made plain. Ralph, Jr. and Carol's son is now only agent in specter. The want to extend her relationship with her son motivates her to connect and build a familial relationship with those he touched when he was alive. This creates a relationship through children in schools, inherent places of understanding, (as I discuss below and discussed at length with the UND powwow,) and churches, obvious places of connection with a creator, provide a linkage between familial tropological exchanges at the White Eagle Powwow for all to participate in.

This is not meant to be a judgment of a grieving mother attempting to maintain a relationship that can be no more. Rather, it should be recognized that the structuring rhetoric surrounding this powwow draws this into the exchange through its metonymic

function. Because most can identify with the loss of a loved one, these tropes cross into multiple economies and bring new potential investors to the economy of the White Eagle Powwow. Again, this makes the specter of unicity all that more enticing as they use this familial trope to gain unity.

Moving beyond the specific relationships within the Moisa family and the general relationships they discuss on the White Eagle Powwow, Moisa, Jr. discusses children as a connection that all races have, and suggests that children are the motivation for “understanding,” an important trope at work at White Eagle as discussed below. Moisa, Jr. says,

We all have hopes for our children; that they might grow up in a peaceful world and these kind of events, these multicultural events, where we bring many races together to dance in unity and harmony to share our heritage and to dance together in our Indian Circle. That they might share this history and go out into the communities and remember what they learned here. (Routh, 2008)

It is hoped by those circulating this trope, that children and their welfare as the motivation for “understanding” is a powerful argument. Children serve as vulnerable pieces of negotiation. Race relations are often most vitriolic when children are involved (Munin, 2012; Vaught, 2011) because children often lack the understanding for being hated or have few emotional and physical defenses when dealing with it (Priest, Paradies, Trenerry, Truang, Karlsen, & Kelly, 2013). Therefore, drawing upon this “understanding” Moisa, Jr. first draws an important reason for participation, not just

observation. Of course, this builds upon the trope of family and children, but then leads into an important aspect of familial rhetoric.

Where family is connected to unity and harmony, we see a rejection of judgment of differences. Although families are not sites free of judgment and conflict, one often thinks of them as places of unconditional love and understanding because of a shared history and culture (Robin & Foster, 2003). Through using phrases like sharing and heritage along with an emphasis on rearing children together for peace, White Eagle Powwow urges one to see multicultural understanding comes through changing the way our children think about familial relationships. This is made most clear in one other quote from Moisa, Jr. Not only does White Eagle Powwow have this potential to purchase understanding through the creation of familial bonds, but also he presents material evidence of such a change. He says,

We've had young ones grow up from young little kids that ten years later they have gone on to go on to college and go on to start their own lives.

So, we know that they've taken it with them these things they've learned here in this circle. And we're honored to be a small part of that change.

We know our children deserve a peaceful world and this is our way of helping in that way. (Routh, 2009)

Having claimed effectiveness in achieving a more peaceful world through building these bonds, Moisa, Jr. buys a greater share in the economy of multicultural "understanding" that can only be facilitated in this case through children connecting families connecting a plethora of other social units to the sacred and to attempts at unity. Yet more examples can be seen in pictures taken at the event.

In the first picture below (Figure 6), we see two small children united under an umbrella. At this particular powwow, the photographer tells us, it was raining and many individuals were attempting to crowd under umbrellas. This particular picture, though, features two younger girls of different races. The description mentions that the girls were



Figure 6. Best Friends. Two young girls huddle under an umbrella at the White Eagle Powwow. Is this a suggestion of the power of multiculturalism at this powwow? (Mrachina, 2011).

best friends. Did they have this relationship beforehand or is this a sincere creation from their participation at White Eagle Powwow? The answer is indeterminable. We are left with the denotational message of the photo and the linguistic message of the photographer (Barthes, 1978). What is clear as an intended connotative message is the visual of races coming together under an umbrella for protection speaks loudly as a metaphor for the familial connections and understanding described by Moisa, Jr. The umbrella serves as the shield, much like understanding does, and the girls are united in

their attempts to shield themselves from intolerance. Only shielding each other together can this be accomplished.

Another photo demonstrates the emphasis on the hoop and connection. Figure 7 features a group of individuals forming a circle for what looks like a Round Dance. At center is an American Indian dressed in Northern Traditional Dance regalia. To his left is a non-Native woman and to his right is a Native dressed in Grass Dance attire. Around the rest of the circle one can see the majority of dancers are non-Natives, including a man



Figure 7. Round Dance. Attendees and performers participate in a Native American Round Dance. Many of the participants featured here are non-Native children reinforcing the trope of family and children (Neibergall, 2014).

in a kilt, and many of those non-Natives are children. They also happen to be dancing around a medicine wheel or sacred hoop constructed by Moisa, Jr. This visual representation of unity further solidifies the buying power family and community has within this powwow's tropological economy due to the connotational messages we can draw from the photo.

These photos, often in close proximity to descriptions of the powwow using the same tropological terms as “family,” visually reinforce the economic work these tropes do through their connotative meanings. The photos also serve as the visible representation of the metonymical work taking place in “family.” Concepts of “family” are made visceral as children are seen within the transformation and are used within the exchange in more material ways than just words. As with the previous two powwows, though, a second trope overlaps and circulates with “family” that makes each trope all the more important. Through “family” and interaction, one achieves “understanding,” another veiled term for education and training.

Understanding

As was the case in the previous two powwows examined, each trope supports the exchange of others, and in the case of White Eagle the play between “family” and “understanding” is essential. Furthermore, where training and education are linked in a general economy of powwow from the specific powwow of Boy Scouts and UND respectively, White Eagle Powwow’s circulation of this same trope is identified as “understanding.” Instead of using the language of education and training, tropological exchanges here suggest an even more subtle goal- correcting for the previous poor relationships between Native and non-Natives. In this way, “understanding” stands in metaphorically for this end. One of the most important goals of the Moisa family is to help educate others about Native Americans and some of their shared customs which is similar to the ends of the UND powwow. However, as I suggested above, White Eagle Powwow also insists that Natives, too, have something to learn about the cultures of other

participants. I do not mean to suggest that this somehow makes White Eagle better than any other powwow, but rather want to point out that this is an important distinction between this particular powwow and most others. First, I would like to develop the argument for “understanding” and its connection to “family.” Then I will move onto why the multicultural aspects of the powwow demonstrate understanding in a material way at White Eagle.

In many of the descriptions of the White Eagle Powwow, “understanding” is invoked as a means to create a more peaceful world for the future. This is seen in many of the comments I have noted above, but it also shows up explicitly connected in other statements. First, looking at the history of the powwow and the motivating factors for memorializing Moisa, III, the White Eagle website begins by explaining that he wished to gain a better understanding through interactions: “As a child, Ralph was often discriminated against because of the color of his skin. Rather than responding in anger, Ralph learned more about his culture with the aid of his parents. In this way, Ralph hoped to gain a greater appreciation for other cultures through understanding of his own culture” (White Eagle, 2015a). In this way, families and interaction are used to demonstrate how “understanding” can come about through learning. In fact, learning is used in reference to children and “understanding” in yet another section of their website: “We live in a new and dangerous world. If we can teach our children to be accepting and tolerant, but also know who they are, and be proud of their heritage then we can begin to heal” (White Eagle, 2015c). In another instance, Moisa, III is mentioned as wanting to bring individuals together, and that through his vision made manifest in this memorial event, others have come together and create this understanding. Moisa, Jr. says,

After he (Moisa, III) died, he left us writings and notes and newspaper articles about things he hoped for things that we saw in the paper we used that he saved so that we can dream for this kind of gathering to happen. This powwow is in honor of that memory. We celebrate his memory by remembering his goal and we made it our goal and there's people that come here in our circle that make it their goal too. To join us in our circle and share a little bit of their heritage. (Routh, 2009)

The goal of creating understanding between groups of people becomes another central part of organizing the powwow. In the end, Moisa, Jr. wants to make those who come to the powwow share the goal and actual understanding. He claims as much at the beginning of one video where he is quoted as saying, "I have the honor of being here with our family; with the people we call our family who join us here" (Routh, 2009). In this way, "understanding" reinforces and draws from "family" as a commodity for exchange. As understanding is created, the familial ties are constructed and the hoop is restored. This is demonstrated in a video posted by Royce Lerwick (2010) on YouTube.

Lerwick was a part of an Irish dancing group called Scoil na dTri organized by Brenda Buckley. Buckley had passed away prior to the 2010 powwow, but she had embraced the goal of the Moisa family early on and dedicated her group to performing every year. At the 2010 powwow, the Moisa family and the Scoil na dTri performed a memorial dance for Buckley at the White Eagle Powwow. In the video, Moisa, Jr. describes his connection to Buckley and describes her like family. This connection is garnered through the goal of creating understanding through these two different racial groups. Here, one finds one of the most incongruent elements of the White Eagle

Powwow compared to the two previous. Where understanding comes in the form of training and education about Native people and their practices, White Eagle Powwow organizers wish to create understanding between and about multiple cultures.

This is not necessarily a corrective to the problems of “education” and “training” in the powwows of the Boy Scouts or UND. This sense of “understanding” still contains notes of condemnation in the historical relationships between Natives and non-Natives. One of the key elements that Moisa, Jr. brings up is the sad history of the Native people. He argues that all who come to the powwow need to understand this history. On one end of the spectrum, he admonishes especially the White audience members, even though this may be subtle. On the other end of the spectrum, by simply mentioning the history and quickly dismissing it, the details of that history are made less important and ignores the important implications of said history. There is a further implication as well.

This type of education read as “understanding” comes at a cost. Instead of only focusing on Native identity and histories, the powwow is opened to non-Natives to speak back as well. White Eagle Powwow accepts this cost, though, in order to alleviate the relational contradictions that might be involved in non-Native and Native relationships. In this way, they can create the familial and community bonds Moisa, III envisioned.

Looking at the schedule of any of the White Eagle Powwows uncovers a significant amount of other cultures featured in the program. Furthermore, they represent all different continents around the world. For instance, 2008 included an African style group singing and drumming indigenous songs for participants (Routh, 2008b). Other cultures highlighted include South American, Japanese, traditional Spanish, Greek, Irish, and Pacific Islands to name a few (White Eagle, 2015d).

A significant amount of photographs have been dedicated to highlighting the fact that White Eagle is so multicultural. In Figures 8, 9, and 10 present visual examples of the different cultures featured at the powwow. Each of these pictures holds certain denotative meanings linked to the representation of different cultures at the powwow. However, they also hold certain connotative meanings linked to the framing of powwow as understanding as well.



Figure 8. Greek Dancers. Members of a Greek dancing troupe perform for those attending the White Eagle Powwow (McLaughlin, 2011).

Each of the featured photos demonstrates a vast difference in the cultures that are represented at White Eagle Powwow. Looking at the connotative meaning behind the photos as associated with understanding, one can find some significant issues at play. In Figure 8, the Greek Dancers featured are few in number and because they are mostly White and whose gaze happens to be on their own steps suggests that the dancers are self-motivated compared to the dancers in other pictures. This representation of Greek culture,



Figure 9. Japanese Dancer. A Japanese woman performs for a crowd at the White Eagle Powwow (Neibergall, 2014).



Figure 10. Spanish Dancers. Youth members of a traditional Spanish Dance group prepare to perform at White Eagle Powwow (McLaughlin, 2012).

then, serves a less vital role in promoting culture than that of the individuals in Figures 9 and 10. Instead, it implicates this particular non-Native group, not simply that they are Greek, but also that they are a light skin color which could stand in for any White non-Native. This photo is also tilted suggesting an askew relationship as they dance upon the Sacred Circle.

Figure 9 features an Asian woman centralized and emphasized in the photo. The focus of her eyes is intently on someone in the distance, perhaps a yearning for understanding, as suggested by the circulating tropes. Figure 10 takes advantage of the first trope, family and children, to focus the importance of cultural performances of identity for young Hispanics, along with those of other cultures. Furthermore, powwow from the description from the literature cited earlier and from the analysis of the two previous powwows do not suggest that such cultures would be featured in performances. In this way, the Moisa family changes understanding from teaching or training about Native culture to something much more macro.

This does not mean that Native cultures do not still take center stage. The majority of the schedules feature Native dancing over half of the scheduled time. Moreover, as I have suggested earlier in this piece, Native history is important for powwow in general, but Moisa, Jr. highlights its importance in many different venues. For him, it does not serve as something to create non-Native guilt, although it must be acknowledged, but is a way to move towards understanding and a demonstration of why the history of the Native people is so important. In discussing the powwow with KCCI, a local television news station, Moisa, Jr. says, “We remember our sad history, but we also want to move on and invite all the people who have joined us in our lands and in this

country and come from all over the world to live in the Des Moines, Iowa area and we think we need to learn a little bit about each other” (KCCI, 2012). Invoking the term sad history, meaning Native to non-Native history in general, although the case of his son may serve as a representative anecdote, he acknowledges the common knowledge about most Natives held by most non-Natives but abolishes non-Native guilt to move forward. In at least two other interviews, he mentions the same issues but does so in a different way. In speaking to one person Moisa, Jr. says,

We want to remember our heritage and that’s the heritage of the red people who were on this continent before anyone else was here. And our history is sad but our hopes are good for our future. We were invaded by several different races that came here to take things from us but we also want to start over and hope that people will come and join us in our circle in peace and so built this circle and put together this gathering to invite people to join us and share their heritage and history with us. (Routh, 2008)

In an interview a year later he says,

We celebrate the uniqueness of our races. We, the Indian people call ourselves the red race, and we have been honored to put on this gathering and bringing other races to our circle. We do have a sad history of many people coming from different lands to take things away from us, put us on reservations, and put us in places we do not want to be. We want to remember those sad times so we can move on and invite people that are new to our country or people that are not very understood well and bring

them to our circle. We have had people come here from many different nations and they become a part of our community. So, I feel, our family has felt for ten years now, that we need to bring them together. (Routh, 2009)

In the quotation, Moisa, Jr. discusses the need to acknowledge the history that I mentioned earlier. This may be, in part, because he anticipates some kind of guilt or some ill-conceived feelings about Native people being overbearing about the history between Natives and non-Natives. In the latter quotation, instead of simply moving on from this history he suggests that acknowledging that past can help demonstrate a need to be more open to those newly entering the community. In this way, “understanding” becomes the corrective, functioning metaphorically in this instance. Not only does this advocate for an understanding of the way Native American’s in the community may feel, but also extends an open hand to those non-Natives who may be experiencing dissonance. In this way, Moisa, Jr. demonstrates the need for understanding again while reiterating the familial obligations of accepting communities. Noting the poor treatment of Natives previously, demonstrates the way that lack of understanding led to atrocities that the White Eagle Powwow would underplay, both as exemplified in the histories presented earlier in this piece and those Moisa, III faced as a young American Indian man.

These acknowledgements of history are further exemplified in another excerpt from Moisa, Jr.’s interview with KCCI. In it he notes that these histories are riddled with half-truths, but that through coming together as familial units, diversity and understanding can be leveraged. He says,

We're laughing at our misconceptions, enjoying the personalities of our families of those who have come to join us there. And we find out that in our diversity there is great strength and strength that we can use to help better our community and help our children to learn better about each other about themselves just by exposing them to other cultures and sharing some of the things we have in common. We have many things in common. (KCCI, 2012)

In circulating these tropes together, and by featuring non-Native groups in the White Eagle Powwow, the Moisa family demonstrates an understanding of powwow that is different than most would expect. They also change the relationship the Natives and non-Natives have to the definition of powwow and to the tropes circulated within it. For instance, understanding, which corresponds thematically with education and training featured in the previous two powwows, is something for all to achieve. In essence, it does not only mean a correction to the previous Native and non-Native relationships as is the case at UND and in the Boy Scouts. Furthermore, by creating understanding through the familial unit, the White Eagle Powwow dismisses the guilt that might otherwise be felt by non-Natives as families are accepting and encourage love.

The Sacred Hoop: Unity as Master Trope

It should be clear that within the White Eagle Powwow a stronger connection to the sublime is intended based on the intent of the Moisa family to memorialize their son, and by their emphasis on the Sacred Hoop in their description of “understanding” and “family.” It is through the acceptance of what one might label attempts at unity that

Moisa, Jr. feels that all individuals will find peace with themselves and the Creator. In describing his ultimate hopes for the powwow he says,

That though we may be from different with different things unique to our people that we still live on this sacred globe, this Mother Earth, this Grandmother Earth, that we be in harmony with each other so that we can help our animal life friends and plant life friends to live in harmony with us... so we hope that you join us here and join us in peace and dance with us and laugh with us (Routh, 2008).

What we find here is the greatest lure of unicity than in any of the previous powwows examined. Purchasing power through “family” and “understanding,” bringing about “unity,” are basic commodities in most cultural group economies. This overlapping of economies and then an appropriating of them for the purposes of the White Eagle Powwow gives them perhaps the greatest buying power of all the powwows examined here because the specific purpose is “unity.” Many of those attending the powwow come to experience this spectral understanding but leave with the desire of unicity unsatisfied or with it intensified as they come perhaps close to achieving it. “Unity,” can only metaphorically stand in for attempts at it, though.

In the UND powwow, the ultimate goal is not explicitly unity, although it is always suggested. Instead, the tropological exchange demonstrates a need to educate all that are involved in the community in order to bring about a more just environment for the Native stakeholders. In this way, Natives are honored and continue their cultural traditions in meaningful ways. Although this too creates unity, it is unity in one direction, mostly Natives into the non-Native public. It also allows non-Natives to find buy in to the

economy of tropes circulating around multiculturalism and diversity in the non-Native public. In the Boy Scouts of America, the goal is replicating stereotypical archetypes about Natives and unicity comes in the act of replication. Although seeking unity through authentic reproduction, authenticity is questioned and exchanged in multiple ways always making any unicity weak and tenuous destroying true unity.

Some may argue that the White Eagle Powwow does not, in fact, meet the definition of what a powwow is. Looking at the description of powwow presented by the literature above suggest that it has most of the major elements. It features Natives dancing in Native regalia to Native music and even features a give-away. However, it also includes dances that are not culturally a part of Native American cultures. It should be recognized that these dances could, in fact, be deemed Native but Native to particular regions of the globe. White Eagle Powwow then demonstrates the competitiveness of the tropological exchange of powwow in general. It draws upon a general economy of powwow which features honor in relationship to family and multicultural understanding, but then changes the dynamics of what those tropes mean within its own particular economy. In this way, it changes what unity and unicity may mean and adds a new relational dynamic between Native American and non-Native people. Furthermore, Moisa, Jr. demonstrates that by sharing Native culture through powwow others may create unity/unicity within their own publics. He says, “We share it in the hopes that some people might understand something about our people” (Routh, 2009).

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Powwow is one of the most important cultural practices in asserting Native identity within non-Native public spheres. However, little research exists on how the practice of powwow influences the relationship between Natives and non-Natives. The research here has begun to demonstrate how such work can be done and has offered some suggestions on the status of that relationship. Furthermore, Where most scholars ask how Native Americans use powwow to reclaim Native identity, I have shifted the focus to non-Natives, whose relationship to powwow has gone largely unexamined. I argue that powwow serves as a public space for staging diversity for non-Natives, a fact that has wide-ranging implications for Natives, too.

What conclusions can we draw from the three case studies about the relationship between Natives and non-Natives while looking at this issue through the lens of theories of publicity? Three master tropes became evident in exploring the three specific powwows in this research. First, “identity” is an important trope in which Natives and non-Natives invest themselves. This should not be surprising given the importance of identity politics for Native people. Specifically, “identity” as a trope functions metaphorically by allowing individuals to stand in for the identities constructed in these publics. Identity is contested in many of the instances of non-Native culture in relationship to Natives. Second, “authenticity” acts as an evaluative concept in judging

“identity.” As I have explained above, authenticity is problematic because of the multicultural and hybrid societies we live in. “Authenticity” continues to be a dominant trope within most economies of tropological exchange examined here. In this way, “authenticity” also works metaphorically allowing certain types of “authenticity” to stand in for others, negating, in some cases, and reaffirming, in others, particular identities. Third, “unity” is a common trope across these powwows, but is most seen in the White Eagle Powwow. Unity is an end in many intercultural exchanges because it suggests tolerance and understanding. It also suggests “honor,” in that we honor our differences and our likenesses. For this reason, “unity” stands in metaphorically for unicity. We can never achieve this, but we labor to do so through “unity.”

Two secondary tropes overlap between the three case studies. First, and probably most predominantly, “education” is featured as a very important trope within powwow in general. In each of the three powwows examined, “education” is approached in different ways, like “training” and “understanding,” but constructs a cornerstone for what is exchanged. The metonymic relationship between “identity,” “authenticity,” and “unity” makes this trans-economic function possible. In each of these powwows, “education” has served as a means of standing in for knowledge about each of the major tropes in some way. Second, through “education,” “honor” circulates in some fashion as a means of establishing equality between these two cultural groups. This is demonstrated in honoring veterans, families, and a whole multitude of people at powwow in a demonstration of solidarity. Again, the metonymic function of the three master tropes makes this possible as they each work towards “diversity” and “tolerance” as primary master tropes of these secondary master tropes. However, some tropes also diverged, especially those

circulating around the multicultural powwow in Iowa. This is because the contextual understandings of specific publics is important to note. These are examined in detail below.

To conclude, I wish to return to some of the initial elements I laid out in the theoretical framework, and to discuss what specifically it is about these overlapping tropes of education and honor that are overlapping between Native and non-Native economies. Recall that I argue that each economy aids in legitimating the other, creating concentric economies of exchange. In this way, each borrows from the other and builds upon the wealth of interaction and the ability to gain access to feigned unicity.

Of course the history between non-Natives and Natives has not been an equal one. As I outlined above, many of these issues led to the creation of a need to speak back to non-Natives in some way. As McNenly (2012) and others (Moses, 1999; Reed 2009) point out, the economic as well as the political advantages offered by Wild West Shows allowed for that opportunity which eventually evolved into the powwows we know today. As the interaction increased spurred by intentions of unicity, relations between Natives and non-Natives would naturally occur and need to be interrogated.

What is bought? The utility of powwow for non-Natives and Natives

Lundberg (2012) exhorts us to answer what utility circulations of tropes within public economies has for those attending to each economy to make it a worthwhile endeavor. Natives and non-Natives cannot be seemingly lumped together and claimed to approach powwow simply for the desire to come together to celebrate Native practices. Nor can these two groups be easily separated out to say that they each attend to powwow

for different reasons altogether. What are we to make of this relationship is essential. I would argue that there are at least three reasons supported by the literature and the research presented here that gives utility for the individuals that attend to powwow. Each is determined by the stake holding group and the attempts at unicity.

First, for Native people, powwow allows for an expression of cultural identity that is also a form of resistance as well. Second, for non-Native people, powwow allows for cultural consumption through multiculturalism. This double function of powwow has the double edged effect of allowing Natives to be commodified by some non-Natives, but also allows an open dialogue on how better to understand the other. Third, for Natives and non-Natives and their relationship, powwow allows for an interaction that addresses the historical grievances and the potential future for both groups.

Returning to the components of Lundberg's (2012) theory of publicity, we can better see where these claims are warranted. Recall, first, that individuals are motivated by a desire for unicity, or to be connected with others or Others, in publics. Some may think that this is a tropological bait and switch with terms like unity. However, Lundberg (2012) argues that unity is just another trope in a broader economy. Failed unicity is an acceptance of the fact that there are no ontological assumptions in language; therefore, a natural connection between subjects, actual and imagined, is never achievable because we only feign unicity through language.

Furthermore, publics are practices of address constituted by specific modes of relations that intersect with identity politics in spaces of appearance. For all involved, these modes of relations are established through the tropological exchange. As outlined

above, but also demonstrated in the tropes of the three cases studies, for Native people, these relations are dictated by time honored traditions.

“Honor” specifically as a trope encourages Native people to invest themselves in the cultural practices of their tribal identities and identities of Native Americans in general. In the powwow hosted by the University of North Dakota, this is demonstrated in many different ways. Powwow form is followed very explicitly in carrying in the flags by veterans along with Eagle Feather Staffs. Furthermore, prayers are said over the arena, the dancers, the drums, singers, and everyone else involved. It also is demonstrated through their passing down of tradition to younger generations and their reverence for elders. In this way, education amongst the Native community is circulated. This is not “education” in the academic sense and so operates in a socializing way. This also happens at the White Eagle Powwow. Moisa, Jr. mentions the need to educate children in almost every interview or discussion about the powwow. Furthermore, by utilizing powwow as the form for the event, the White Eagle Powwow draws upon the same Native traditions that seemingly come natural to the UND Powwow. Where these two powwow suggest a fairly easy investment for Natives, the Order of the Arrow powwow cannot so easily be answered. By being a powwow by non-Natives for Natives, Native people typically cannot find other Natives at the Order of the Arrow powwow to create a connection with. Instead, it is through being the educators thus bringing honor to Native peoples that Natives attending to the Order of the Arrow powwow can find unicity with imagined other Natives rather than physically present Natives.

These public displays of “honor” require an adherence to the ritualized rules of the culture having things done in the Indian way, something that can only be achieved

through education, training, or gaining understanding. Natives come to find themselves connected with other Natives in more meaningful ways other than skin color, and the ability to don beads and feathers. This allows those individuals to find unicity with other Natives in a way that seems real, but also the find a connection to a big “O” other that allows them to come into contact with a unified yet constructed identity of Native American (Lawlor, 2006; Peers, 2007; Siebert, 2015).

The resistive stance of Native identity for Native peoples is also present here. By participating in powwow, many Natives are offered the chance to speak back to non-Natives that they feel are an outside force, in some cases doing harm, and in other cases aiding Native people. For instance, Native performers at powwow have the opportunity to interact with non-Natives in many different ways. For instance, the UND Powwow features a sort of Native services display that allows Natives and non-Natives to learn how they can help Native people in a multitude of ways. This also happens at White Eagle Powwow where the Moisa dream was to specifically promote interactions and education.

Native investment in powwow, then, is not only about their connection with other Natives or a unified subjectivity of Natenness. It is also about the deliberative and epideictic unicity with non-Natives as well. Natives are able to break into non-Native tropological economies by drawing connections to other publicities that also utilize “honor” and education in an attempt to gain them better agency and to facilitate better acts judgment, here read as wisdom, for Natives and non-Natives in rhetorical acts concerning Natives. What are we to make of the non-Native attempts at unicity within the context of powwow?

For non-Natives, the answer could be similar to that already discussed by Philip Deloria (1998) and Huhndorf (2001). For these authors, attempts at unicity by non-Natives, especially white ones, are motivated at occupying a non-Native constructed view of Native people. In the case of the Order of the Arrow powwow, this seems like a fairly legitimate understanding of why non-Natives would participate. However, this explanation only goes as far as those who actually dance as if they were Native at powwow. What are we to make of the non-Natives that simply go to watch? This is participation, but not in the same sense as those actually performing. Furthermore, is it simple enough to say that the members of the Boy Scouts of America want to be the imagined Native? First, although incredibly insightful in their analysis, P. Deloria (1998) and Huhndorf (2001) look at the historical construction of every group that they examine, including the Boy Scouts of America. Although I, too, rely heavily on the history created by Seton and fellow founders of the Boy Scouts of America, the claim that those attending to powwow only wish to be Natives is somewhat superficial and trivializes the work of some in the organization. Second, what about those who watch and do not actually engage in construction and performance of elements of powwow? Some non-Natives engaged in the Boy Scouts of America are attempting to correct the issues created by the long organizational discourse surrounding Native identity. One main way is by bringing actual Natives to the Order of the Arrow powwow and encouraging American Indians to serve on the governing committees of the organization. One may claim that this is a continuance of the people hobbyist strategy for legitimating practices that are otherwise abusive to actual Natives. This is certainly substantiated by the discourse concerning the National Order of the Arrow Conference powwow. Very few

actual Natives are mentioned and honoring such Natives that are seems like token gestures.

In the discourses surrounding all three powwows, it is clear that non-Natives have other reasons for attempting to find unicity in powwow. In American culture today, much is made of the importance of diversity (Mor Barak, 2014; Fowers & Davidov, 2006; Hogan, 2013; Pedersen, 1999). Diversity and multiculturalism allows us to learn from one another and gain a better respect for each other. As a trope in and of itself of great value, “diversity” gets demonstrated in many different cultural events but is especially present in the visual performance of powwow. Non-Natives attending powwow can seek unicity with other non-Natives by demonstrating their valuing of diversity. In this way, they gain acceptance into other publics that might otherwise close off acceptance. By constructing “diversity” in this tropological way, “diversity” becomes the price of admission into other groups. Powwow is an easy way to demonstrate this desire, and although they may seem low stake because it does not take much to participate, especially for a non-Native, the tropological cost is significantly high for all stakeholders.

For Natives and non-Natives, alike, the issue of “diversity” and identity politics comes back to the three secondary master tropes of “identity,” “authenticity,” and “unity.” Each of these tropes is tied to each other metonymically in that each has a relationship to each other. “Authenticity” is the evaluative concept applied to “identity” and the outcome of such judgment determines the desire for “unity.” Each of these metaphorically stands in for “diversity,” which functions as a master trope for these three and a primary master trope for the eight tertiary tropes identified in the case studies.

Investments in the Future: Implications and Limitations

There are a few major implications to the work done here. First, a discussion ought to be had in the public arena about the future of the Native to non-Native relationship. The peeling away of the rhetorical ornamentation, if you will, in the tropological exchange demonstrates a significant amount of dissonance in the neo-liberal move to capitalize on diversity and multiculturalism and the ability for Native peoples to have their political and social issues addressed in the greater public sphere. A quick glance through *Indian Country News* (2015) reveals a significant amount of political discourse that does not get circulated in the non-Native media, and, therefore, falls upon deaf ears of non-Native voters.

Second, this work has operationalized the theory of rhetoric began by Lacan (2006) and advanced by Lundberg (2012) in attempting to understand rhetorical theory, discourse, and criticism as an essential element in the formation of the subject and in the circulation of all discourse. Although studies have been conducted, mostly by Lundberg (2009, 2012), to demonstrate the utility of such understandings, I have moved the analysis to a more fine-grained examination focusing on very specific texts and events. This is not to say that Lundberg's previous works are not essential to our understanding of Lacanian rhetorical theory. Instead, the micro analysis that I have done ought to serve as a replicable road map for further uses of Lundberg's theory of publicity. This is especially true when it relates back to public theory in general. By doing micro analysis utilizing this rhetorical methodology, scholars and critics are better able to track the

exchange of tropes without drawing conclusions too quickly about the exchange. In this way, doing such work recalls the important notions of circumscription advanced by Burke (1966).

This micro work also demonstrates the strength of Lundberg's theory. Lundberg (2012) states, "rhetoric is both *signifying in a condition of failed unicity* and a way of *feigning unicity in the context of failed unicity*" (p. 3). By tracking down the tropes surrounding these specific powwows and powwow in general, the contradictions that have flourished have been revealed in detail, demonstrating the way in which unicity, the theoretical motivation of the subject, and unity, the physical feeling of coming together, has this double effect. However, in enacting them through the exchanging of tropes, they reveal the impossibility of unicity. Macro examinations of such work ignores the importance of the intimate exchanges between individuals in their attempts at unicity.

Taking the current research as an example, the micro-analysis of specific publics has shown some important issues to be examined. Specifically, identifying the tertiary tropes, secondary master tropes, and a primary master trope, demonstrates the way that each public space is linked and how subjects are encouraged to act in each that might otherwise be overlooked without the fine-grain analysis. Such information tells us important things about "diversity" and about "identity," "authenticity," and "unity," as I have argued above. I would argue that this has major implications for intercultural communication as researchers attempt to understand how they might theorize commonalities and differences.

Work must continue to be done, though. We must continue to develop our understanding of failed unicity in relation to rhetoric. As a concept, feigned unicity

presents a series of implications for those advocating for social and political justice but also implicates any discourse. This is especially true in intercultural interactions as individuals work towards “tolerance,” “diversity,” and “unity” as tropes that discipline these types of interactions.

REFERENCES

Primary Case Study Documents

University of North Dakota Powwow

- Baker-Demaray, T. (2008, November 28). Time-Out Week deserves stronger support. *The Grand Forks Herald*, p. A4.
- Bezdicek, K. (2012, March 6). UNDIA finds funds. *The Dakota Student*, pp. 1, 3.
- Bezdicek, K. (2013, April 16). Additional funds allocated to Wacipi. *The Dakota Student*, pp. 1-2.
- Brown, M. (2012). City of Grand Forks Proclamation. *Time-Out Wacipi*. [powwow program]. Copy in possession of author.
- Brown, M. (2013). City of Grand Forks Proclamation. *Time-Out Wacipi*. [powwow program]. Copy in possession of author.
- Brown, M. (2014). City of Grand Forks Proclamation. *Time-Out Wacipi*. [powwow program]. Copy in possession of author.
- Carpenter, T. (2011, March 25). UNDIA plans 41st Wacipi. *The Dakota Student*, p. 1, 6.
- Dennis, T. (2010, April 13). Support Time-Out and Wacipi at UND. *The Grand Forks Herald*, p. A4.
- Erickson, E. (2012, April 24). Culture, tradition highlighted during Time-Out Week. *The Dakota Student*, pp. 1, 9, 11.
- Herald Staff Report. (2008, November 22). UND cancels Time Out Seek: Organizers cite lack of support. *The Grand Forks Herald*, p. A7.
- Hill, R. (2013, April 19). 'Time-Out' to celebrate at UND. *The Dakota Student*, pp. 1, 3.

- Jeanotte, L. (2012). Greeting Letter. *Time-Out Wacipi*. [powwow program]. Copy in possession of author.
- Jeanotte, L. (2013). Greeting Letter. *Time-Out Wacipi*. [powwow program]. Copy in possession of author.
- Jeanotte, L. (2014). Greeting Letter. *Time-Out Wacipi*. [powwow program]. Copy in possession of author.
- Jewett, B. (2010, April 16). UPD optimistic about security at Powwow. *The Dakota Student*, p. 1, 8.
- Jewett, B. (2011, DATE). Wacipi worth it. *The Dakota Student*, p. 5
- Johnson, J. R. (2008, November 23). Time Out Week cancellation: Taking a stand for more support. *The Grand Forks Herald*, p. A6.
- Marquis, A. (2011, April 11). 44th Time Out Seek focuses on gender issues. *The Dakota Student*, p. 1.
- Rainbow, D. (2012). Greeting letter. *Time-Out Wacipi*. [powwow program]. Copy in possession of author.
- Rainbow, D. (2013). Greeting letter. *Time-Out Wacipi*. [powwow program]. Copy in possession of author.
- Rainbow, D. (2014). Greeting letter. *Time-Out Wacipi*. [powwow program]. Copy in possession of author.
- Roy, M. (2012, DATE). Time-Out Week arrives. *The Dakota Student*, pp. 1, 3.
- Strauss, B. (2012). City of East Grand Forks Proclamation. *Time-Out Wacipi*. [powwow program]. Copy in possession of author.
- Strauss, B. (2013). City of East Grand Forks Proclamation. *Time-Out Wacipi*. [powwow program]. Copy in possession of author.
- Strauss, B. (2014). City of East Grand Forks Proclamation. *Time-Out Wacipi*. [powwow program]. Copy in possession of author.

Thomas, M. (2008, November 25). When the drums fall silent. *The Dakota Student*, pp. 1, 7.

Thomas, M., M. Molstad, & A. Krause. (2010, April 16). Wacipi. *The Dakota Student*, p. 4.

UNDIA. (2006). A guide to understanding the powwow as a celebration of life. [powwow pamphlet available at UNDIA student center]. Copy in possession of author.

UNDIA (2012). *Time-Out Wacipi*. [powwow program]. Copy in possession of author.

UNDIA (2013). *Time-Out Wacipi*. [powwow program]. Copy in possession of author.

UNDIA. (2014a). History. *University of North Dakota Indian Association*. Retrieved from: <http://und.edu/orgs/indian-association/history.cfm>.

UNDIA (2014b). *Time-Out Wacipi*. [powwow program]. Copy in possession of author.

Wentz, A. (2010, April 20). Supporters: honor and respect? *The Dakota Student*, p. 5, 8.

Boy Scouts of America Powwow

2009NOAC. (2009a). American Indian dance competitions. Retrieved from: <http://www.oa-bsa.org/events/n2009/live/sun/aft/dance-competitions.html>.

2009NOAC. (2009b). Monday shows. Retrieved from: http://www.oa-bsa.org/events/n2009/live/tues/moen/monday_show.htm.

2009NOAC. (2009c). The American Indian exposition. Retrieved from: <http://oa-bsa.org/events/n2009/live/sat/aft/indianexpo.htm>.

Boyer, D. (2009, August 3). Three worthy women presented Red Arrow Award. *The Cornerstone*, p. 5.

Boyer, D. (2012, August 3). Arrowmen reflect on AIA Competitions: Busy week of Native American completion yields valuable lessons. *The United Press*, p. 5.

- CornerstONE. (2009a, August 3). FoundingFathers: a sneak peak the greater good for all. *The Cornerstone*, p. 2.
- CornerstONE. (2009b, August 3). American Indian trading post. *The Cornerstone*, p. 4.
- CornerstONE. (2009c, August 1). Be sure to dance your way over to one of NOAC's many American Indian events! *The Cornerstone*, p. 3.
- Giacalone, A. (2012, August 2). AIA festival. *The United Press*, p. 5.
- Hoffman, M. (2014). 2015 National OA conference capacity- final council contingent allocations for the 2015 national conference. Retrieved from: <http://event.oa-bsa.org/events/n2015/conf/noaccapacityupdate2014-11.htm>.
- NOAC Daily News. (2006a). Dancers compete honoring American Indian traditions. Retrieved from: <http://oa-bsa.org/events/n2006/live/sun/aft/AIADANCE.htm>.
- NOAC Daily News. (2006b). Dancers and singers compete for honors. Retrieved from: <http://oa-bsa.org/events/n2006/live/mon/aft/dancsing.htm>.
- NOAC Daily News. (2006c). Arromen learn and explore American Indian traditions. Retrieved from: <http://oa-bsa.org/events/n2006/live/tue/aft/AIAcraft.htm>.
- NOAC Daily News. (2006d). American Indian expo kicks off NOAC. Retrieved from:
- NOAC Daily News. (2006e). Founders Day features a final pow wow. Retrieved from: <http://oa-bsa.org/event/n2006/live/wed/aft/powwow.htm>.
- NOAC Live. (2012a). Honoring our Native American traditions. Retrieved from: <http://www.oa-bsa.org/events/n2012/live/?p=485>.
- NOAC Live. (2012b). AIA competition results. Retrieved from: <http://www.oa-bsa.org/events/n2012/live/?p=1538>.
- NOAC Live. (2012c). A Busy week of Native American competition yields valuable lessons. Retrieved from: <http://www.oa-bsa.org/events/n2012/live/?p=1364>.
- Order of the Arrow. (2009a). Eagle dance. [Online image]. Retrieved from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20100814030527/http://oa-bsa.org/events/n2009/live/gallery/monday/photos/group-dance-competition-35.JPG>

Order of the Arrow. (2009b). Founding Fathers show. [Online image]. Retrieved from: https://web.archive.org/web/20100814022833/http://oa-ba.org/events/n2009/live/gallery/monday_show/photos/DSC_0314.JPG.

White Eagle Powwow

Discover Adel. (2012). Ralph Moisa II- White Eagle Multicultural Pow Wow interview. Retrieved from: <http://discoveradel.com/ralph-moisa-ii-white-eagle-multicultural-pow-wow-interview/>

KCCI. (2012). Event preview: White Eagle Powwow. [Video file]. Retrieved from: <http://www.kcci.com/news/central-iowa/Event-preview-White-Eagle-Pow-Wow/16211090>.

Lerwick, R. (2010). White Eagle Pow Wow 2010. [Video file]. Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0d5F6GXu2K8>.

McLaughlin, D. (2012). Spanish dancers. [Online image]. Retrieved from: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/don3rdse/7863775150/in/set-72157631251695772>.

McLaughlin, M. (2011). Greek dancers. [Online image]. Retrieved from: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/28699211@N07/6241935694/in/photolist-avzy1W-avwSKD-avzzZW-avzwvd-avzqcY-avztU7-avzykm-avwXRX-8wQZtt-avzwFW-avwNtt-avwRZ6-avwTVM-8wTZEu-aqqhSx-aqqfvX-aqqgk2-aqqhJK-aqsWyS-aqsSnU-aqsShS-aqsQas-aqsWo7-aqsUeU-aqsTnW-aqsTYG-aqsVff-aqqcJX-aqqbQR-8wQZp6-aqqg9v-aqqeRe-aqsX8N-aqsXmJ-aqsWtE-aqsTJN-aqqgCv-aqqfmH-aqqh8F-aqqcdK-aqsXdm-aqqg3Z-aqqhex-aqqcug-aqsRuq-aqsVX7-aqqbYT-aqqemr-aqqhnp-aqsUC5>

Mead, A. (2011, April 8). Wacipi powwow starts today. *The Dakota Student*, p. 1, 6.

Mrachina, J. (2011). Best friends. [Online image]. Retrieved from: <http://www.whiteeaglepow-wow.org/2011%20White%20Eagle%20Gallery%20%20Jason%20Mrachina/index.html>.

Mrachina, J. (2011). Sacred animal. [Online image]. Retrieved from: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/w4nd3rl0st/6101811120/in/set-72157627551938912>.

- Neibergall, B. (2014). Japanese dancer. [Online image]. Retrieved from: <http://www.desmoinesregister.com/picture-gallery/news/local/des-moines/2014/08/23/17-photos-white-eagle-multicultural-pow-wow-in-waukee/14503301/>.
- Niebergall, B. (2014b). Round dance. [Online image]. Retrieved from: <http://www.desmoinesregister.com/picture-gallery/news/local/des-moines/2014/08/23/17-photos-white-eagle-multicultural-pow-wow-in-waukee/14503301/>.
- Routh, R. J. (2008a). White Eagle 7th generation pow wow. [Video file]. Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aSN_Rarduhg.
- Routh, R. J. (2008b). Capoeira in Iowa. [Video file]. Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a-WDNpuMy5A>.
- Routh, 2009 White Eagle 7th generation pow wow. [Video file]. Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VcfDGorqaSg>.
- White Eagle. (2015a). History of multicultural powwow. Retrieved from: <http://www.whiteeaglepow-wow.org/history.html>.
- White Eagle. (2015b). Mending the “Sacred Hoop.” Retrieved from: <http://www.whiteeaglepow-wow.org/SacredHoop.html>.
- White Eagle. (2015c). Our goal. Retrieved from: <http://www.whiteeaglepow-wow.org/index.html>.
- White Eagle. (2015d). Schedule of events. Retrieved from: <http://www.whiteeaglepow-wow.org/EventInfo.html>.

Secondary Documents

- Adams, D. W. (1995). *Education for extinction: American Indians and the boarding school experience 1875-1928*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press.
- Agnew, J. A. & J. P. Sharp. (2002). “America, frontier nation: From abstract space to worldly place.” In J. A. Agnew & J. M. Smith (Eds.), *American space/American place: Geographies of the contemporary United States*, (pp. 79-107). Edinburgh, Scotland.

- Aleiss, A. (2005). *Making the White man's Indian: Native Americans and Hollywood movies*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group Inc.
- Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities*. New York: Verso Press.
- Appiah, K. A. (2006, January 1). The case for contamination. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from: http://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/01/magazine/01cosmopolitan.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0.
- Arendt, H. (1998). *The human condition*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Associated Press. (2012a). North Dakota nickname dispute to end: Voters say time has come to retire Fighting Sioux mascot. *NCAA*. Retrieved from: <http://www.ncaa.com/news/ncaa/article/2012-06-13/north-dakota-nickname-dispute-end>.
- Associated Press. (2012b). Fighting Sioux nickname timeline. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/06/12/fighting-sioux-nickname-t_n_1589335.html.
- Beard, D. C. (1909). Pioneer days. *Sons of Daniel Boone*. Retrieved from: http://www.inquiry.net/traditional/beard/pioneers/pioneer_days.htm.
- Behrens, D. (2014). Founding Fathers II. [Online image]. Retrieved from: <http://gallery4collectors.com/DavidBehrens-FoundingFathers2.htm>.
- Bird, S. E. (1996). *Dressing in feathers: The construction of the Indian in American popular culture*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Black, E. (1970). The second persona. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*. 46(2), pp. 109-119.
- Black, J. E. (2002). The "mascotting" of Native America construction, commodity, and assimilation. *American Indian Quarterly*, 26(4), 605-622.
- Black, J. E. (2005). Sacagawea as commodity, currency, and cipher: consequences of the US mint's gold dollar for American Indian women. *International Journal of Media & Cultural Politics*. 1(2): 226-230.
- Black, J. E. (2007). Remembrances of removal: Native resistance to allotment and the unmasking of paternal benevolence. *Southern Communication Journal* 72(2): 185-203.
- Black, J. E. (2009). Native resistive rhetoric and the decolonization of American Indian removal discourse. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 95(1): 66-88.

- Blackman, J. S. (2013). *Oklahoma's Indian new deal*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Boy Scouts of America. (2012). *12th Edition of the Boy Scout handbook*. Irving, TX: Boy Scouts of America.
- Braun, S., G. Gagnon, & B. Hans. (2011). *Native American studies: An interdisciplinary introduction*. Dubuque, IA: Kendall Hunt Publishing.
- Browner, T. (2004). *Heartbeat of the people: Music and dance of the Northern pow-wow*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois.
- Browner, T. (2009). *Music of the first nations*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois.
- Buddle, K. (2004). Media, markets and powwows: Matrices of aboriginal cultural mediation in Canada. *Cultural Dynamics*, 16(1), 29-69.
- Burke, K. (1950) *Grammar of Motives*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Burke, K. (1966). *Language as symbolic action: Essays on life, literature, and method*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Canclini, N. G. (2005). *Hybrid cultures: Strategies for entering and leaving modernity*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Carey, J. W. (1989). *Communication as culture: Essays on media and society*. New York: Routledge.
- Charland, M. (1987). Constitutive rhetoric: The case of the People Quebecois. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 73(2), 133-150.
- Chaitin, G. D. (1996). *Rhetoric & culture in Lacan*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Chilisa, B. (2012). *Indigenous Research Methodologies*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publishing.
- Clifford, J., & G. E. Marcus. (1986). *Writing culture: The politics and poetics of ethnography*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Cobb, D. M., & L. Fowler. (2007). *Beyond Red Power: American Indian politics and activism since 1900*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

- Conquergood, D. (2013). *Cultural struggles: Performance, ethnography, praxis*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Corkin, S. (2000). Cowboys and free markets: Post-World War II Westerns and U.S. hegemony. *Cinema Journal*, 39(3), 66-91.
- Cushman, E. (2008). Toward a Rhetoric of Self-Representation: Identity Politics in Indian Country and Rhetoric and Composition. *College Composition & Communication*, 60(2), 321-365.
- Davidson, E. (2014). *Aren't we Sioux enough? The truth behind the attack on the U.N.D. Fighting Sioux tradition*. Self Published.
- Davis, L. R. (2002). The problem with Native American Mascots. *Multicultural Education*, 9(4), 11-14.
- De La Cruz, E. M. (2003). Racism American style and resistance to change: Art education's role in the Indian mascot issue. *Art Education*, 56(3), 13-20.
- Deloria, P. J. (1998). *Playing Indian*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Deloria, P. J. (2004). *Indians in unexpected places*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- Deloria, V. (1988). *Custer died for your sins: An Indian manifesto*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Deloria, V. (1997). *Red Earth, white lies: native Americans and the myth of scientific fact*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing.
- Deloria, V. (2000). *Behind the trail of broken treaties: An Indian declaration of Independence*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Deloria, V. (2009). *C. G. Jung and the Sioux traditions*. New Orleans, LA: Spring Journal, Inc.
- Deloria Jr, V., & David, E. Wilkins. 1999. *Tribes, treaties, and constitutional tribulations*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- DeMallie, R, J. & D. R. Parks. (1989). *Sioux Indian religion: Tradition and Innovation*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

- Denzin, N. K. (2003). *Performance ethnography: Critical pedagogy and the politics of culture*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Denzin, N. K. (2004). Remembering to forget: Lewis and Clark and Native Americans in Yellowstone. *Communication & Critical/Cultural Studies*, 1(3), 219-249.
- Dickinson, G., B. L. Ott, & E. Aoki. (2006). Spaces of remembering and forgetting: The reverent eye/I at the Plains Indian museum. *Communication & Critical/Cultural Studies*, 3(1), 27-47.
- Ellis, C. (2003). *A dancing people: Powwow culture on the Southern plains*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas.
- Ellis, C. (2005). "The sound of the drum will revive them and make them happy." In C. Ellis, L. E. Lassiter, & G. H. Dunham (Eds.), *Powwow* (pp. 3-25). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska.
- Ellis, C., L. E. Lassiter, & G. H. Dunham. (2005). *Powwow*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska.
- Endres, D. (2011). American Indian Activism and Audience: Rhetorical Analysis of Lenard Peltier's Response to Denial of Clemency. *Communication Reports*, 24(1), 1-11.
- Eschbach, K., & Applbaum, K. (2000). Who goes to powwows? Evidence from the survey of American Indians and Alaska Natives. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 24(2), 65-83.
- Evans-Pritchard, D. (1989). How "they" see "us." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 16(1), 89-105.
- Ezard, J. (2000). Diaries back besieged Baden-Powell: Scholars claim that forced evacuation of blacks at Mafeking 'a blunder, not murder.' *The Guardian*. Retrieved from: <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2000/may/16/historybooks.books>.
- Farrell, T. B. (1993). *The norms of rhetorical culture*. New Haven, CT: Yale University.
- Feldman, A. E. (1994). Dances with diversity: American Indian self-presentation within the re-presentative contexts of a non-Indian museum. *Text and Performance Quarterly*, 14(3), 210-221.

- Fletcher, M. L. (2010). Resisting Federal Courts on Tribal Jurisdiction. *University of Colorado Law Review*, 81, 973-1026.
- Fletcher, M. L. (2012). Tribal Consent. *Stanford Journal of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties*, 8, 45-122.
- Flowers, B. J., & B. J. Davidov. (2006). The virtue of multiculturalism: Personal transformation, character, and openness to the other. *American Psychologist*, 61(6), 581-594.
- Fowler, L. (2005). Local contexts of powwow ritual. In C. Ellis, L. E. Lassiter, & G. H. Dunham. (Eds.), *Powwow* (pp. 68-84). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska.
- Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy. *Social Text* 25/26, 56-80.
- Fryberg, S. A., Markus, H. R., Oyserman, D., & Stone, J. M. (2008). Of warrior chiefs and Indian princesses: The psychological consequences of American Indian mascots. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 30(3), 208-218.
- Galeski, E. (2006). Counter/publicity: Conceiving the means of effective representation. Engaging argument. Washington, D.C.: National Communication Association. 250-256.
- Gelo, D. J. (2005). Powwow patter: Indian emcee discourse on power and identity. In C. Ellis, L. E. Lassiter, & G. H. Dunham. (Eds.), *Powwow* (pp. 130-151). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska.
- Glines, T. (2002). The Yaqui People: Yaqui History. Retrieved from: <http://www.manataka.org/page129.html>.
- Habermas, J. (1991). *The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*. MIT Press.
- Hemmer, J. J. Jr. (2008) Exploitation of American Indian symbols: A first amendment analysis. *American Indian Quarterly*, 32(2), 121-140.
- Hofmann, S. (2005). The elimination of indigenous mascots, logos, and nicknames organizing on college campuses. *American Indian Quarterly*, 29(1-2), 156-177.
- Hogan, M. (2012). *The four skills of cultural diversity competence*. Belmont, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Huhndorf, S. M. (2001). *Going Native: Indians in the American cultural imagination*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

- IPTV. (2015). Native American Storyteller/Moisa. Retrieved from: <http://www.iptv.org/l/ii/feature.cfm?featNum=41&showNum=1318>.
- King, C. R. (2004). Borrowing Power: racial metaphors and pseudo-Indian mascots. *CR: The New Centennial Review*, 4(1), 189-209.
- King, C. R., & Springwood, C. F. (2000). Choreographing colonialism. Athletic mascots, (dis)embodied Indians, and EuroAmerican subjectivities. *Cultural Studies: A Research Annual*, 5, 191-221.
- Kelley, R. (2012). University of North Dakota Proclamation. *Time-Out Wacipi*. [powwow program]. Copy in possession of author.
- Kelley, R. (2013). University of North Dakota Proclamation. *Time-Out Wacipi*. [powwow program]. Copy in possession of author.
- Kelley, R. (2014). University of North Dakota Proclamation. *Time-Out Wacipi*. [powwow program]. Copy in possession of author.
- Kelly, C. R. (2007). Rhetorical counterinsurgency: The FBI and the American Indian Movement. *Advances in the History of Rhetoric*, 10, 223-258.
- Kelly, C. R. (2010). Orwellian language and the politics of tribal termination (1953-1960). *Western Journal of Communication*, 74(4), 351-371.
- Kelly, C. R. (2011). Blood-Speak: Ward Churchill and the racialization of American Indian identity. *Communication & Critical/Cultural Studies*, 8(3), 240-265.
- Krattenmaker, T. (2013). When will Boy Scouts accept the non-religious. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/tom-krattenmaker/when-will-boy-scouts-accept-the-non-religious_b_3294197.html.
- Krystal, M. (2012). *Indigenous dance and dancing Indian: Contested representation in the global era*. Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado.
- Lacan, J. (2006). *Ecrits: The first complete edition in English*. (B. Fink, Trans.). New York: Random House.
- Lake, R. A. (1983). Enacting red power: the gonsummatory function of Native American protest rhetoric. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 69(2), 127-142.

- Lake, R. A. (1991). Between myth and history: Enacting time in Native American protest rhetoric. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 77(2), 123-151.
- Lake, R. A. (1997). Argumentation and self: The enactment of identity in Dances with Wolves. *Argumentation and Advocacy*, 34(2), 66-89.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (2008). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Lawlor, M. (2006). *Public Native America: Tribal self-representations in casinos, museums, and powwows*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Leavitt, P. (2015). "Frozen in time": The impact of Native American media representations on identity and self-understanding. *Journal of Social Issues*, 7(1), 39-53.
- Leuthold, S. (1998). *Indigenous aesthetics: Native art, media, and identity*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Liebelson, D. (2013). Boy Scouts losing big funders over anti-gay policy. *Mother Jones*. Retrieved from: <http://www.motherjones.com/mojo/2013/01/boy-scouts-verizon-protest-lgbt>.
- Longie, E. (2012). The history of the Fighting Sioux by Franklin Sage. *Dakota Hoksina*. Retrieved from: <http://www.spiritlakeconsulting.com/d/2012/03/his.html>.
- Lopezina, D. (2003). "Good Indians" Charles Eastman and the warrior as civil servant. *The American Indian Quarterly*, 27(3): 727-757.
- Lundberg, C. (2009). Enjoying God's death: The passion of the Christ and the practices of an evangelical public. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 95(4), 387-411.
- Lundberg, C. (2012). *Lacan in public: Psychoanalysis and the science of rhetoric*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press.
- McGee, M. C. (1975). In search of the "people": A rhetorical alternative. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 61(3), pp. 235-249.
- McGee, M. C. (1999). Text, context, and fragmentation of contemporary culture. In J. L. Lucaites, C. M. Condit, & S. Caudill (Eds.), *Contemporary Rhetorical Theory: A Reader* (pp. 65-78). New York: The Guilford Press.

- McNenly, L. S. (2012). *Native performers in Wild West shows. From Buffalo Bill to Euro Disney*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Mechling, J. (2004). *On my honor: Boy Scouts and the making of American youth*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Meyer, C. J., & Royer, D. (2001). *Selling the Indian: Commercializing and appropriating American Indian cultures*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.
- Mor Barak, M. E. (2014). *Managing diversity: Toward a globally inclusive workplace*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Morris, R. & P. Wander. (1990). Native American rhetoric: Dancing in the shadows of the Ghost Dance. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 76, 164-191.
- Munin, A. (2012). *Color by number: Understanding racism through facts and stats on children*. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing.
- Murphy, J. S. (2007). *The people have never stopped dancing: Native American modern dance histories*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Niezen, R. (2000). *Spirit wars: Native North American religions in the age of nation building*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.
- Niezen, R. (2009). *The rediscovered self: Indigenous identity and cultural justice*. McGill-Queen's University Press. Ithaca, NY.
- Order of the Arrow. (2013). *The Order of the Arrow: Scouting's national honor society*. Retrieved from: <http://www.oa-bsa.org/misc/basics/>.
- Order of the Arrow. (2014a). 15th national meeting/first NOAC. Retrieved from: <http://history.oa-bsa.org/node/3198>.
- Order of the Arrow. (2014b). NOAC's. Retrieved from: <http://history.oa-bsa.org/node/3202>.
- Order of the Arrow. (2014c). First national Indian seminar. Retrieved from: <http://history.oa-bsa.org/node/3334>.
- Order of the Arrow. (2014d). *Order of the Arrow handbook*. Irving, TX: Boy Scouts of America.

- Palczewski, C. H. (2005). When times collide: Ward Churchill's use of an epideictic moment to ground forensics argument. *Argumentation and Advocacy*, 41(3), 123-138.
- Papastergiadis, N. (2013). *Cosmopolitanism and culture*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Pedersen, P. (1999). *Multiculturals as a fourth force*. Philadelphia, PA: Brunner/Mazel.
- Pevar, S. (2012). *The rights of Indians and tribes*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Philips, A., & Rice, D. (2010). The "Fighting Sioux: conflict: Lessons on social justice for higher education. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 43(4), 511-526.
- Phillips, K. R. (2010). The failure of memory: Reflections on rhetoric and public remembrance. *Western Journal of Communication*, 74(2), 208-223.
- Pommersheim, F. (2009). *Broken landscape: Indians, Indian tribes and the Constitution*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Pommersheim, F. (2012). Land into trust: An inquiry into law, policy, and history. *Idaho Law Review*, 49, 519-546.
- Pratt, S. B., M. C. Pratt, & R. Miller. (2012). Osage naming ritual as a form of cultural identity. In A. Gonzalez, M Houston, & V. Chen (Eds.), *Our voices: Essays in culture, ethnicity, and communication* (pp. 26-34). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Priest, N., Y. Paradies, B. Trenerry, M. Truong, S. Karlesen, & Y. Kelly. (2013). A systematic review of studies examining the relationship between reported racism and health and wellbeing for children and young people. *Social Science and Medicine*, 95, (115-127).
- Pulitano, E. (2003). *Toward a Native American critical theory*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Roberts, K. G. (2005). Beauty is youth: The powwow "princess." In C. Ellis, L. E. Lassiter, & G. H. Dunham. (Eds.), *Powwow* (pp. 152-171). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska.
- Robin, A. L. & S. L. Foster. (2003). *Negotiating parent-adolescent conflict: a behavioral-family systems approach*. New York: Guilford Press.

- Rogers, R. A. (2006) From cultural exchange to transculturation: Review and Reconceptualization of cultural appropriation. *Communication Theory*, 16, 474-503.
- Rogers, R. A. (2007). Deciphering Kokopelli: Masculinity in commodified appropriations of Native American imagery. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 4(3), 233-255.
- Rollins, P. C. & J. E. O'Conner (2013). *Hollywood's Indian: The portrayal of Native American in Film*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky.
- Rosier, P. C. (2012). *Serving their country: American Indian politics and patriotism in the twentieth century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Said, E. W. (1979). *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Sanchez, V. E. (2001). Intertribal dance and cross cultural communication: Traditional powwows in Ohio. *Communication Studies*, 51(1), 51-69.
- Sanchez, J., & M. E. Stuckey. (2000). The rhetoric of American Indian activism in the 1960s and 1970s. *Communication Quarterly*, 48(2), 120-236.
- Seton Institute. (2013). History of the Woodcraft movement. Retrieved from: <http://etsetoninstitute.org/history-of-the-woodcraft-movement/>.
- Sercombe, L. (2009). The story of Dirty Face: Power and song in Western Washington coast Salish myth narratives. In T. Browner (Ed.), *Music of the first nations*. (pp. 34-53). Urbana, IL: University of Illinois.
- Shreve, B. G. (2012). *Red Power rising: The National Indian Youth Council and the origins of native activism*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Siebert, M. (2015). *Indians playing Indian: Multiculturalism and contemporary Indigenous art in North America*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press.
- Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous people*. New York: Zed Books.
- Stolzman, W. (1994). *How to take part in Lakota ceremonies*. Chamberlain, SD: Tipi Press.

- The Daily Beast. (2014). The Native Americans who voted for 'the Fighting Sioux.' *The Daily Beast*. Retrieved from: <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/06/26/the-native-americans-who-voted-for-the-fighting-sioux.html>.
- Thornton, R. (1998). *Studying Native America: Problems and prospects*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Troutman, J. (2011). The citizenship of dance: Politics of music among the Lakota, 1900-1924. In D. M. Cobb & L. Fowler (Eds.), *Beyond red power: American Indian politics and activism since 1900*. (pp. 91-108). Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- UND. (2014) Strategic Priorities. *Office of the Provost*. Retrieved from: <http://und.edu/provost/exceptional-und/strategic-priorities.cfm>.
- UND Special Collections (2015a). Sioux logo history. Orwick's Fighting Sioux Hockey. Retrieved from: <http://www.orwicksioux.com/id30.html>.
- UND Special Collections. (2015b). Collection historical note. *Golden Feather Club Records*. Retrieved from: <https://apps.library.und.edu/archon/index.php?p=collections/findingaid&id=409&q=&rootcontentid=54154#id54154>.
- US Scouts. (2013). Order of the Arrow history. Retrieved from: <http://www.usscouts.org/honorsociety/oahistory.asp>.
- Vander, J. (2009). The creative power and style of Ghost Dance songs. In T. Browner (Ed.), *Music of the first nations*. (pp. 113-130). Urbana, IL: University of Illinois.
- Valenzuela, H. (2002). Pahko'ola- Pascola Dancer. Retrieved from: <http://www.manataka.org/page58.html>.
- Vaught, S. E. (2011). *Racism, public schooling, and the entrenchment of White supremacy: A critical race ethnography*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Von Rosen, F. (2009). Drum, songs, vibrations: Conversations with a Passamaquoddy traditional singer. In T. Browner (Ed.), *Music of the first nations*. (54-66). Urbana, IL: University of Illinois.
- Warner, M. (2002). *Publics and counterpublics*. New York: Zone Books.
- Warren, J. (2010). Dark lord of the scouts. *Express*. Retrieved from: <http://www.express.co.uk/expressyourself/162278/Dark-lord-of-the-Scouts>.

- Washburn, W. E. & W. C. Sturtevant. (1989). *Handbook of North American Indians, volume 4: History of Indian-White relations*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press.
- White, H. (1985). *Tropics of discourse: Essays in cultural criticism*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Wian, C. & M. Pearson. (2013). Boy Scout leaders put off vote on gay membership. CNN. Retrieved from: <http://www.cnn.com/2013/02/06/us/boy-scouts-policy/>.
- Wilkins, D. E. (1997). *American Indian sovereignty and the U.S. Supreme Court: The masking of justice*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Wilkins, D. E. & K. T. Lomawaima. (2001). *Uneven ground: American Indian sovereignty and federal law*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Wright, D., & Miller, S. (2007). Obama dropped flag pin in war statement. *ABCNews*. Retrieved from: <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/story?id=3690000>.
- Young Bear, S. & R. D. Theisz. (1994). *Standing in the light: A Lakota way of seeing*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska.
- Young, G. A. (1981). *Powwow Power: Perspectives on historic and contemporary intertribalism* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Indian University, Bloomington, IN.
- YSS. (2015). Hispanic Folklore Dancers. Retrieved from: http://www.yss.ames.ia.us/en/about_us/diversity/hispanic_folklore_dancers/.
- Wentz, A. (2011). The turbulent history of the Fighting Sioux mascot. *Great Plains Examiner*. Retrieved from: <http://www.greatplainsexaminer.com/2011/09/09/the-turbulent-history-of-the-fighting-sioux-mascot/>.