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by

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Committee in charge:

Professor Thomas Biolsi, Chair
Professor Keith Feldman
Professor Shari Huhndorf
Professor SanSan Kwan

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Abstract

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Today Native American youth are overrepresented in detention centers and receive some of the harshest treatment from state and federal carceral institutions. To intervene in this crisis, U.S. and tribal governments have partnered to create tribal juvenile halls, located on Indian reservations, which seek to educate and rehabilitate Native youth through culturally relevant curricula. Little has been written about tribal juvenile halls, their relationship to 19th and 20th century boarding schools designed to assimilate Native youth, and the experiences of Native peoples in these spaces.

Scholars have also yet to address the link between education and incarceration historically and contemporarily in the Native context. I investigate Native youth's experiences with educational and embodied programming at two institutions located on the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota: St. Francis Mission School, a former on-reservation boarding school (1886-1972), and *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* (Eagle Life Home), the tribal juvenile detention center founded in 2005. Examining Native American basketball, dance, and theater reveals that St. Francis officials largely omitted ideas about "Indianness" except for in athletics and the arts. I center my research on the Rosebud Reservation because U.S. policies regarding education and incarceration have frequently targeted the Sicangu Lakota.

Drawing on close readings of newspaper articles, photographs, performances, short films, and in-depth interviews with educators, students, and incarcerated youth, I demonstrate how the mission school and the detention center have articulated almost identical goals but with very different cultural bases: to produce loyal, productive citizens of high character through educational and embodied programming. I uncover how educators and students at St. Francis created and contested ideas about the assimilative processes intended to *fix* and *eclipse* Lakota bodies. In the context of human rights violations related to various methods of confinement, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* employees adopt what I describe as *decolonial tactics* within the restrictions imposed by the current system to counter and refute colonial logics of Native dehumanization and displacement and assert Native peoples and nations' interests. I offer the term *carceral liberation* to describe the U.S. government's ongoing limitations on tribal sovereignty, Native peoples' negotiation of these restrictions, and the paradoxical opportunities that Native peoples may experience while incarcerated. My interviews with Lakota and other Native youth held in detention at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* illuminate that settler colonialism has shifted their perceptions of force and oppression, so that they exert their own *fixing* of the facility's mission.

Table of Contents

For the over 10,000 Indigenous people,
posthumously incarcerated at UC Berkeley
beneath the Hearst Gymnasium swimming pool

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May 24, 2017
Occupied Ohlone Land
Vallejo, California

Introduction: **Native American Embodiment**

Figure 1. Marquette University Archives, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, ID 09-1 51-08 1950s 01.

A photograph from the 1950s portrays an unnamed student from St. Francis Mission School, a boarding school that Jesuit missionaries founded on the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota. (See figure 1.)[1] In the image, a shirtless, light-skinned Sicangu Lakota[2] boy with a closely cropped hairstyle, stands before the backdrop of a U.S. flag and behind a Native American-style[3] drum. He grips a bow that rises taller than his height and wears what appears to be a faux, fur loincloth. The boy's face and body paint conjure a costume that at once connotes Satan, a Native American, and human property. Two lines drawn on his forehead resemble devil horns, paint streaks his cheeks and torso like a Hollywood Indian preparing for war, and vertically on his chest—from beneath collarbone to solar plexus—someone has written the letters "U-S-A."

Although the visual and embodied realms are always fluid, the signifiers inscribed on the boy mark him as deviant, Native, and belonging to the U.S. They illustrate attempts to *fix* the meaning of his body and by extension embodied practices, such as archery. "Fixing" involves both colonial officials' attempts to control, repair, and sterilize Lakota bodies. It also identifies Lakota peoples' reconfiguring of these projects to perpetuate and innovate their cultural and national identities. Yet, alongside the ways that these symbols try to fix, they also *eclipse*, excluding information about the forces, politics, and people who shaped the image's production. "Eclipsing" describes dominant and subordinate groups' selective withholding of information to achieve disparate goals and explicates the ways that social constructions operate to omit Indigenous peoples and others in non-dominant categories, such as African Americans or women. For Lakota people, eclipsing has made possible the futurity of their cultural survival.[4]

This photograph highlights a variety of themes that have concerned colonial educational and contemporary carceral institutions for Native youth—the centrality and contestation of the young Lakota body and embodied practices in nation building, the consideration of Native cultures as costumes (and alternatively as valuable epistemologies), the conflation of Native

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[1] Throughout the dissertation, I rely on photographs of Sicangu Lakota youth who were students at St. Francis Mission School to develop and delineate the politics of fixing and eclipsing. I use these images because they provide insights into Lakota embodiment beyond the written text and also because they showcase how identities were constructed and negotiated. Although many of the photos do not identify the young people pictured by their names, some do. To protect the identity of the youth represented—who were minors at the time when the photographs were taken—I have elected not to include any of their names. In my future research, I plan to develop methodologies that attempt to honor these young people in ethical ways—such as, for example, consulting with the people pictured (and/or their relatives) and/or collaborating with a Sicangu Lakota artist to create alternative versions of these photographs.

[2] The federally recognized Sicangu Oyate (Burnt Thigh Nation) constitute one of the seven bands of Lakota people. In 1889, after partitioning the Great Sioux Reservation, the U.S. government established the Rosebud Reservation as home for the Sicangu Oyate. Throughout the dissertation, I frequently use the shorthand "Lakota" to refer to the Sicangu Oyate. I do not use the word "*Sioux*"—other than to refer to the Rosebud *Sioux* Tribe or in quoting other sources—as this is an outsider and unfavorable term for the Lakota (Makes Good Ta Kola Cou Ota).

[3] I use the terms "Native American," "Native peoples," and "Indigenous" nearly interchangeably throughout the dissertation. The plural "peoples" emphasizes that contrary to dominant depictions, Native Americans are not a monolithic group.

[4] In the dissertation, drawing on a conversation I had with Keith Feldman, I differentiate between "future" and "futurities." Whereas "future" denotes what will likely occur, "futurities"—which cannot necessarily be defined, imagined, or predicted—allow us to hold possibilities beyond that which the current system permits. For example, decolonization is a futurity.

peoples and practices with criminality, and the always incomplete and contradictory project of colonialism, which opens up possibilities for Native liberation. Today Native young people, who comprise 44 percent of the Native population in the U.S., are overrepresented in detention centers and receive some of the harshest treatment from state and federal carceral facilities (Lakota People's Law Project 4-5). To intervene in this crisis, U.S. and tribal governments have partnered to create tribal juvenile halls, located on Indian reservations. U.S. policy discussions and mainstream media positively portray tribal detention centers for their focus on both educating and rehabilitating Native youth through culturally relevant curricula. Yet little has been written about tribal juvenile halls, their relationship to colonial institutions—including the 19th and 20th century boarding schools designed to assimilate Native youth, such as St. Francis—and the experiences of Native administrators, educators, and youth in these spaces. This dissertation uncovers how the ongoing limitations that the U.S. government has placed on tribal sovereignty and the paradoxical opportunities that Native peoples may experience while incarcerated create the conditions for *carceral liberation*.

Native American Embodiment in Educational and Carceral Contexts

This dissertation examines the connections and contradictions between these historical and contemporary facilities to illuminate how U.S. and tribal ideologies concerning race and gender have sought to shape the meanings of Native bodies and embodied practices, and how Native peoples themselves have negotiated, adapted, rejected, and reimagined the strategies of assimilative and punitive institutions to suit their own purposes. In particular, I investigate Native youth's experiences with educational and embodied programming at two institutions located on the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota: St. Francis Mission School, a former on-reservation boarding school (1886-1972), and *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* (Eagle Life Home), the tribal juvenile detention center founded in 2005. I foreground the body and embodied practices because they are sites of tremendous knowledge and theorization. I find that St. Francis officials largely omitted ideas about "Indianness"[5] except for in athletics and the arts, and *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s programming—like that of St. Francis—emphasizes basketball, beadwork, gardening, and woodwork. Indeed, St. Francis and *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* have articulated almost identical goals: to socialize loyal and productive citizens of high character through educational and embodied programming, but with very different cultural basis. Today Native educational and carceral facilities operate in the shadow of Indian boarding schools, which portrayed Native peoples and practices as deviant, to justify their projects. Focusing on these sites allows me to delineate the historical, contemporary, and interlocking ways that U.S. policies regarding education and incarceration have targeted the Lakota, who were some of the first people to attend off-reservation Indian boarding schools (Douville), endure the 1885 Major Crimes Act (Indian Law and Order Commission 117), and open and operate a tribal juvenile hall.

Starkly illustrating the connections between education and incarceration, Captain Richard Henry Pratt—who founded Carlisle Indian Industrial Institute, the first off-reservation boarding school in 1879—based his practice for assimilating Native students on his experiences

[5] Native peoples have appropriated the word "Indian" for political reasons. However, "Indian" is often understood as an insider term (appropriate for Native peoples to use among themselves) and less formal and respectful than Native American, Native peoples, and/or Indigenous. I use the word "Indianness" with scare quotes throughout the dissertation to emphasize outsider (mis)conceptions of Native peoples and cultures, which I argue colonial officials attempted to inscribe onto Native bodies and embodied practices through fixing projects.

disciplining Native prisoners at Fort Marion, Florida (Adams 45, 154). *Sinte Gleska* (Spotted Tail), a famed Lakota leader from the Rosebud Reservation, sent his children and grandchildren to Carlisle, where they were some of the first students (Douville). Crow Dog, another Lakota leader, murdered *Sinte Gleska* in 1881, resulting in the 1885 Major Crimes Act—still in effect today—which overrode tribal sovereignty and restorative justice practices by placing seven crimes under U.S. jurisdiction (Indian Law and Order Commission 117). However, despite these historical legacies and ongoing limitations on sovereignty, in the present day, U.S. and tribal governments generally agree that Native youth benefit from remaining in their communities (or at least under the care of Native peoples and institutions) and that culturally relevant curricula positively impact these young people. *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*, which has served as a flagship juvenile detention center and a model for other tribes, both departs from and perpetuates the logics of St. Francis. I ask, how has the link between education and incarceration manifested historically and contemporarily in the Native context?

Along with interrogating the connections among Indigenous confinement in two "total institutions,"[6] this dissertation also links superficial, Lakota and pan-Indian cultural references in St. Francis's embodied programming—which Lakota students and community members actualized in a meaningful way—with *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s culturally relevant curricula. To emphasize the contradictions between St. Francis and *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s programming in this regard, I differentiate between what I term *culturally themed* and *culturally relevant* curricula for Lakota and other Native youth. As scholars have shown, because of tribal sovereignty, the politics of Native education differ from that of non-indigenous, immigrant groups (McCarty and Lee 101). In the Native context, I define "culturally themed" as curricula that appropriates symbols of Lakota and/or other Indigenous cultures as a means to diminish cultural values and sovereignty. In contrast, I use "culturally relevant" to refer to educational programming that contributes to the wellbeing of Native peoples and nations. However, given Native young peoples' perpetuation of cultural identity through athletics and arts at St. Francis, the realms of culturally themed and relevant are not dichotomous. By centering my research at St. Francis and *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*, I am able to delineate the nuances of culturally themed programming in the boarding school setting and meditate on the ideologies that underlie culturally themed and culturally relevant programming as well as its relationship to Native bodies, embodied practices, and nationhood. Often overlooked in the scholarship, these are crucial and urgent topics that continue to affect Native young people and Native nations on and off the reservation.

The fields of education and prison studies tend to eclipse Indigenous peoples, experiences, and knowledges as well as theories of embodiment. Although scholarship in Native studies has demonstrated that boarding school curricula functioned to assimilate youth into dominant race, gender, and class hierarchies, it has largely omitted the role of embodied and extracurricular activities in socializing students.[7] As this dissertation reveals, however, officials

[6] Erving Goffman describes "total institutions" as "the forcing houses for changing persons in our society" (316). According to Goffman, prisons and boarding schools constitute types of total institutions in which "all aspects of life [sleep, play and work] are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority" (314).

[7] I use the terms "embodied" and "extracurricular" nearly interchangeably throughout this dissertation. I do this both because I utilize a broad definition of "embodied" and because St. Francis officials often relegated programming involving the body to the extracurricular realm—for instance, athletics and arts. The relationship that St. Francis officials constructed between embodied and extracurricular activities reflects the Western epistemological construct of the mind as superior to the body, as well as

have imbued Indigenous bodies, embodied practices, and culturally themed and relevant curricula with ideologies designed to socialize students. As with Native education, tribal sovereignty shifts the circumstances, issues, and responsibilities of Indigenous incarceration in important ways that the literature has often neglected to address. In general, along with eclipsing Indigenous peoples, carceral studies omits the experiences of women and girls who are underrepresented in detention centers compared to their male counterparts, but often subjected to harsher sentences ("Girls and the Juvenile Justice System"). In particular, Native young women are unduly penalized by the legal system ("Girls and the Juvenile Justice System").[8] I use an intersectional lens for this project because race and gender constructions and their material consequences produce inequalities that lead to incarceration and disproportionate punishment, and because educational and carceral institutions have relied on race and gender norms to inform projects meant to assimilate and rehabilitate Native peoples. Employing an education and prison studies approach shows the ways that assimilative institutions have sought to enact and impress national ideologies on Indigenous bodies through their representations and performances, and Native peoples have not only accommodated and resisted these impositions, but also relied on related methods to promote their own interests.

Similar to education and prison studies, the fields of dance and performance tend to overlook Indigenous peoples and practices. Further, by focusing on canonical—read European and European American—and staged dance, these fields omit the contributions of Indigenous dances and other embodied practices in private and outdoor settings. Yet dance and performance studies offer a critique of Western dualism—which dichotomizes and hierarchizes the mind and body—while other fields are often premised on this philosophy, which explicates the widespread omission of embodiment theories in fields other than dance and performance. Critiquing the body's—and in particular the Indigenous body's—supposed anti-intellectualism not only contributes to the fields of Native, education, and prison studies, but also (re)centers Indigenous epistemologies based on the holistic connections among the mind, body, and spirit. In fact, as Susan Foster, a preeminent dance scholar suggested to me, it is colonization that creates the need for the term "embodied," because Indigenous worldviews understand the entities of mind and body as inextricably connected (Personal conversation). I nevertheless elect to use the word "embodied" in the dissertation's title and throughout the manuscript to make legible the emphasis on the body, athletics, and the arts within Western constructs, which academics and colonial officials alike have employed for specific aims. The encompassing term "embodied" further emphasizes the linkages among forms of arts, athletics, and even daily tasks—such as laundry—which St. Francis students themselves theorized, but Western worldviews often represent as distinct.

The analysis that I offer uncovers how educators and students at St. Francis created and contested ideas about "Indianness" and the assimilative processes intended to *fix* and *eclipse* Lakota bodies. In the context of human rights violations committed against Native youth related to various methods of confinement, I show that *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* administrators and staff seek to intervene by maneuvering against the curricula and methods employed by assimilative and punitive institutions. They adopt what I describe as *decolonial tactics* within the restrictions

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misunderstandings of Native cultures as intellectually inferior and therefore capable of contributing only through entertainment or aesthetic value.

[8] "Girls and the Juvenile Justice System" states that compared to their European American counterparts, "American Indian and Native Alaskan girls were 40 percent more likely to be referred to juvenile court for delinquency, 50 percent more likely to be detained, and 20 percent more likely to be adjudicated."

imposed by the current system to counter and refute colonial logics of Native dehumanization and displacement and assert Native peoples and nations' interests. My interviews with Lakota and other Native youth held in detention at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* illuminate the ways that settler colonialism has shifted their perceptions of force and oppression, so that young people exert their own *fixing* of the facility's mission.

Overview

This dissertation draws on five summers of fieldwork, close readings of newspaper articles, photographs, performances, short films, and in-depth interviews with educators, students, and incarcerated youth. I put these materials in dialog with scholarly literature in Native American, education, prison, performance, and dance studies, in order to show the centrality of the Indigenous body, embodied practices, and cultural curricula to the aims of nation building, and—in the contemporary Native context—beyond, towards liberation and decolonization. Because of the breadth of this dissertation—which focuses on two sites and spans over a century—each chapter includes its own literature review.

To interrogate how St. Francis educators sought to socialize students to understand their Native identities, I focus on representations and—when available—performances of basketball, dance, and theater at St. Francis. I also draw on contemporary Lakota and pan-Indian texts to raise possibilities for the ways that St. Francis students would have theorized through the body and embodied practices and to gesture to the broader implications of this study. This dissertation makes a methodological intervention by illuminating the importance of interdisciplinary research that draws on multiple sources, from a range of positionalities and perspectives, created over the span of a century. This approach is important in uncovering both the hegemonic and counterhegemonic meanings that Indigenous bodies and embodied practices have held, enacted, and transformed, amid and despite policies designed to assimilate Native peoples. I refer to such a methodological approach as a "constellation."[9] I view the term "constellation" as particularly relevant to this research as the Lakota are renowned for their traditional knowledge about stars, which continues to guide their ceremonies and travels in the present day (Goodman 1). Settler colonial narratives have sought to eclipse these advanced, cultural understandings, in part because they challenge ideas about Western scientific supremacy.

Chapter One, "*Fixing*: Negotiating Lakota Identity and Nationalism Through Basketball," explores how educators and students at St. Francis created and contested meanings about and through basketball—which officials tied to ideas about "Indianness"—and "playing Indian." Colonial officials introduced basketball to Native peoples through the boarding school system; however, the sport also resembles Native games. In the present day, basketball continues to be immensely popular among Native peoples and frequently appears in Native cultural texts. I show that "fixing"—whose meaning denotes determining, repairing, sterilizing, and adjusting to a good condition—takes four forms. First, St. Francis officials attempt to control representations of embodiment to serve predominant ideologies and narratives. Second, St. Francis correspondence and boarding school articles portray Indianness as a subordinate condition that required "fixing" through assimilative education. Third, I consider the implications of "fixing" (a colloquial term often associated with animals) at St. Francis within histories of Native American forced sterilization that occurred because of dominant society's dehumanizing beliefs about Native peoples. And fourth, despite unequal power dynamics, Lakota leaders, community members, and

[9] See "A Constellation of Confinement: *The Jailing of Cecelia Capture* and the Deaths of Sarah Lee Circle Bear and Sandra Bland."

youth attached meanings to basketball that at times directly contradicted colonial officials' intentions. By undertaking their own act of "fixing," Lakota people reconfigured St. Francis's project "in a good way"—a common phrase used in Indian country today—by reappropriating embodied activities that referenced Indigenous and Lakota practices. Reflecting the archives' emphasis on the St. Francis boys' basketball team, this chapter focuses mostly on the representations and experiences of young men.

Chapter Two, "*Eclipsing*: The Dance and Theater of Indigeneity," unearths the politics of historical dance and theatrical representations at St. Francis and their contemporary significances in the Rosebud community and in Native American cultural productions more broadly. This chapter emphasizes St. Francis's methods of fixing Native girls and women—in part to complement and complicate this dissertation's discussion of basketball. However, Lakota boys and girls at St. Francis often took part in these activities. I introduce the term *eclipsing*, which describe the ways that St. Francis educators and Lakota people relied on a *politics of omission* to achieve disparate goals. The word "eclipsing" emphasizes the ways that mainstream narratives operate to obscure Indigenous peoples and the violences enacted against them and evade addressing critical contradictions that challenge settler colonial logics and legitimacies. Eclipsing illuminates the opposing logics of settler colonialism and assimilative institutions, which have sought to selectively spotlight Indigenous peoples and practices and fix their meanings to strengthen the U.S. and diminish Native sovereignties. Eclipsing also draws attention to the ways that social constructions operate—at times doubly and even multiply oppressing certain groups, such as Indigenous women or Indigenous peoples in other non-dominant categories. Also actors in this equation, Lakota people have likewise used eclipsing to conceal and selectively practice their ceremonies, which the U.S. government prohibited. Although not always visible, Lakota ways of life have persisted through this act of eclipsing and reemerged at times when they were protected.

Chapters Three and Four shift settings from St. Francis to *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*. Since 2005, the Rosebud Sioux Tribe, with the support of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, has erected state of the art juvenile and adult carceral facilities, which employ tribal citizens. Many community members consider these facilities better alternatives to state run institutions, where Native youth disproportionately endure human rights abuses and Native practices are criminalized (Lakota People's Law Project 5).[10] Chapter Three, "Beyond A Politics of *Carceral Liberation* Towards Decolonization," uses the term *carceral liberation* to describe the project of *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*. The word "liberation" builds upon Freirean and Foucauldian discourses and Lakota peoples' discussion and embodiment of cultural continuity. Neither Freire nor Foucault adequately account for the dynamics of settler colonialism; I provide a more nuanced narrative that uncovers Native peoples' sacrifice of physical freedom for the ability to participate in cultural practices and understandings of liberation as extending beyond human centric

[10] According to the report, "In 2003, litigation over conditions in a South Dakota state training school revealed horrible abuses in the use of restraints and isolation, yet little in the way of education or mental health services. Findings also showed that Native youth were significantly overrepresented in the lockdown unit and were thus subject to the worst abuses. For example, one young girl from the Pine Ridge Reservation had been held in a secure unit within the facility for almost two years, during which she was placed in four-point restraints and made to "spread eagle" on a cement slab for hours at a time. She was also kept in isolation for days and even weeks and pepper-sprayed numerous times. In addition the facility also instituted a rule that penalized Native youth for speaking in their Native language — several were placed on lockdown status for speaking Lakota to each other" (5).

discourses. The oxymoron *carceral liberation* highlights that the U.S. government—from which *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* receives its funding—continues to prescribe the terms of tribal sovereignty while Lakota peoples negotiate these interactions for their freedom and futurity. To offer possibilities for thinking beyond a politics of *carceral liberation* towards decolonization, I bring in Sicangu Lakota artist Frank Waln's "Oil 4 Blood," which advocates for freeing incarcerated Native people from prison to reacquaint them with their cultural practices and delineates the interconnections among humans and our non-human relatives.

Chapter Four, "'Disadvantaged Prodigies'": The Insights of Incarcerated Native Youth," centers the voices of the Native young people incarcerated at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*. This chapter brings together youths' experiences with and ideas about *social confinement*, *carceral liberation*, and culturally relevant curricula. To explicate the ways that social structures significantly limit Native peoples' agency, I introduce the concept of *social confinement*, a term I created to reflect the multiple and persuasive oppressions that Native Americans experience based upon the intersections of race, gender, class, sexuality, and ability that lead to criminality and incarceration. Social confinement and carceral liberation make visible the systemic and unequal power dynamics that disadvantage Native peoples, producing material consequences that continue to jeopardize their wellbeing on individual and national levels. I also demonstrate that imprisonment at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* temporarily reconfigures the conditions of social confinement for Native youth—in part through carceral liberation and culturally relevant curricula. However, Native young people articulate different understandings of carceral liberation, and some youth argue that *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s requirement that they engage with culturally relevant curricula is oppressive. After Native young people are released from the detention center, they return to circumstances that powerfully infringe on their ability to avoid recidivism. This chapter also uncovers a Native young woman's organizing while incarcerated to help youth in her community avoid detention, which I identify as both a facet and triumph of carceral liberation.

I conclude by reflecting on the theoretical and substantive contributions of this dissertation, its broader implications, and avenues for further research and work. The frameworks of fixing, eclipsing, and carceral liberation identify hegemonic and counterhegemonic patterns. Delineating how previous paradigms have functioned provides insight into how these structures might be continued, revised, and perhaps even thwarted. Scholars should continue to engage with Indigenous embodied epistemologies because the visibility and legibility of Native bodies and practices *as Native* underpin claims to tribal sovereignty. These worldviews offer critical insights into liberation, decolonization, and our collective survival. Yet with knowledge also comes responsibility. Indigenous allies—in the academy and beyond—inspired by Sicangu Lakota and other Indigenous worldviews must also work in collaboration with Native peoples to leverage, reimagine, and ultimately rebuild institutions and society itself.

Chapter 1: ***Fixing*: Negotiating Lakota Identity and Nationalism Through Basketball**

Introduction

This chapter investigates how basketball constituted a space of both assimilation and resistance at St. Francis Mission School. While scholarship has demonstrated the ways that Indian boarding school curricula functioned to assimilate Native youth into dominant race, class, and gender hierarchies and as productive and loyal citizens of the U.S., this literature has often overlooked the important role of embodied programming in socialization processes (see Adams, Lomawaima and McCarty, and Mihesuah, for example). Embodied and/or extracurricular programming in the boarding school setting warrants scholarly attention for two primary reasons. First, as I will show using the example of St. Francis, boarding school curricula largely omitted ideas about Indianness except for during extracurricular activities, which were exceedingly popular among students. Second, as Diana Taylor writes, "Embodied and performed acts generate, record, and transmit knowledge" (20-21). Because it is impossible to *fix* the meanings of embodied practices, extracurricular activities provided Lakota students with a subversive space in which to perform and innovate their cultural identities, which is notable considering that St. Francis Mission School was a largely assimilative environment.

Although as Taylor tells us the archive cannot capture live performances, it is through photographs and written documents that these performances are documented. As I will show, St. Francis administrators and educators shaped their archives to suit the purposes of the institution. For this reason this chapter not only applies critical textual analysis to archival materials, it uses interviews with elders and community members who were former students at St. Francis to unearth what James Scott refers to as "*hidden transcript*[s] . . . discourse that takes place 'offstage,' beyond direct observation by power holders" (4).[11] Alongside basketball narratives that appeared in *The Sioux Chieftain*—the St. Francis boarding school newspaper—and photographs St. Francis officials took of Lakota students, I conduct close readings of interviews I did with former students at St. Francis to show the ways that the body is a contested space in colonial and contemporary contexts. I argue that in the strictly controlled environment of St. Francis, embodied activities—which were in some ways less regulated than other spaces, such as the classroom setting—provided students with some degree of relief. Often mainstream narratives misrepresent Native peoples and practices as assimilated or no longer "authentically" Native given histories of colonization and cultural disruption.[12] Uncovering the significances with which students imbued these embodied practices challenges this view.

Recognizing that Native and non-native peoples have implemented games for socialization purposes, this chapter surfaces the role of governmentality in Indian boarding school education—particularly as it pertains to athletics—and locates these narratives in the Lakota context. Michel Foucault emphasizes that the government extends beyond structural mechanisms and exerts influence over individuals, impacting their behavior.

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[11] The conversations that I had with former St. Francis students constitute hidden transcripts because the now-adult interviewees no longer perceive the former institution as a threat and are therefore able to discuss what may have once been unspoken.

[12] Dominant discourses create a false dichotomy that constructs Native peoples as traditional or colonized. However, as Scott Richard Lyons illuminates, "The most problematic aspect of a modern/traditional distinction is, of course, its binary-oppositional character: that is, those things we identify as modern can often be discovered in what we call the traditional, and vice versa. Everything is relative and exists on a continuum that does not carve neatly into two separate and oppositional wholes" (10).

> This word [government] must be allowed the very broad meaning it had in the sixteenth century. 'Government' did not refer only to political structures or to the management of states; rather, it designated the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed—the government of children, of souls, of communities, of the sick. . . . To govern, in this sense, is to control the possible field of action of others. ("The Subject and Power" 326, 341)

Indian board schools, such as St. Francis, partnered with the U.S. government to educate Native youth. Through this process, the institution intensively socialized students according to race and gender norms, which drew the perimeters around students' behavior in the classroom, on the courts, and long after their graduation. Thomas Biolsi writes that through subjection (in Foucault's words, "'a matrix of individualization,'") the Sicangu Lakota became modern subjects: "the Lakota were being transformed from a people with a specialized role at the periphery of society to a people—albeit a disempowered people—in the core" (qtd. in Biolsi 30, 29). As I will show, because of the implementation of patriarchal constructs through modern education and the intersection of race and gender, this conversion doubly disadvantaged Sicangu Lakota women and girls.

Building on Biolsi's argument that "competence" operated as a core component of subjection on the Rosebud Reservation (30), I identify the use of basketball, basketball representations, and photographs of Sicangu Lakota children dressed in Native costumes as indicative of an "instructive as well as entertaining" pedagogical method that relied on sports or other forms of entertainment for modern colonial subject making ("Movies"). Through extracurricular activities, St. Francis officials sought to socialize Sicangu Lakota students as competent citizens of the U.S. nation-state.

Although today boarding schools are commonly associated with the violence that some students suffered, scholars have demonstrated the impossibility of making generalizations about students' experiences at boarding schools—even among classmates (Lomawaima xii-xv). This chapter proposes that pleasurable methods of socialization at St. Francis, which referenced Native histories and cultures—such as basketball and organized play—helped contribute to students' multifaceted experiences at St. Francis.

To subject and subjugate students, St. Francis officials drew on mainstream ideas about race and gender that circulated in the U.S. cultural imaginary to portray St. Francis players and their rivals, and they superficially engaged with Lakota culture and identity in ways that aided the school's project. Judith Butler's articulation of subject formation posits that subordination by power with power produces the subject; to be a person, the subject must repeatedly perform norms (11). In this chapter, I demonstrate how subject formation occurred in the boarding school context at St. Francis.

In frameworks of "playing Indian" and "going native," Philip Deloria and Shari Huhndorf respectively discuss the ways that European Americans have relied on and perpetuated inaccurate understandings of Native peoples to form their own national and individual identities. Embodied activities have provided an instrumental realm to perform these ideas. As Deloria writes, through the realm of performance and specifically "playing Indian," European Americans "translate[d] texts, images, and ideologies into physical reality. In doing so, they lived out the cultural ideas . . . as concrete gestures that possessed physical and emotional meaning" (6). Extending Deloria and Huhndorf's arguments to the St. Francis boarding school setting reveals how educators also attempted to impose these ideologies on Sicangu Lakota students through performances and the narratives that described them. St. Francis educators employed "playing

Indian" and "going Native" as pedagogical strategies to diminish the value of Lakota cultural practices and teach Sicangu Lakota students to be capable American citizens.

Encouraging Indians to play Indian in the boarding school setting by wearing Hollywood-style costumes functioned as a socialization mechanism. By relegating ideas about Indianness to the extracurricular realm and making European American narratives and norms the core of the curricula, educators attempted to condition Sicangu Lakota children to understand their culture as inferior. In other words, St. Francis officials imbued "playing Indian" and "going native" with connotations of childhood, fantasy, and entertainment, while European American discourses and Christianity signified adulthood, reality, and respect. As Tania Murray Li's "will to improve" framework finds, rather than revolt, people frequently negotiate these supposed advancements for their own purposes (101); this is also true of the St. Francis context in which vast power differentials existed between Jesuit educators and Sicangu Lakota youth. Likewise, Monika Siebert's concept of "Indians playing Indian" illuminates that despite discourses which have sought to elide the sovereignty of Native nations and conflate Native Americans with immigrant groups, Native peoples have created opportunities to promote their own interests (2-3). Alongside the dominant ideologies that informed St. Francis's curricula and pedagogy, I consider the ways that Lakota people navigated these assimilative forces to benefit themselves. For Lakota youth "playing Indian" provided important and enjoyable opportunities to perform their identities and allegiance to the Lakota nation.

I use the terms *culturally themed* and *culturally relevant* to differentiate between St. Francis curricula that appropriates symbols of Native culture as a means to diminish cultural values and sovereignty (culturally themed) and activities that contribute to the wellbeing of the Lakota people and nation (culturally relevant). Yet, these categories are not mutually exclusive. This chapter also uncovers ways that Lakota students fixed or reindigenized the meanings of activities that referenced Indian and Lakota performances and practices to enhance and even expand their Native identities within an assimilative environment. Although it is impossible to *fix* the meaning of embodied practices and the visual realm, I argue that these depictions attempted to influence how students thought about themselves and Lakota histories and cultural practices. Consequently, the two central questions that guide my analysis are: what do these representations reveal about the politics of culture when they are read as a technique to "fix" Lakota children? And how did Lakota students and community members negotiate these processes for their own purposes?

I develop and apply the theoretical framework of *fixing* to describe how educators and students at St. Francis Mission School created and contested significances about and through embodied activities. Considering my focus on extracurricular activities, this term aptly "plays" with denotations of "fixing" as a means of determining, repairing, sterilizing, and adjusting to a good condition. First, the notion of "fixing" draws upon ideas about "writing the body" (Dempster) by highlighting educators' compulsion to control representations of embodiment to serve predominant ideologies and narratives. Second, this framework delineates how institutional correspondence and boarding school articles portrayed Indianness as a subordinate condition that required "fixing" through assimilative education. Boarding school officials depicted Native American knowledge as inferior to European American contributions; such representations also operate as an attempt to justify intervention into Native communities and positively portray colonization. Because of the supposedly subordinate status of Native peoples and Western constructs of the mind as separate from and superior to the body, boarding school curricula often relegated Native cultural practices to arts and athletics and emphasized students' physical

training. As Tsianina K. Lomawaima argues, "It is not surprising . . . that an education appropriate to Indians' perceived lower intellectual capacities would stress so vigorously the concomitant need to develop physical skills and habits" (82). Yet ironically, colonial officials still viewed Native peoples as inferior in these realms. I show that St. Francis educators recognized the benefits of embodied activities for students and the institution, but foremost focused on developing youth intellectually and spiritually. Third, officials at St. Francis encouraged and publicly recognized students who elected to devote their lives to Catholicism by becoming a nun or priest. In choosing these vocations, students committed themselves to a life of embodying Catholic values, which were core to St. Francis's project. As nuns and priests take vows of chastity, thereby preventing them from producing offspring, I consider the implications of "fixing" (a colloquial term often associated with animals) within histories of Native American forced sterilization that occurred because of dominant society's dehumanizing beliefs about Native peoples. Further, if St. Francis could fix students through assimilation, those who went on to procreate would impart such values—including conversion—to their own children, demonstrating the intergenerational impact of fixing. On the other hand, colonial officials were not the only actors in this equation. Despite unequal power dynamics, Lakota leaders, community members, and youth attached meanings to embodied practices that at times may have directly contradicted colonial officials' intentions. Through their own act of fixing, Lakota people reconfigured St. Francis's project "in a good way"—a common phrase used in Indian country today—by reindigenizing culturally themed programing and religious vocations to practice and promote cultural continuity.

Methods

In this chapter, I conduct close readings of a range of sources: articles from *The Sioux Chieftain*; photographs taken at St. Francis depicting educators and Lakota children at play; Wade Davies and Rich Clow's 2006 article, "The St Francis Mission Indians and the National Interscholastic Catholic Basketball Tournament, 1924–1941"; *Reconciliation and Roundball*—a 1990 documentary, published by the Dakota Indian Foundation, which examines the history of basketball in South Dakota through Catholic mission schools and Native and European American interactions; and three interviews. I collected the articles—which range in dates from the 1930s to the 1940s—from the Rosebud Reservation's Buechel Memorial Lakota Museum. I gathered the images—which span from 1928 to the 1970s—from Marquette University's Raynor Memorial Libraries, which currently houses the majority of St. Francis Mission School's archives. I use the Davies and Clow article and *Reconciliation and Roundball* as primary sources to indicate what people think about the legacy of St. Francis and basketball and both build on and depart from these interpretations. In Summer 2014, I spoke with three Sicangu Lakota adults (two men and one woman), who were all former basketball players and the second or third generation in their families to attend St. Francis Mission or Indian School.[13] Robert played basketball for St. Francis Mission School in the late 1950s until the early 1960s while John and Jenny played for St. Francis Indian School in the 1990s.[14]

While the archival documents and interviews reflect different time periods, I rely on both sources because the majority of the students who attended St. Francis Mission School in the 1930s have passed away. Including the voices of their descendants provides insight into archival

[13] In 1972, the Mission gave control of the school to the tribe, who renamed the institution St. Francis Indian School.

[14] All of these names are pseudonyms that I have given to protect the interviewees' anonymity.

omissions and highlights the connections between the past and present, which results from structures of oppression and Lakota cultural continuity. Such an understanding of temporality is common in Native American and critical ethnic studies discourses, and interviewees also echoed these ideas.

Education in the Sicangu Lakota Context and Fixing Students at St. Francis

From time immemorial, the Sicangu Lakota educated their youth. As in the present day, education was intended to prepare young people to perform a particular role in society. Narratives frequently portray former Native boarding schools as Western institutions; however, Native Americans also attempted and exerted influence in these spaces ("Mission History")—although as a result of unequal power dynamics, officials frequently excluded Native leaders' contributions. As Taylor highlights, "Humans do not simply adapt to systems. They shape them" (7). The origins of Indian boarding schools in the U.S. involve the Sicangu Lakota. On the Rosebud Reservation in the late 1800s, *Sinte Gleska* (Spotted Tail), a famed Lakota leader, asked President Rutherford B. Hayes to send Jesuits to help educate his people (Douville). Recognizing the shifting times, *Sinte Gleska* believed that learning English would help to empower and protect the Sicangu Lakota (Douville). In the meantime, *Sinte Gleska* sent his children and grandchildren to the first off-reservation boarding school, Carlisle Indian Industrial Institute (in Carlisle, Pennsylvania), which Captain Richard Henry Pratt founded in 1879. However, *Sinte Gleska* withdrew his progeny from the institution when he realized that Carlisle's project focused on assimilating or fixing the Lakota and other Native peoples. *Sinte Gleska*'s concept of education—which envisioned Sicangu Lakota students retaining their language and cultural practices alongside learning English and Western norms—drastically differed from the goals of many institutions at the time (Douville). After Crow Dog killed *Sinte Gleska* in 1881, *Nunpa Kahpa* (Two Strike) continued working on behalf of the Sicangu Lakota to secure Jesuit educators, who arrived in 1885 (Douville). St. Francis Mission School opened on June 15, 1886 (Douville).

At St. Francis, extracurricular programming and the narratives and visual images that accompanied these activities worked in conjunction with the values of the core curricula to aid the project of fixing Lakota students. For St. Francis students in the 1930s and 1940s, *The Sioux Chieftain* likely served as a very common and significant form of entertainment. The boarding school newspaper's name itself illustrates St. Francis's selective and superficial inclusion of Native themes within the boarding school's largely assimilative environment; the French word "Sioux" is not Lakota peoples' preferred name for themselves, and the word "chief" denotes both an authority figure and a racial epithet for Native men. Educators reserved access to other forms of media—such as films—for special occasions and denied students these privileges if they misbehaved (Interview with author). St. Francis officials also circulated issues of *The Sioux Chieftain* among religious affiliates and donors to showcase the institution's successes. The earliest existing issue of *The Sioux Chieftain* at the Buechel Memorial Lakota Museum is from September 1933. A 1934 issue of *The Sioux Chieftain* outlines the school's mission through a three part series of articles that St. Francis students David Mousseau, Clarence Packard, and Arthur Le Claire wrote respectively, titled, "EDUCATION AT ST. FRANCIS," on behalf of "Reverend Father Superior, Reverend Fathers, and Friends of Saint Francis Mission."

The first section of this sequence displays the connotation of fixing as a means to improve Lakota students by socializing them as competent, devoted U.S. citizens. Mousseau discusses "the academic and commercial work of our school. One of the purposes of education is

to help us to live a more intelligent life, to become useful and loyal citizens of our great country. And so, in the academic work, those subjects are taught which help to attain that purpose." In this statement, Mousseau not only discusses St. Francis's emphasis on socializing Sicangu Lakota students as desirable U.S. citizens, but also puts this mission into practice by referring to the nation-state as "our great country," thereby demonstrating that he has internalized these logics—or at least performed them for the purposes of the article. Mousseau continues by describing the curricula's focus on English language and literature, which "rightly holds first place in this part of our work," as well as history, science, and civics classes, rooted in Eurocentric narratives. Mousseau writes, "The purpose of the commercial course is threefold; 1st, to train the mind; 2nd, to enable us to take care of our own business affairs in an intelligent manner; and 3rd, to give us a means of earning a livelihood."

These three points parallel Biolsi's identification of competence as a means of subjection operating on the Rosebud Reservation. As the article indicates, St. Francis officials defined competence according to European American norms, which St. Francis officials equated with intelligence. Mousseau's short article repeats the word "citizens" four times, modified by the adjectives "useful" (three times), "loyal" (once), and "intelligent" (twice), underscoring anxieties about the Lakota becoming capable U.S. citizens and providing for themselves and their families without the need of federal assistance. In this article, Mousseau omits that the Sicangu Lakota are dual citizens of the Lakota nation and the U.S. In not accounting for Native nations' sovereignty, the article implies that the Lakota are no different from immigrant groups. Denying Native nations sovereignty and assimilating Native Americans into the U.S. national body benefits the U.S. by freeing it from treaty obligations and opening tribal lands for further conquest.

In the second article of this series, Packard's step-by-step description of the vocational work at St. Francis demonstrates Foucauldian frameworks of fixing through individuality, control, and modality, which Foucault defines as "an uninterrupted, constant coercion, supervising the processes of the activity rather than its result and it is exercised according to a codification that partitions as closely as possible time, space, movement" (*Discipline and Punish* 137). Packard lists the vocational programming, including "[t]he carpenter shop, the baker shop, the dairy barn, the garden, the shoe shop, [and] the paint shop," and he describes in detail, as if providing an instructional, the process of making a teacher's desk. According to Foucault, "These methods, which made possible the meticulous control of the operations of the body, which assured the constant subjection of its forces and imposed upon them a relation of docility-utility, might be called 'disciplines'" (*Discipline and Punish* 137). Packard's comprehensive narrative about the teacher's desk implies St. Francis educators' jurisdiction over Lakota bodies, required to perform work for the school. His identification of other several vocational activities indicates that this disciplinary process is not an anomaly, but widespread throughout the institution.

Through various vocational and extracurricular activities—including students writing for *The Sioux Chieftain*—and under the "experienced direction" of educators, St. Francis trained Lakota students, creating docile subjects. Packard underscores the role of performativity in such fixing mechanisms, stating, "we learn to do by doing; we learn to make by making." Notably, Packard's piece reads as a script, a performance intended to address visitors and familiarize them with St. Francis's curricula and its students' accomplishments: "I need not speak to you about the success achieved in this work. A glance at the products here on exhibition will tell you more forcefully than I could hope to do, what has been accomplished. You are cordially invited to

inspect the work exhibited here today." Similar to Mousseau's reference to the U.S. as "our great country," Packard's performance shows that educators elicited students to promote and perform St. Francis's success in fixing Lakota youth. St. Francis officials could have written about the school's curricula and goals themselves; yet they enlisted students in creating these narratives and performances, which officials likely influenced and edited. Alongside the exhibited products, Packard himself was on display during his performance. In the context of this series, the connotations of fixing as a means of controlling narratives and improving students function interdependently. Through these supposedly self-created—yet almost certainly coerced acts—students displayed the success of St. Francis as a disciplinary institution that effectively fixed Lakota students.

Discussing the implications of fixing within the context of religion and embodiment, the final article in the series focuses on "Character Training," which Le Claire categorizes as "hold[ing] first place" in the St. Francis curricula. He writes,

> Now, character training is absolutely impossible without religion. A man must have the high motives, the beautiful inspiration of religion if he is to be a man of character. . . . If we have followed the example that has been set before us, if we have imbibed the principles that have been taught us, we shall go forth from this great school truly educated, not only in mind and body, but also and especially, in heart and will. We shall go forth as leaders of our fellow men, shining examples to the world of true Catholic education.

Le Claire associates "high motives" and "character" with Catholicism, which implies that conversion to Catholicism constituted a key component of fixing at St. Francis. In some cases, Lakota students elected to become nuns and priests. Robert, an elder-educator and former student athlete who graduated from St. Francis Mission School in 1961, stated that St. Francis officials regarded students who elected to become a priest or nun as "a feather in their cap" because such a decision was life long and therefore perhaps the ultimate performance of Catholic devotion (Interview with author).

Although the series concludes with a summary of St. Francis's curricula—"educated, not only in mind and body, but also in heart and will"—none of the articles actually discuss physical education (unless one conflates physical and vocational training). This is remedied in a subsequent issue of *The Sioux Chieftain,* which includes an article by William Madigan entitled, "PHYSICAL EDUCATION PROGRAM." Notably in this article, Lakota girls emerge as an afterthought:

> Biologically, man must have physical activity for growth, development, and maintenance of physical and mental health. The program answers this need; first, by a formal class, which includes Marching, Calisthenics, Individual Athletic events, and Games; secondly, by an intramural program intended as an opportunity for all boy students to participate with an organized team in athletic games. . . . Recently, the Physical Education program has been expanded to include two evening classes a week for the High School girls.

Whereas all boys exercised as least three times a week and were encouraged to participate on athletic teams, St. Francis only offered a class for high school girls twice a week. Officials viewed physical education as instrumental to the boys' wellbeing and supplementary to the girls' health, which clarifies that fixing Lakota students at St. Francis is both a racialized and gendered project.

Banning Native Games in Boarding Schools: The Making of the Modern Warrior

In *Lakota Woskate* (Lakota Games), a curriculum developed in 1972 on the Pine Ridge Reservation—a Lakota reservation that borders Rosebud—Vivian One Feather writes, "Games are not only for fun, they also teach. They teach what people hold dear, their values. . . . Among the Lakota people, there are many games, many ways of having fun. There are games for men only, for women only, for boys only, for girls only, and for boys and girls together. . . . Most of them, especially the children's games, imitate what people do; such as hunt, or take care of the home" (Introduction). To this day, Lakota games teach community members to perform culturally specific activities, gender roles, and values.

Given the power of these practices in producing productive members of Lakota society with common cultural understandings, it is perhaps unsurprising that the U.S. government targeted Native games for elimination. While technically the late 19th century marked the end of the Indian Wars, Adams writes, "the white man had concluded that the only way to save Indians was to destroy them, that the last great Indian war should be waged against children" (337). Given that Adams identifies children as the recipients of U.S. colonial violence, it is perhaps unsurprising that key methods of assimilation involved games and play, realms often associated with young people. Following the 1890 Wounded Knee Massacre—in which the U.S. Calvary murdered approximately 300 Lakota men, women, and children—the federal government outlawed Native American games (Kelsey 40). Educators sought to replace traditional Lakota sports for youth—such as bows and arrows, popguns, slingshots, and webbed hoops (a Lakota game incorporating a target and spear) (Kills In Sight)—with organized athletics. The federal government likely viewed Native games as not only detrimental to the assimilation process, but also a threat to U.S. national security, for in addition to socializing Native community members, Native games trained Native warriors. Officials prohibited practices—such as archery—that effectively constitute Native martial arts. These games helped to train Native youth—and young men in particular—in the practices and strategies of hunting and warfare while socializing their commitments to community. Tellingly, Alan Trachtenberg describes a 1916 "citizenship ceremony [that occurred on the Yankton Reservation in South Dakota] designed by the Indian agent James McLaughlin" in which the Secretary hands a Native man named Tunkansapa a bow and arrow (46). Tunkansapa shoots the arrow for the "last" time, which signifies his "'[choice] to live the life of the white man'" (46). The Secretary allows Tunkansapa to keep the arrow as "'a symbol of your noble race and of the pride you may feel that you come from the first Americans.'" Then the Secretary states, "'The white man works by work'" and proceeds to describe the immense effort of farming, which implies that the bow and arrow—the way that Lakota men earned their livelihood—is not an acceptable (46).[15] This "ceremony" underscores Native archery as a fundamental embodied practice that effectively stands for Native—and especially Native male—ways of life, including warfare, which is what gives this performance significance.[16] As Penelope Myrtle Kelsey notes, "Because these games were so deeply tied to Lakota group identity as well as warrior traditions, the U.S. government viewed their eradication as necessity for quelling Indian resistance" (40). Banning Native games and replacing these

[15] In the Secretary's depiction of farming, the earth is unwilling to provide unless the man exerts his perspiration upon the land. As I discuss in Chapters Two and Three, this worldview significantly differs from Indigenous understandings of and relationships with the mother earth.

[16] As Trachtenberg notes the "citizenship ceremony" was gendered; Native women received "purses and workbags," and the speech emphasized the importance of domesticity, family, and thriftiness (46-47).

practices in boarding school settings with primarily non-combative sports that socialized school spirit was also central to redirecting Native allegiance.

Yet St. Francis educators incorporated Native embodied and even martial practices when they served the institution's goals of fixing Lakota youth. Tsianina Lomawaima and Teresa McCarty propose the "safe/dangerous" paradigm to explain variations in the inclusion or exclusion of Native American cultural practices in schools (6-7). Officials' purposeful and selective integration of Native embodied practices into the St. Francis promotional materials and curricula suggests that these practices could be made "safe" when they were used to fix Lakota youth. For instance, in the photograph that opens this dissertation (see figure 1), a Lakota boy poses with a bow and arrow; however, someone has marked his body with the letters, "U-S-A," an attempt to fix the student as a young warrior not for the Lakota nation (which would contradict St. Francis's project), but the U.S. Likewise, in 1942, St. Francis offered boxing, a sport that overtly resembles martial arts. Considering the pre-war climate of the 1940s, emphasizing a boxing program for Lakota young men fit well within protecting the future of the U.S. as the Lakota were fighting *with* rather than *against* the settler state.[17] Further, teaching Lakota young men to spar matched mainstream and Lakota conceptions of Native—and in particular Lakota—warrior identity. As a result of the Battle of Little Big Horn—in which the Lakota defeated General Custer—and the more recent roles of Lakota leaders in American Indian Movement, the Lakota (and in particular Lakota men) are still renowned for being determined and strong warriors.

In the 1930s, basketball gained popularity for Native and non-native communities in the Plains (Davies and Clow 214). The sport's suitability for indoor and outdoor play and the minimal equipment that it requires likely enhanced participation (Davies and Clow 2014). In its adaptability, basketball further resembles Lakota games. As One Feather discusses, "All the games are played with whatever the people have on hand, such as a bow or a plum pit" (Introduction). In a 1942 issue of *The Sioux Chieftain*, student-writer, Theda Nelson, stated, "basketball is a great American sport and the main activity here at St. Francis." The St. Francis boys' basketball team, the Scarlet Warriors, obtained national success by qualifying for the National Catholic Interscholastic Basketball Tournament in Chicago for eight consecutive years beginning in 1934, which also contributed to the game's reputability on the Rosebud Reservation (Davies and Clow 223). The team's very name constitutes a foundational case of fixing. In the American cultural imaginary, the word "warriors" is often associated with Native peoples and in particular men, whom mainstream narratives represent as figures of "Native cultural authenticity and political resistance" (Huhndorf, *Mapping the Americas* 108). The modification of "warriors" by the descriptor "scarlet"—the supposed color of Native peoples' skin but also a mark of deviance, i.e. a "scarlet letter"—makes these connections explicit. Articles in *The Sioux Chieftain* from the 1930s and 40s often interchangeably referred to the St. Francis boys' basketball team as the Scarlet Warriors, Indians, and "red skins," a particularly derogatory term for Native peoples that refers to their bloody scalps, which some U.S. settlers exchanged for bounty. While a common misconception exists that Native American mascots and team names are an unimportant issue, in reality, they undermine contemporary Native sovereignty by portraying Native peoples as extinct, dehumanizing them through stereotypical representations,

[17] In the Commencement 1943 issue of *The Sioux Chieftain*, an article, "WHAT'S TO COME NOW," details the St. Francis Mission School alumni and students who postponed their education to participate in U.S. war efforts.

and relegating ideas about them to athletics and arts. For this reason, throughout this chapter, I do not refer to the team by their official name.

Yet Lakota students, proud of their heritage and history, which includes their reputation as fierce warriors, fixed the derogatory meanings of the team name and mascot. For instance, in a 1976 photograph of the St. Francis boys' track team, young men form two rows. (See figure 2.) Those in the forefront take a knee while the remainder of their teammates and their coach stand behind them. Three of the young men kneeling front center hold on to the trophy. The boys' sweatshirts and pants and the coach's jacket bear the insignia of a Plains Indian man in profile. Although this common depiction of an "Indian" in "Indian" attire represents Native peoples monolithically, for Lakota students, such a representation is culturally relevant.[18]

Figure 2. Marquette University Archives, St. Francis Mission Records, ID 06-1 01-07 1976 (Track Team).

[18] However, although Lakota people fixed the meaning of a culturally themed word this does not mean that "warriors" is a culturally acceptable mascot. Because of the complex and contradictory circumstances of colonization, the politics of Native mascots are different for Indigenous and non-native peoples. Yet given that Native mascots perpetuate cultural misunderstandings and cause psychological harm (American Psychological Association), they should be abolished and culturally relevant curricula sanctioned in schools.

Beyond the team's name, Davies and Clow—whose work illuminates how scholars have previously conceived of St. Francis's basketball legacy based on archival accounts—write that the game appealed to educators and students for a variety of reasons:

> Jesuits from the Rosebud school had multiple purposes for sending their team to Chicago. Although they had colleagues and superiors who believed that athletics could be overemphasized to the detriment of academics, most of the Jesuits at St Francis believed that basketball served the mission in many ways. With the right competition, the sport would make money for the mission by drawing enthusiastic South Dakota fans to games. More importantly, basketball promised to keep the tribal students and their families personally invested in the mission school and that served evangelical goals. Through the Chicago tournament in particular, basketball offered their student athletes an exceptional opportunity to travel and to build their character as young men through healthy competition. . . . The St Francis Jesuits further realized the unique opportunity the NCIBT provided to demonstrate the fruits of their mission on a national scale.[19] Dispatched to Chicago for different purposes by different groups of Jesuits, the St Francis players also had something to gain from the NCIBT. For them, a trip to Chicago offered the opportunity to see the country and play a game they loved at the highest level. (213-14)

St. Francis officials recognized that basketball could not only serve as a means to fix Lakota students—with a focus on young men—but also the broader Rosebud community. The success of the St. Francis team also furthered the project of fixing by increasing the institution's reputability on a national scale. Importantly, the benefits that Davies and Clow identify for Lakota students—such as the ability to travel—are illustrative of Lakota cultural practices (228).

In my conversation with Robert, he gave an alternative account that contradicted Davies and Clow's claim that "Native American communities . . . adopted the game that Dr (sic) James Naismith invented in 1891" (214). Robert stated,

> I played basketball. It was a good tradition because basketball was invented on the reservations. It began there. That's why all the non-Indian teams were whooped pretty badly. It was a priest that brought [basketball] from back east. But heck, we already had that in some of the shinny games. Same idea: goal. You score a goal. And we played with a leather ball. The same. (Interview with author)

Here, Robert (re)fixes the narrative by reindigenizing mainstream histories about basketball's origins. For Robert, basketball and shinny games are nearly—if not wholly—identical.

The associations that Robert and other Lakota students likely made between basketball and Lakota games may have had important implications for students within St. Francis's assimilative environment. Davies and Clow show that St. Francis educators attributed the decrease in student runaways from the mission school to the introduction of basketball (217-218). Given Robert's insights, it is possible that the connections students made between Lakota cultural practices and basketball helped bond them to the game and the school, which continues in the present day. John—who attended St. Francis Indian School and earned a scholarship to play basketball in college—stated, "I think one of the best teaching was [my coach] compared basketball to life, you know, the rules, the boundaries, the effort, all of these things that we put into it. And we caught onto some of that, and that's really at times what kept me in school, kept

[19] NCIBT is the National Catholic Interscholastic Basketball Tournament, which "was held every March from 1924 through 1941 to determine the national basketball championship for Catholic high schools and academies in the United States" (Gerrard Browne 2).

me going back" (Interview with author). Furthermore, basketball likely served as a positive outlet for young people to release stress through movement and play. Jenny—whom I interviewed and who played basketball for St. Francis Indian School—stated, "Basketball in general on the reservation has always kind of been one of the few outlets that our youth have had. . . . [Basketball has] helped a lot of people. It's given a lot of people something to do. . . . I think you've noticed around here: there's not a whole lot for our youth" (Interview with author).

Basketball as Pedagogy: "Exceedingly Instructive as Well as Entertaining"

A 1933 issue of *The Sioux Chieftain* states, "The picture was exceedingly instructive as well as entertaining." The "picture" that the article refers to is the film, *Gabriel Over the Whitehouse*, which students at St. Francis screened in 1933.[20] In this chapter, I am not concerned with the content of the film itself, but rather its framing. I consider "exceedingly instructive as well as entertaining" as a pedagogical method that St. Francis educators used to fix Sicangu Lakota youth as competent, modern subjects. Recognizing that students and community members enjoyed basketball, educators employed representations of this embodied practice for institutional aims. St. Francis officials included professional sportswriters' excerpted narratives about the boys' basketball team in *The Sioux Chieftain*. Sicangu Lakota students would very likely have read these passages about themselves and their classmates, which often relied on mainstream representations of Native Americans to depict the athletes. Davies and Clow locate these exaggerated depictions within histories of Native cultural exhibition and performance:

> From the 1893 Columbian Exposition, where tribal material culture was placed on public display, to the Miller Brothers 101 Ranch Real Wild West performances, tribesmen found Chicagoans a receptive audience. Now in the 1920s Chicagoans delighted in reading press coverage that presented Indian basketball players as attacking warriors, just as past Wild West show images had presented them as menaces to the winning of the West. Tournament coverage dealing with St. Francis linked them to Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, and used terms in reference to them such as 'warriors' and 'scalping.' (216).

Such representations of Native peoples played an integral role in constructing European American identity. As Huhndorf writes, the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition and the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition "expressed critical changes in the place Native peoples occupied in the American cultural imagination. By siting Native America in European America's past, they show white America going native in part to conceal its violent history. After the conquest, representations of this troubling history reflected on other conflicts and power relations within the broader American society" (*Going Native* 22). The articles that sportswriters penned about the St. Francis warriors reveal the politics of dominant culture, and they were used as a fixing device within the St. Francis setting as a component of assimilation. These portrayals also attempted to renovate Lakota conceptions of self.

Huhndorf also notes that sports have provided a prominent space for European Americans—and in particular men—to shape their racial and gender identities following conquest (59). It is therefore unsurprising that in their articles about the St. Francis team, non-student sportswriters frequently referenced past conflicts between European and Native Americans—often to articulate a linear, Western narrative of progress: "The basketball season has been opened and the Scarlet Warriors are fully prepared for their annual [sic] combats

[20] *Gabriel Over the White House* is a 1933 American film that is based upon a fictionalized account of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. The film commends the presidential protagonist Judson C. Hammond's socialist policies, which include martial law and suspension of the U.S. Constitution.

throughout the country. The combats are not with tomahawks, or bows and arrows, but with a basketball" ("COMING GAME.") This excerpt functions to fix Lakota youth by relegating Native martial arts and wars between Native peoples and European Americans to the past and by teaching them that boarding school officials have replaced these practices with the non-combative, civilized sport of basketball. The article also indicates that current conflicts occur within Native communities: "The first team to play here on the home court is another Indian team from Rosebud Boarding School. . . . These two teams are rivals and are striving to win the supremacy of this Reservation." Pitting subordinate peoples against one another operates as a strategy of colonization by directing antagonisms away from the oppressor. However, Native peoples have also historically engaged in athletic competitions with other bands and/or tribes.

Articles also attempted to fix narratives about European American dominance in warfare and assimilation. For example, in this excerpt, the writer commends St. Francis for transforming Lakota youth into civilized young men: "These St. Francis Indian Mission boys are the product of the Missionary work of the Jesuit order among the Sioux Indians of South Dakota. Forty years ago the forefathers of these boys fought U.S. Troopers. Today these boys are attending a high school where they get a combined classical and manual training course" ("AT THE TOURNAMENT"). Forty years prior to when this passage appeared in *The Sioux Chieftain* was 1894, four years following the Wounded Knee Massacre. That the writer calls the U.S. government's slaughter of over 300 Lakota women, children, and men a "fight" evidences his loyalty to the U.S. The writer notably excludes mention of the 1876 Battle of Little Big Horn, the most famous conflict between the Lakota and U.S. troops in which the Lakota defeated the settler state.

Along with omitting Lakota victories, these descriptions functioned to educate Lakota youth about their place from the dominant society's perspective. The February-March 1934 issue of *The Sioux Chieftain* includes excerpts from reviews that anonymous sportswriters composed. The introduction for the section titled, "AT THE TOURNAMENT," states, "Read what sports writers have to say about the Scarlet Warriors." The "tournament" referenced was the National Catholic Interscholastic Basketball Tournament, held at Loyola University. The sensational description about the St. Francis boys' basketball team raises questions about whether the depiction has any accuracy whatsoever or if the writer invented the anecdote:

> An old Indian custom brought the fire department out to Loyola University, scene of the National Catholic basketball championship. The St. Francis, S.D. Mission team, all Sioux Indians, decided on an ancient ceremony before they entered into basketball battle against Youngstown, Ohio. They built a bonfire in the gymnasium basement, donned their uniforms, faked some war paint, and did a dance. The fire department was called as smoke was smelled from its mysterious source, but the Indians had finished their ceremony and extinguished the blaze before the laddies arrived.

This passage refers to Native practices as "old" and "ancient," which illustrates Huhndorf's argument that dominant narratives represent Native peoples in the past to invisiblize the violence that the U.S. nation state continues to enact upon them. The writer also challenges the players' authenticity in describing their "faked . . . war paint," which recalls the photograph that opens this dissertation of the St. Francis student whose paint is applied without regard for cultural practices (see figure 1). Other pictures, which appear to have resulted from the same photo shoot, display students smiling broadly in their Hollywood-style Indian attire and absorbed in playing dress up. Alongside fabricating a story that allowed European American readers to go native, this passage functioned to teach Lakota students about themselves. Much like the performance of

Lakota students playing Indian that St. Francis officials captured through photographs, this narrative attempts to consign Native peoples and practices to the realm of fantasy for purposes that serve the dominant culture.

While officials and sportswriters sought to fix narratives about the St. Francis boys' basketball team, Lakota athletes and their classmates seem to have skillfully navigated their circumstances to maintain their cultural identity. Davies and Clow posit that the author very likely inflated the earlier description, which actually contradicts the confidential documents that officials wrote about the basketball teams who played in the National Catholic Interscholastic Basketball Tournament:

> [Reporters] . . . were no doubt prone to exaggeration. The 1934 team did indeed burn something underneath the arena floor that brought the fire department to the Loyola gym, but it seems unlikely that it was a 'bonfire'. The NCIBT organizers did not express concern about the St Francis teams causing any trouble, at least not when writing to their colleagues. . . . It seems unlikely that the reception committee would fail to mention any incident of the St Francis team lighting a fire in their hotel room. In fact, the reports consistently referred to the St Francis players' conduct as 'gentlemanly' and 'orderly'. (226)

Drawing from Davies and Clow's analysis that the "1934 team did indeed burn something" and the sportswriter's description that the St. Francis team conducted "an old Indian custom," it is likely that the boys may have been "smudging" or "burning sage, cedar or sweet grass to cleanse or purify [themselves] or [the] place" ("Sweat, smudge and the letter 'S'").[21] Due to unfamiliarity with this practice, the sportswriter may have inaccurately represented the boys' actions. Notably, unlike the very public performances of Native peoples at the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition or the National Catholic Interscholastic Basketball Tournament primarily for the entertainment of non-native audiences, the St. Francis players seem to have smudged offstage, in private, leaving the sportswriter to imagine what occurred. While educators attempted to socialize St. Francis students to engage with their culture in superficial ways through playing Indian and providing narratives in *The Sioux Chieftain* that fit the trope of going native, Lakota athletes fixed these pedagogical methods by finding ways to maintain the meaningfulness of their cultural practices and identities.

The way that the sportswriter represented the St. Francis boys' basketball team's likely smudging is illustrative of other archival descriptions, which emerge as half-truths, influenced by the politics of playing native and selected for inclusion in *The Sioux Chieftain* for the purposes of fixing Lakota youth. Rendering Native peoples as unable to adapt to modernity also functions as an attempt to conceal the violence of European American colonization. One sportswriter refers to the St. Francis starters as "Five of the Vanishing Americans from the Mission School of St. Francis" ("AT THE TOURNAMENT"), while another represents their style of play as archaic and undisciplined: "What struck me was the manner in which the lads from the great outdoors set a pace at the start and swung along at the same gait to the finish. In some respects it bordered on basketball of the old days when it was less scientific and few gave much attention to the man or the zone type of defense" " ("AT THE TOURNAMENT"). This passage associates Native

[21] For the purposes of legibility, I use the word "smudging." However, Francis White Bird—the writer of the article, "Sweat, smudge and the letter 'S'"—notably critiques this term because of its negative denotations: "a stain, blur, or smear, dirty spot." Instead, the author advocates for the use of the Lakota term "*azilya*." As a derogatory word for a Lakota spiritual practice, the English word for *azilya* itself evidences an example of fixing.

peoples with nature, the "great outdoors," and discontinuous from modernity and rationality; mainstream accounts frequently portray Native peoples and lands as untouched and wild, in need of fixing, intervention, and improvement. It also implies that because St. Francis's style of play overlooked modern innovations in basketball, more training in intellect and strategy would benefit the team. This is somewhat ironic considering that the team played for an institution staffed primarily by European American educators, but the politics of playing Indian, going native, and fixing are often contradictory. On one hand, sportswriters sought to represent Lakota progress through fixing—even as that entailed players' near extinction. On the other, the backhanded compliments the sportswriters created continued to portray the Lakota as subordinate, especially intellectually, which justified the presence and project of St. Francis.

Lakota Students Fixing St. Francis's Project

Former St. Francis players, however, understood themselves and their tactics differently. In the film *Reconciliation and Roundball*, long time St. Francis player and coach, C.P. Jordan fixed the sportswriter's analysis:

> You had the men spread out wide, against the man to man. And since we were short, and we had a lot of speed, it was advantageous, see? We go and pass off and roll off, just keep going like that. Then we had the whole middle aisle open, so that if the screen works, you drive in. And if somebody on the end of the key comes out to get you, pass off to him, so it's hard to stop. But after awhile they got so they sagged on us, but if you're a good shot, then you can still control it.

While some aspects of Jordan's description resemble the sportswriter's article, as Jordan clarifies, St. Francis players' unique approach was not unscientific, but strategic, designed to account for players' body types and utilize their skills. Interestingly, at five years of age, Jordan traveled with the St. Francis team as their mascot (Davies and Clow 219). In appropriating symbols of Native culture as a means to diminish cultural values and sovereignty, Indian mascots—warriors included—are an example of culturally themed curricula. Yet Jordan likely benefited from and enjoyed his experiences traveling with the high school boys' basketball team. In his high school years at St. Francis, Jordan was a standout player and wrote articles about basketball for *The Sioux Chieftain*.

Other former St. Francis players featured in *Reconciliation and Roundball* echoed Jordan's insights. Vince Brewer, a 1941 All American, described the team's unrelenting quickness:

> We played a fast break off the backboard. If it bounced in any direction, we had three men going down. We tipped it. We didn't catch it; we tipped it. We played a fast break constantly. We didn't press all the time. We only pressed when it looks like the other team relaxed. If they were taking the ball out a little slow to the basket, we pressed. As long as we had them won, stay. Let them get off. That was a lot of experience. We had a lot of experience on that team.

Unlike the sportswriter, Brewer attributed St. Francis's success to an expertise that allowed the team to control the pace of the game. In speaking about why the St. Francis boys' team achieved so much success on the court, Robert, who credited an unspecified priest with introducing modern basketball to the Lakota, likewise states: "[He] brought that game back in like 1900, somewhere around there, and then tribal members caught on real fast. They were quick and fast, speedy, and able to handle the ball well, so they got a jumpstart until I'd say about the 1950s, when the rest of the states caught on, and they had bigger people" (Interview with author). All of

the former St. Francis players' accounts underscore strategy and skill. Harold Schunk, a former basketball referee, concurred, emphasizing the team's ingenuity:

> In its time, it was the best ball club I ever refereed. Way ahead of their time. It's amazing how fast those fellows moved. They knew when to move. And they were coached when, as soon as you get that ball, you get it out of bounds, you start going. And you just pick up the ball and jump out of bounds at that time. They didn't hand the ball to you. You just picked it up and away you went. (*Reconciliation and Roundball*)

Indeed, others also noted St. Francis' renowned playing style; in 1937, Salem St. Mary's recruited Jordan—who had recently graduated from high school—to "bring some of the fundamentals from the reservation to the eastern part of South Dakota" (*Reconciliation and Roundball*).

Underscoring the St. Francis boys' basketball team's innovative techniques did not fit well within narratives of going native—which function to reinscribe European American superiority (*Going Native* 5)—nor did their excellence on the court. Such circumstances could have even increased the stakes of fixing. "[T]he myth of the older Indian player posing as a teenager"—which may have originated with a basketball player from Wakpala who in the 1920s began shooting layups—began to circulate. This story operated as an attempt to attribute Native players' impressive skills to unfair advantage and dishonesty. As *Reconciliation and Roundball* reveals, "The better the Indian teams did, the more leery people of South Dakota became about including them in the athletic association. There was a fear of Indian domination on the basketball court." Jordan likewise highlighted that the continued success of Native teams may have led to the dissolution of the State Catholic Association:

> When we first started, in my senior year, we won it for about five years in a row. I mean not St. Francis, where I was a student, but by Indian teams, you know. And then there was a talk about discontinuing it. They're controlling it. Then, as the years went by, then Cathedral here, they're O'Gorman [inaudible] now, it was Cathedral then. They started dominating, so then the other schools are beginning to gripe about it. But then they . . . about that time it was disbanded, the State Catholic Association. (*Reconciliation and Roundball*)

Whether through controlling narrative, excluding Native teams from competition, and/or disbanding the tournament altogether, European Americans sought to secure their place at the top of the racial hierarchy and teach Native peoples that they were subordinate. Likely, these fixing devices also had an unintended consequence: educating Native young people about racial injustice.

"You Call It Huddle, We Call It Powwow": Fixing Culturally Themed Programming

A still shot from "Interview of Father Charles 'C.P.' Jordan on South Dakota Classic Activities Association"—a special segment that aired on the Eyewitness News Network in 1990—depicts what appears to be a program from the 1958 South Dakota State High School Basketball Tournament, which states, "You Call It Huddle, We Call It Powwow." A powwow, unlike a ceremony, is a social dance and therefore not an endorsement of Lakota spirituality. This catchy slogan provides insight into the ways that school officials promoted the St. Francis team as Native American and suggests that Lakota youth fixed culturally themed programming as culturally relevant.[22]

[22] Studies show that students' retention and success increase when curricula reflects young people's experiences (Sleeter 20, 24); therefore, finding meaningful connections between culture and school

Former St. Francis basketball players have viewed boarding school basketball games as a way to practice tribal values and an extension of Lakota social structures, histories, and identities. Jordan highlighted how enacting the Lakota value of collectivity through basketball unsettled players from opposing teams:

> And when I was at Stephan, I had the idea of the Siouxian concept of victory togetherness. I didn't realize it, but I was doing it unconsciously. In other words, there's a psychology about teamwork. Okay. You're going in for a layup, and you know you can almost make it, but then you feed it off to somebody else. Pretty soon the defensive man say, "Why, those guys are playing with us?" See the psychology in it? He could have made it himself. He could have been high point man, but he passed off to somebody. The psychology is: they're playing with us. (*Reconciliation and Roundball*)

Notably, Jordan articulates that St. Francis's inability to completely fix students by assimilating them to European American norms led to the team's success. This significantly differs from sportswriters' portrayals, which represent Native cultures as fantastic, inauthentic, and extinct.

Jordan also connected his experiences with basketball to the traditional organization of Lakota government:

> They call it the kit society, the fox. They call it *tokala* (kit fox) in my language. I can still speak Lakota. I haven't been brainwashed yet. Heh. [Chuckles.] So anyway, I sold them the idea of togetherness. If you go out and do something famous there in battle; you came back; we don't talk about it. They sing for you. In other words . . . you enhance the group, the society that you belong to [inaudible]. They rejoice in all your achievement. It's not hey they put you on a pedestal and got to give you a gold medal and you know all that. No, it's always togetherness. And it's good. And I think subconsciously I indoctrinated my boys that way: teamwork, teamwork. What are we looking for—a victory or a really high point man? (*Reconciliation and Roundball*)

Jordan again references the incomplete project of fixing—"I can still speak Lakota. I haven't been brainwashed yet"—and expresses how he fixed basketball by centering Lakota values, which he also instilled in his team.

Similarly, John recognized relationships among Lakota warrior societies, cultural forms of acknowledgment, community values, and basketball. He stated,

> I think as Lakota people, we originally had societies, and we had ways of earning merit. We had ways of earning honor and being looked at upon. And that's still alive today, and we find that in basketball: the sport, the physicality of it, the basketball IQ. In order to be successful, not only do you have to be physically capable, but you have to be mentally sharp to be successful. . . . So I think basketball if we look at it, it's kind of that way to earn those merits and earn that honor. And also creates that brotherhood, which we used to get from the societies, from the different types of societies that we had. (Interview with author)

For John, basketball serves as a positive means to perpetuate Lakota ways of life into the present day. He also highlights that excelling in basketball requires intelligence, which works against

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programming has important material consequences. Although these studies have focused on the implementation of Ethnic Studies in schools, I posit that positive benefits can occur even when students make unofficial and/or subversive links between their lived experiences and culturally themed curricula (e.g., Davies and Clow's claim that the establishment of basketball at St. Francis decreased student runaways).

typecasts of athletes and in particular Native and other athletes of color as intellectually inept. John's discussion of brotherhood parallels Jordan's emphasis on teamwork. A photograph of the St. Francis boys' basketball team, labeled in handwriting on the back, "Basketball team on Rapid City trip 1941," visually depicts basketball as an arena for Lakota players to earn merit and build camaraderie. (See figure 3.) Three trophies, placed on the cement, take the center foreground of the photograph. Lakota players, wearing their uniforms, take a knee or crouch behind the trophies. Each of the young men extends an arm, hands piled on top of each other in a show of solidarity. A man wearing a suit—presumably their coach—and a Jesuit priest, both figures responsible for fixing the players, stand behind them.

Figure 3. Marquette University Archives, St. Francis Mission Records, ID 06-1 01-03 1941 (SFM Basketball Team).

Echoing Jordan and John's insights into basketball as a continuation of Lakota cultural norms and practices, Robert discussed that basketball perpetuated historical rivalries among Lakota communities, who competed in Lakota games prior to the sport's introduction. As Robert stated,

> It was *team* games, when whole villages went against another village. And that's when Pine Ridge, the Oglala, and the Rosebud Sioux used to be close. We traveled together.

> We had rivalry games with them. It brought back those old memories. . . . Our elders used to come to the games at Holy Rosary and St. Francis, and when they'd [win], they would brag. When they'd go to Pine Ridge and lose, they'd get bragged on that side. So there was this rivalry going on. I never forgot that when I looked out there in the audience, there'd be a lot of elders sitting up there: the rivalry. And their sons and grandsons playing basketball. (Interview with author)

Here, Robert describes Lakota customs prior to colonization and the ways that elders viewed boarding school basketball games as an extension of previous practices (including bragging rights). This indicates that community members as well as St. Francis students fixed culturally themed programming to serve their own purposes. A 1951 photograph depicting St. Francis playing Pine Ridge's Holy Rosary Mission School—renamed Red Cloud Indian School in 1969 ("History")—evidences an atmosphere of spectator excitement. (See figure 4.) Below the basket, St. Francis and Holy Rosary players—who appear to be high school aged—prepare to rebound the ball, suspended midair. The two-story gymnasium, packed with fans, provides bleachers on both levels. Some audience members stand, appearing to watch the game with rapt attention.

Figure 4. Marquette University Archives, St. Francis Mission Records, ID 06-1 01-03 1951 (St. Francis Mission Versus Holy Rosary).

Another photograph, also from 1951, shows third and fourth grade boys playing basketball with a similarly sized and engaged audience, indicating that fans' enthusiasm was not reserved to the older players' games. (See figure 5.)

Figure 5. Marquette University Archives, St. Francis Mission Records, ID 06-1 01-01 1951 (Third and Fourth Graders).

St. Francis student sportswriters in the 1930s likewise saw connections between Lakota histories and boarding school basketball. In a 1936 issue of *The Sioux Chieftain*, Jordan wrote, "In their defeat and in their victories, the sons of 'ole Sitting Bull' lived up to their reputation for sportsmanship" ("SWEEPINGS FROM THE TOURNAMENT"). This excerpt illuminates that some students may have viewed themselves as perpetuating their Lakota identity in a respectable manner on the court. Unlike going native narratives, basketball allowed Lakota players to simultaneously be both "the sons of 'ole Sitting Bull'" and modern.

By excluding young women, the gender specific "sons" may function as a patriarchal fixing device, indicating to Lakota girls that athletics are primarily for boys and men. Conversely, Jordan, much like John, who identified "brotherhood" as a valuable sense of belonging generated through basketball and Lakota societies, may also be reflecting on his own experiences. While men and women undertook different roles in Lakota society, unlike patriarchal norms, the Lakota did not consider women as subordinate to men nor reserve physicality for males. An interview that I conducted uncovered that basketball similarly resonated with Lakota women. Jenny spoke about the game as an intergenerational community event for females:

> I just love walking into the gym before a basketball game. I just love that feeling. It's like family; everybody knows everybody. [At] my daughter's basketball game, there's so many people that I went to school [with]. Our kids are now in school. And then my mom can come, and she'll sit with women that she went to school there with. A lot of grandmas would still come to the games. They wouldn't necessarily have direct grandchildren playing, but they still would all come and sit together. . . . It's a strong tradition. Like I said . . . you have the grandmas there. You have a lot of community members there. So it's also kind of a time to get together and see people and not just to watch the game necessarily. (Interview with author)

As Jenny clarifies, community members consider basketball games at St. Francis to be important community events and "a strong tradition." Given that mainstream narratives attempt to relegate Native peoples and practices to the past and portray them as unable to adapt to modernity, Jenny's point that traditions change while maintaining cultural roots is relevant.

Herstory? Silences and Stories Surrounding the St. Francis Girls' Basketball Team

Going native often assumes a male, gendered component; at the convergence of this phenomenon and athletics—another male dominated arena—this is perhaps even more evident. In the 1930s, articles in *The Sioux Chieftain* frequently documented the boys' basketball team; yet there was also a girls' team, which received far less attention. These archival omissions suggest that the girls' team was not as competitive, and for whatever reason, did not compete at the girls' first state tournament, held in 1924. The culturally themed team name the "Scarlet Maidens"—like the Scarlet Warriors—is racialized and gendered. The word, "maiden," which denotes an unmarried woman, alludes to the role of Native women in mainstream narratives as young, beautiful, and welcoming—particularly to European American men; such romantic, yet unrealistic portrayals seek to reframe the violence of colonization as a consensual, even loving act (Finley). Considering that a key component of fixing at St. Francis—and Native boarding schools in general—focused on socializing youth to patriarchal gender norms, it is perhaps unsurprising that a dearth of information about the girls' basketball team exists. It appears that girls did not write for the school paper until the December 1939 issue, which also helps to explain, but does not excuse these omissions.

An excerpt titled "Scarlet Maidens," which provides no author byline, shows indifference for the girls' basketball team to the extent that even their contemporaries must imagine their skills:

> All may wonder what kind of a basketball team [sic] girls will have this season. Their new coach, Mr. Clarence Packard, seldom comes around the corner, and the special words for the prospects of his new developing team were never captured. However, we imagine that if the girls have pep, confidence, and cooperation, their team of '39-'40 shall not fall below the usual standard.

The public shaming of Packard, a St. Francis alumnus, suggests that a student likely did not write this article. Unlike representations of the boys' basketball team that appear in *The Sioux Chieftain*, the article expresses minimal expectations for the girls' team and instead focuses on the players' pleasant and perky personality traits, which significantly differ from warrior-like characteristics and seem perhaps more suitable to describing cheerleaders than basketball players. Although the girls' team did not achieve the same level of success as their nationally renowned, male counterparts, waning commitment from their coach likely did not enhance the girls' performance. If in a patriarchal society dominant discourses represent basketball as a space of combat, then the court is a battlefield for warriors, not maidens.

Mention of the girls team in the 1930s also referenced the boys', fixing students to understand male superiority and female subordination. "Girls Share Honors"—another anonymously written article—states, "Basketball honors are by no means restricted to the boys. December 8th, while the warriors were invading foreign territory, the girls left at home to guard the wigwam, gave us some lessons in high class basketball." While purporting to recognize the girls' basketball team's skills, the opening sentence actually reestablishes the boys' supremacy. As St. Francis teams would have primarily played games on the Lakota homeland—both on and off the Rosebud Reservation—the description of "the warriors . . . invading foreign territory"

confirms colonial boundaries, attempting to fix students to accept narratives that counter Lakota sovereignty, worldviews, and creation stories. The culturally themed and inaccurate use of the word "wigwam," which the writer substitutes for the word "tipi"—the Lakota's traditional home—elides the vast diversity of Native peoples and shows superficial references to Native peoples and cultures.

Similar to the experiences of the St. Francis boys' basketball team, the game likely provided a space of cultural continuity, innovation, and camaraderie for the girls. In a 1928 photograph of the junior class girls' basketball team, nine Lakota players form a single line, turned sideways toward the camera. (See figure 6.) They sport bobbed haircuts, crisp, white blouses, darkly colored neckties, bloomers, tights, and ankle-high athletic shoes. These uniforms are smart and stylish. With the exception of the young woman holding the basketball at the front, each of the girls stands similarly, feet together, one hand resting firmly on her hip. One wonders where the young women learned to pose this way; did the photographer ask them to position themselves with their hand on their hip or were the girls imitating another fixing mechanism, mainstream images of modern femininity that they had seen? While the young woman in the front appears to smile slightly, some of her teammates' expressions appear bold—perhaps tough or sullen.

Figure 6. Marquette University Archives, St. Francis Mission Records, ID 06-1 01-01 1929 (Junior Class).

In a picture of the girls' high school basketball team from 1949-1950, the athletes form two rows. (See figure 7.) In the first, they sit; the young woman, centered, holds a basketball. In the second row, five players stand between a sister, wearing a habit, and a male coach, who phenotypically appears Native. The coach smiles at the camera and most of the young women appear to also—albeit softly. The girl seated on the far right places one hand over the hand of the young woman seated beside her and around her friend's waist, holding her, a show of sisterhood. In second version of this photo, which appeared in the May 1950 issue of the publication,

Calumet, the girl does not touch her friend's hand or waist, but still leans closely towards her. (See figure 8.) Officials likely chose this photo for the girls' uniformity, which demonstrated discipline and restraint. Below the photograph appears the caption, "These Indian girls of St. Francis Mission are fine basketball players." Yes, these young women appear to "have pep, confidence, and cooperation," seem very capable of "guard[ing] the [tipi]," and are "fine basketball players," but also much more.

Figure 7. Marquette University Archives, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, ID 09-1 50-14 1949-1950.

Figure 8. Marquette University Archives, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, ID 14-1 04-07 (*Calumet* 1950-05).

Racialization in the Realm Basketball

Beyond attempting to socialize St. Francis students—and in particular young males—to understand themselves as subordinate to European Americans, articles in *The Sioux Chieftain* tried to fix Lakota youth to understand themselves as superior to African Americans, which does not necessarily mean that students internalized anti-Black racism. Interestingly, *The Sioux Chieftain* does not report local games between St. Francis and European American teams in such vivid and at times fantastic detail as they did between St. Francis and African American teams. This discrepancy suggests the frequency with which the Lakota and European Americans may have interacted, the normalization of whiteness, and St. Francis officials' emphasis on delineating the differences among Native and African Americans. While Native peoples have also sought to distinguish themselves from other racial groups for political reasons—namely, sovereignty—this does not seem to be operating in *The Sioux Chieftain*, a carefully mediated publication that omitted discussion of the Lakota nation and Lakota students' dual citizenship. Articles that attempted to fix Lakota young people to accept African Americans' subordination primarily depict games played between the St. Francis players and the famed Harlem Globe Trotters. The spectacle between the St. Francis boys' basketball team and the Globe Trotters, which draws over eight hundred fans, is itself "exceedingly instructive as well as entertaining." As student writer Wm. Ross described:

> On February 15 and 16 [1934] the Scarlet Warriors of the St. Francis High School met the famous Negro Basketball Team of Harlem, New York, the nationally known Globe Trotters, in two amazing battles on the basketball court. Both nights the crowds of over 800 fans were thrilled with the wonderful passing and team work [sic] of both teams. In the last quarter of each game the colored boys gave a treat to the crowd by way of fancy passing and comical clowning. The Indians gave a fine account of themselves by their fast passing and accurate shooting. The Warriors fought bravely all through the games, but they were not equal to the big colored boys from the East. The scores were 43-48 and 55-56. Because of the enormous crowds that packed the gym long before it was time for the games to begin, the boys and girls of the grades were not able to see these games. The darkies, however, good-naturedly consented to play the second team and the juniors in an afternoon game for the school children only.

Largely as a result of Hollywood portrayals, symbols of Plains Indian culture—such as the tipi and war bonnet—stand as representations for all Native peoples. Mainstream portrayals of Native peoples often rely on Plains Indian signifiers; therefore, for dominant society, the Lakota embody the textbook example of "Indianness." Likewise, the Globe Trotters purportedly hail from Harlem, a city in the U.S. widely known for its revival of African American cultures in the 1920s and 30s.[23] As Stew Thornley notes, "The 'Harlem' part of the name not only provided a New York connection, but also indicated that this was an all- [sic] black team" (1). Games between St. Francis and the Globe Trotters reinforced dominant discourses by representing Native peoples and African Americans as monolithic and dichotomous groups. Further, as a team that traveled to the Rosebud Reservation to provide entertainment, the Globe Trotters may have

[23] Davies and Clow reveal that "Abe Saperstein's Harlem Globetrotters, a Chicago product despite the commercially motivated and misleading name, were among several pro basketball teams eking out a living criss-crossing South Dakota every winter (there were actually multiple 'Globetrotters' squads barnstorming through the state and country, maximizing profits and serving as a farm system for the unit Saperstein coached personally)" (223).

purposefully performed stereotypical characteristics on the court. While Ross associates the Globe Trotters with "comical clowning," the St. Francis basketball team exemplifies the more positive attributes associated with their team name. Traits Ross attributes to the African American players—"comical" and "good-natured"—recall the Sambo figure (Boskin 58, 44). As Joseph Boskin argues, such attributes functioned to portray African Americans as subordinate and dominatable (44).

A description of the rematch between the St. Francis boys' basketball team and the Globe Trotters, titled, "BLACK WIZARDS WIN," written by an anonymous source, evidences similar tensions to those that professional sportswriters faced when fixing narratives to reinscribe European American superiority—despite Native players' undisputed command of the court. Instead, these articles, likely created by a St. Francis official, work to justify the St. Francis team's losses—although home team loyalty likely influences these representations:

> The return game between the Scarlet Warriors and the Famous Globe Trotters was played on Jan. 6, 1939, on the floor of the St. Francis Mission auditorium. These fierce black wizards, Negro champions from Harlem, New York, thrilled the spectators with their flashes of swift accurate ball handling and expert shots. They defeated the Warriors, 33-22. While an unusually large crowd cheered for the Indians as they battled these Negro professionals, the sportsmanlike warriors kept fighting with all their might through the entire game. The Warriors lost only because of their smaller size and less experience. The professionals were head and shoulders taller.

The passage portrays the Globe Trotters as a mystical and extremely talented—even "professional"—team who "only" beats St. Francis because of their considerable advantage in "size and . . . experience." Referring to the Globe Trotters as "black wizards" likely reflects the signature style of the "dazzling ball-handling routines" (Thornley) that distinguished the team. The word "only" functions as an attempt to lessen the extent of St. Francis's loss. The St. Francis team again lives up to their name by "fighting with all their might." The author also discusses the "sportsmanlike" behavior of the St. Francis boys' team, which along with working hard despite almost insurmountable odds, emerges as a theme in these articles. Fixing Lakota students to perform "sportsmanship" and hard work regardless of recognition or loss prepared them well for contributing to a capitalist economy (Bloom xviii). As John Bloom—who writes about Native boarding school athletics—argues it also

> portray[ed] a particularly comforting image of the Native American male as a racial type. The control that Indian men maintained over their passions within a violent and often provocative game like football confirmed for many that an era of real battle had passed and that, provided Indians had the proper, white, paternal leaders . . . Indians could knock heads on the football field and walk away with no hard feelings. (47)

As Bloom describes, beyond socializing students' sportsmanlike behavior, fixing entailed teaching Lakota students to passively consent to their supposed inferiority.

If Lakota students remained vague about their intended place in the racial hierarchy compared to African Americans, a Sambo joke—included in a 1939 issue of *The Sioux Chieftain* following St. Francis's loss to the Globe Trotters—makes these positions conspicuous. The passage is labeled "JOKE":

> Teacher: Can you make a sentence with defeat, defense, and detail.
>
> Sambo: Yassuh! De feet jump over de fence before de tail. (Time to laugh!)

This passage, which depicts Sambo as subservient and stupid, functions as a fixing device to teach Lakota students that African Americans are inferior to Native peoples. Officials provided

Lakota youth with the instructions—"Time to laugh!"—to convey that the Sambo joke is humorous when in reality it is anything but. As Frank B. Wilderson III states in critiquing a derogatory joke that a Native person told about an African American: "A good joke gets a laugh without any introduction. . . . [W]e should ask ourselves why a 'nigger' joke needs brackets" (225).

Although dominant discourses articulate that race relations have improved over time, former basketball players at St. Francis firmly disagreed. As a player and coach, Jordan experienced racial bias in basketball. He said, "I think it's getting worse now. That time, no. You played, and you felt comfortable. You won hands down. But within the last ten years, I would say no. I've seen it, and it's not good" (*Reconciliation and Roundball*). Jenny concurred:

> When we would travel like that, it would take on more than just going to play a game. To me, you kind of have to prepare yourself to be treated differently, so you kind of learn that each year. You prepare for that. You prepare for the heckling. I mean I know that when we went into District Championship one year, we had to have a police escort to Winner School. That was in 1993, so it wasn't . . . you would think a lot of those attitudes would have been gone by now, but it's not. And it's still the same way. (Interview with author)

In this passage, Jenny also discusses the additional effort that competing under unjust circumstances required. She also spoke about the racism that she and her teammates encountered when they played games off the reservation against predominately European American teams:

> You know, when we traveled east to Winner or Gregory, that was kind of my first real experiences with racism. I was probably in sixth or seventh grade maybe. I mean just all the way around, how we were treated by the audience, how we were treated by coaches, by the other team. . . . I think I was in sixth grade, and I was called a "prairie nigger" [by another young girl probably the same age]. And I didn't know what that was. I knew it wasn't *good*. But I didn't quite understand until I got older. (Interview with author)

The term "'prairie nigger'" relies on the modification of an extremely derogatory term towards African Americans to represent Native peoples. As Jenny clarifies, the realm of basketball continues to enforce racial boundaries—in this case, by exposing young people to intense and offensive racialization that they are otherwise unfamiliar with.

Because of such oppressive environments, some athletes used the sport as a way to prove their self-worth. As John said, "It was just that for three months, I had this opportunity to prove to people that I am somebody. I am capable of doing this" (Interview with author). Through basketball, Lakota athletes felt they had the opportunity fix narratives and ideas about their inferiority by winning against opponents who racially insulted them.

Contemporary Implications at the Convergence of Basketball and Fixing

Competing desires to fix the meanings of basketball within the St. Francis context continue into the present day. As in the past, Lakota people are not excluded from these narratives, but featured for determinate purposes. In *Reconciliation and Roundball*, Jordan states that he believes modern discrimination against Native peoples in the realm of basketball is worse than in the past; yet he never implies an unmarked history—unlike the narrator of the documentary who states, "There is a concern that the feeling of togetherness has been lost between Indian and White athletes in South Dakota." Likewise, in the film, Father Stan Maudlin, Vicar for the Indians, sentimentally portrays the past:

> There will come again what the Dakota people call relationship: *mitakuye oyasin*. We're all related. But we have lost that feeling of being related, because of the level to which we moved, the level of competition in livelihood rather than on the level of competition in sports. So I really think that we're going to have to dig deep into our imagination to find a way by which we can recover that playfulness with each other.

Using the third person pronoun "we," Maudlin speaks on behalf of Dakota, Lakota, and European American people who have supposedly "lost that feeling of being related." Through the conflation of Native and non-native peoples, he also invisiblizes the inherent and ongoing violence of settler colonialism. Further, while Catholic institutions, such as St. Francis Mission, have incorporated Lakota language into their services, this practice is also ironic given histories of forced assimilation and the prohibition of Lakota spirituality. Francis White Bird—an enrolled Sicangu Lakota, Vietnam combat veteran, and Harvard graduate—presents a strikingly different perspective from Maudlin:

> [*Mitakuye oyasin*] has been badly mistranslated into, "we are all related." . . . This phrase, "mitakuye oyasin," was protected by the people who were practicing Lakota spirituality when it was underground up to the late 1960s. . . . This word was so protected, very few people knew the significance of this word. It was used only when a person finished praying and also used in certain Lakota spiritual ceremonies. Now it is shamefully printed in books, used as a slogan and used in meetings so causally that it has lost its [meaning] . . . . This desecration of this word is the work of people who do not speak Lakota. If they understood what the phrase meant and how it was used, they would have left it alone. . . . I would translate it . . . as "everything is related to the existence of all MY Lakota relatives." . . . This Lakota phrase applies only to Lakota culture. It is not a generic phrase such as "Native American." Only Lakota can use this word as it is in our language. ("Levels of Lakota language")

Although other Lakota people view the concept of *mitakuye oyasin*, which is used in pan-Indian ceremonies, far more broadly, White Bird's understanding of this concept illuminates Maudlin's offensive appropriation of this term to fix the meanings of settler colonialism and basketball.

Meanwhile, Lakota people in the present day use basketball as an "instructive as well as entertaining" way to maintain and innovate connections with Lakota culture. Robert shared a humorous anecdote about basketball that relies on knowledge about Lakota cultural practices, namely a "giveaway"[24], and tribal rivalries between the Oglala and Sicangu in order to understand his jokes:

> There's also one story that really makes everybody laugh. One of our staff members here [at Sinte Gleska University, the tribal college on the Rosebud Reservation]. . . . He said that he was so good in basketball. "How good were you? We never saw your name." . . . "I was good," he said. "Whenever I scored a point, my grandmother would call timeout and have a giveaway." [Our laughter.] He really got to us. Oh no, no, no. And he was Oglala. [We chuckle.] "When we scored one on the Sicangu," he said. [We chuckle.] (Interview with author)

Similar to the ways that St. Francis officials incorporated basketball to socialize Lakota young people, Lakota educators today employ the sport to develop Lakota youths' interest in

[24] Lakota honoring ceremonies often include giveaways, which are "simply that; stuff is given away in celebration, in observance, or memoriam" (*The Lakota Way* 192). Honoring ceremonies publically recognize a person's accomplishments and sacrifices.

education. Today John—like Jordan before him—coaches basketball on the Rosebud Reservation. John noted,

> I just came from Phoenix. I took seven boys down for a basketball tournament. I dubbed it the "leadership journey." That's one of the objectives we have is to start student leadership projects through the community service or cultural teachings. We're trying to find ways to reach them, combining that with our teachers. And so we took them down, and we went to a college fair. And it was a big Native American basketball invitational, so that was created to kind of emphasize the importance of education, creating more opportunities through sports for yourself. And I think it was really, really powerful. . . . The most exciting part was coming back, hearing these boys say, "Oh I need to do this. I need to put this amount of work in." And it allowed me to kind of plug in education, the need to study, the need to be more aware of the realities and what needs to be done to be successful. Not just to go to college, but to be successful in college. And actually turn your life around through that. And we talk about them experiencing and going places and finding themselves and finding other things. And how can they still maintain contact with home, with the homeland, and how can they still impact change through wherever they are—if they don't come home—you know, wherever they are. (Interview with author?)

"Wherever they are"—whether in the assimilative setting of St. Francis Mission School or at a university removed from the Rosebud Reservation—Lakota people have found ways to fix the meanings of basketball to sustain meaningful connections with their people, practices, and Nation.

Conclusion: From U-S-A to US, Fixing Playing Indian "In A Good Way"

Using representations of Lakota and African American basketball players, photographs of educators and students, Davies and Clow's article, the documentary film *Reconciliation and Roundball*, and contemporary interviews with former student-athletes, I delineate the theoretical framework of fixing the body. This concept accounts for St. Francis's methods of socialization as well as students' and community members' fixing of these activities. Revealing these nuanced narratives is an important political project that combats misunderstandings of Native peoples as assimilated, monolithic, powerless, victimized, and extinct. Even when St. Francis officials sought to fix the visual narrative with written accounts, alternative and subversive interpretations prevail.

As the interviewees I spoke with frequently highlighted, Lakota young people navigated the curricula at St. Francis in a variety of ways. Colonial violence is indeed perceptible in close readings of some of the photographs, such as the one that opens this dissertation, depicting a child marked as human property of the U.S.A (see figure 1). However, other images from this time period show priests at play with children. A blanket with a Native-design serves as the background for a picture in which a priest, centered, faces the camera while two Lakota boys—one sporting a headband and the other wearing a headdress—place a war bonnet on the priest's head. (See figure 9.) The priest smiles—perhaps somewhat uncomfortably—while the boys seem joyful and intent on completing the task at hand.

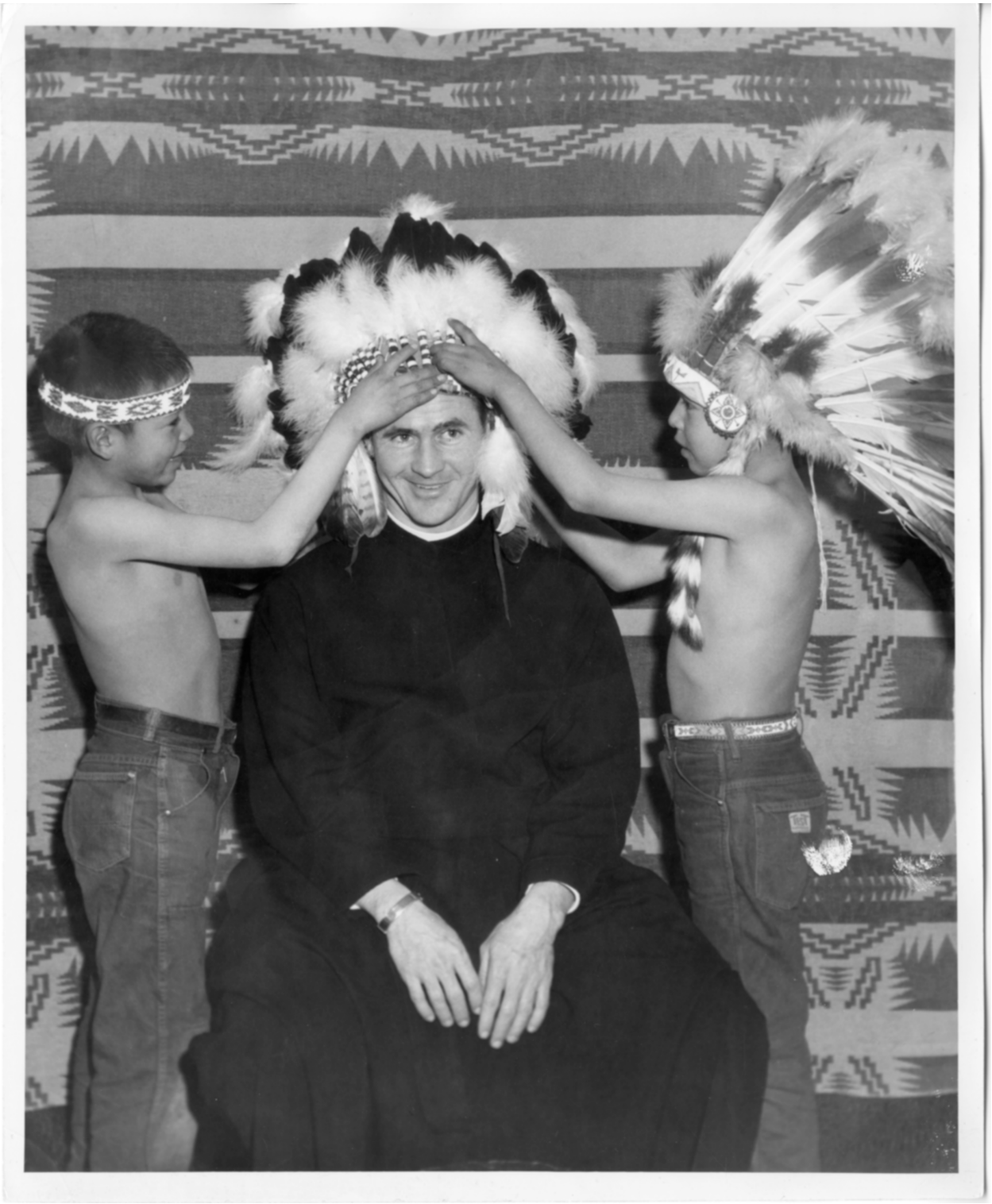

Figure 9. Marquette University Archives, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, ID 09-1 51-08 1950s 04.

In another image with the blanket backdrop, three boys, each wearing a headdress, surround a grinning Jesuit priest, who holds a fourth boy, donning a headband, on his lap. The boys seem slightly unsure, but not necessarily unhappy. (See figure 10.)

Figure 10. Marquette University Archives, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, ID 09-1 51-17 1950s 04.

Playing Indian in these photographs is often intertwined with themes of religious conversion, again highlighting the ways that facets of fixing operate simultaneously. One photo depicts a priest peering over a boy's shoulder to carefully examine the tomahawk that the boy holds (see figure 11); in another, which features the same priest but a different boy in almost the exact pose, someone has replaced the tomahawk with a crucifix (see figure 12). The priest emerges as a gentle authority figure, guiding the child in appropriate behavior. The image also demonstrates that superficial engagements with Native culture were not in contradiction to conversion and assimilation.

Figure 11. Marquette University Archives, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, ID 09-1 51-08 1950s 02.

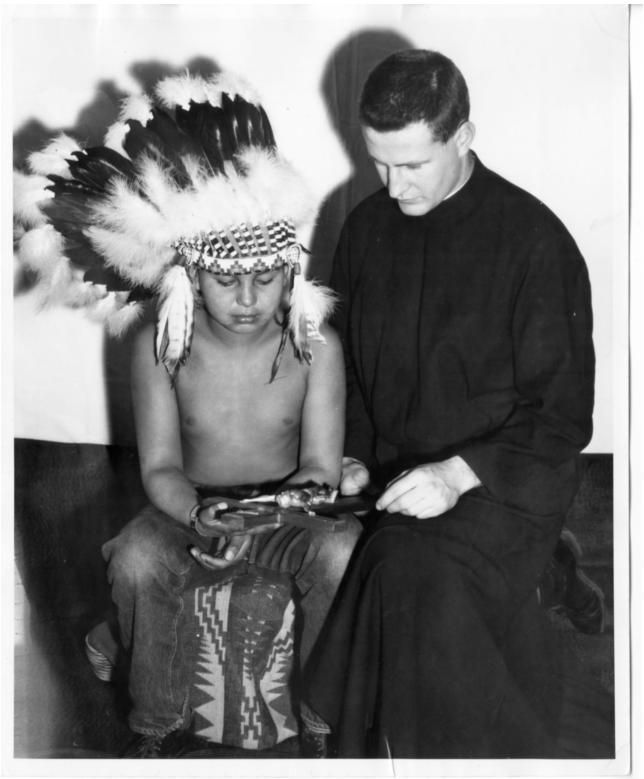

Figure 12. Marquette University Archives, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, ID 09-1 51-08 1950s 03.

In every photo of this series, the Lakota boys wear jeans and are shirtless. Because mainstream narratives often represent Native peoples as scantily clad, the boys' half-clothed attire signifies their Indianness. In contrast, Lakota girls in these images dress conservatively in long-sleeved sweaters and dresses, conveying their innocence and virtue. One girl wearing what appears to be a uniform—white collared shirt, pullover sweater, and plaid skirt—kneels at the opening of a tent, embellished with images of Native men and marked "TEPEE." (See figure 13.) In another portrayal, two girls costumed in simple dresses that mimic Native regalia wear headbands with single feathers. (See figure 14.) Smiling, the girl holds a Jesus figurine in her lap while the younger girl, also looking pleased, extends her arm to touch the statue.

Figure 13. Marquette University Archives, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, ID 09-1 51-17 1950s 01.

Figure 14. Marquette University Archives, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, ID 09-1 51-17 1950s 02.

Similar to articles in *The Sioux Chieftain*, some of these photographs circulated in publications to raise funds for St. Francis Mission School. In November 1926 letter, Rt. Rev. Msgr. Wm. Hughes, Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, located in Washington, D.C., wrote Father Zimmerman of St. Francis. Hughes stated that along with "news, history, reminiscences, sad or humorous incidents, reports of spiritual good done, stories of general interest, anything, in fact, that would be of use in getting help for Indian missions":

> Pictures are needed. . . . Indian children have a real appeal in pictures. . . . We have to give [the readers] what they want to keep them happy. On the other hand, the readers are willing to pay for what we give them. Every issue of the magazine brings substantial help for many missionaries. So ask for what you need and THE INDIAN SENTINEL will try to get it for you. Send me a memorandum of your expenses for pictures. I will remit check to cover. I will also send to you any donations that come from readers whose kind

hearts have been won by your pictures and stories.

Officials appealed to funders by fixing the meaning of education at St. Francis, positively portraying the institution's project and representing Indianness as contained and playful. An article titled, "MIDGET MERIT CONTEST"[25]—which appeared in the Halloween, October 31, 1951 issue of *The Sioux Chieftain*—reveals that third to sixth grade male students could apply their "'merit points'" for good behavior towards "bow and arrows, balls, games, clothes, and many other fine prizes" from the "boys' store." The article's association of archery, a Lakota embodied practice, with boys—as opposed to young men—indicates the ways that St. Francis educators sought to construct this activity as juvenile. Yet that the boys had to earn the bow and arrows also suggests that practicing archery was a special reward. For students at St. Francis, playing Indian was an opportunity to engage with and perpetuate their Lakota identities in dynamic ways, which—considering the largely assimilative environment of the institution—had and continues to have important implications for embodied and national sovereignties.

[25] The pejorative term "midget" likely reflects that this contest was for younger boys, presumably smaller in stature than the older students.

Chapter 2: *Eclipsing*: The Dance and Theater of Indigeneity

Introduction

This chapter interrogates the politics of historical dance and theatrical representations at St. Francis Mission School and their contemporary significances in the Rosebud community and in Native American cultural productions more broadly.[26] The previous chapter focuses primarily on boys and men to examine the politics of fixing Sicangu Lakota students at St. Francis through basketball (and their tactics of resistance which this term also encompasses). The concept of fixing is itself foundational to dance studies. As Susan Foster explains, "to write about dance is to fix and make secure the thing that reveals itself as it disappears" ("Introduction" xiii). I build on this work by considering fixing within the context of settler colonialism. In contrast to Chapter One, this chapter emphasizes St. Francis's methods of fixing Native girls and women, who are more visible in dance and theater, and what I term *eclipsing*. I ask, how do fixing and eclipsing at St. Francis and in the broader community shift in these spaces? I also consider how a Native young woman's contemporary performance of the fancy shawl dance at Dartmouth College itself theorizes fixing and eclipsing.

To demonstrate how educators and students negotiated power through the realm of dance and theater, I conduct close analysis of narratives in *The Indian Sentinel*—a magazine published by the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, located in Washington, D.C.—and compare these representations with articles in *The Sioux Chieftain* (the St. Francis Mission School newspaper), and a script and program from *Pageant of the Plains*, a play that Sicangu Lakota students performed at St. Francis in 1930 about the institution's origins and project. Laura Mielke explains, "The study of *Indian performance*, by which we mean performance by Indians and the performance of *Indianness* by Indians and non-Indians alike, uniquely clarifies how the struggle for survival as well as supremacy in early North America was constitutive of cultures and, more specifically, of common intercultural practice" (4). *Pageant of the Plains*, a script for "performance[s] of *Indianness* by Indians," reveals the ways that "the struggle for survival as well as supremacy" manifested itself in the St. Francis setting through embodied practice.

Based on these narratives, Sicangu Lakota writer Joseph Marshall III's short story, "The Dance House," and interviews that I conducted with former St. Francis students and Sicangu Lakota community members, I offer the term *eclipsing* to describe the ways that St. Francis educators and Lakota people relied on a *politics of omission* to achieve disparate goals. The word "eclipsing" emphasizes the ways that mainstream narratives operate to obscure Indigenous peoples themselves as well as violences enacted against them and evade addressing critical contradictions that challenge settler colonial logics and legitimacies. Eclipsing illuminates the contradictory logics of settler colonialism and assimilative institutions, which have sought to selectively spotlight Indigenous peoples and practices and fix their meanings to strengthen the U.S. and diminish Native sovereignties.

This framework is also meant to encourage critical interrogation by denoting that a darkened body (literally, as an eclipse entails celestial bodies, and figuratively, as in the cultural imaginary, Native peoples are phenotypically dark skinned and deviant), which appears diminished and/or entirely absent, may in fact only be hidden as a result of political purposes and/or social constructions. For instance, race and gender operate by instituting binaries that represent one category as normative; however, because these social constructions function intersectionally, when one centers race, such a maneuver also foregrounds the dominant gender

[26] As many theatrical productions at St. Francis included dance, these realms are not always distinct.

(male) (Nakano Glenn). When one focuses on gender, the dominant race (white) moves to the foreground (Nakano Glenn). Eclipsing therefore also draws attention to the ways that social constructions operate—at times doubly and even multiply oppressing certain groups, such as Indigenous women or Indigenous peoples in other non-dominant categories (class, sexuality, ability). Whether or not one can see an eclipse often relies on one's location or "position" and whether or not they are observing the event. Similarly, people's positionalities (such as the intersections of race, gender, class, sexuality, and/or ability) may make eclipsing more apparent to them because of their lived experiences and/or embodied knowledges. The fields of Native and ethnic studies ideally illuminate the structural and material aspects of eclipsing so that they become visible or more visible to people in positions in privilege.

I show that in articles and theatrical performances about the origins of St. Francis Mission School, colonial officials attempted to relegate Lakota dances to the past to articulate a narrative of progress and eclipsed the dances so as not to challenge the institution's success. These officials also strategically omitted the context of settler colonialism and Jesuit collaborations with the U.S. government from these descriptions as an attempt to their conceal complicity in committing violence against the Lakota people and represent themselves and their institutions as benevolent and selfless. As an attribute of fixing, eclipsing continues into the present day in educational settings, textbook histories, and mainstream narratives that represent Indigenous peoples as antithetical to progress and modernity. These characterizations contribute to the futurity of U.S. sovereignty by silencing contradictions concerning the nation-state's core values of egalitarianism and justice.[27] Eclipsing enacts a politics of omission not only as a way to hide contemporary Native peoples from the American imaginary, but also with the hope that *Indigenous peoples will eventually forget themselves*. Also actors in this equation, Lakota people have likewise used eclipsing to conceal and selectively practice their ceremonies, which the U.S. government prohibited. Although not always visible, Lakota ways of life have persisted through this act of eclipsing and reemerged at times when they were protected. In this way, eclipsing has made possible the futurity of Lakota cultural survival. An *eclipse* occurs for a *fixed* period of time; this term therefore signals the reemergence of a body and corporeal practices, which were always present although not necessarily visible.

I also examine another example of "performance of *Indianness* by Indians" or "Indians playing Indian"—a 1949 silent film that captures St. Francis students acting in a Kateri Tekakwitha play—along with photographs of students costumed for other theatrical productions, such as minstrel and cross-dressing shows. I reveal that in the Kateri Tekakwitha performance, educators used eclipsing to avoid addressing the contradictions of colonial logics, which rebuked Sun Dance for corporeal mutilation to achieve Lakota spiritual aims, but celebrated these practices when performed within in the context of Christianity. I argue that the Kateri Tekakwitha production and *Pageant of the Plains* sought to teach St. Francis students to idealize the racialized and gendered trope of the "Celluloid Maiden" (Marubbio), fear Native men as savage, violent, and even satanic oppressors of Indigenous women, and view European American males as their caretakers and saviors. In this chapter, I extend previous analyses of "performance[s] of *Indianness* by Indians" by examining these enactments alongside and in conversation with performances of Blackness by Lakota students and femininity by Lakota young men. I interrogate the politics of these performances and their purposes.

[27] For example, if mainstream culture understands Indigenous peoples as extinct, then Native lands and resources are rightfully available for settler occupation and the hypocrisy upon which the U.S. was founded and endures need not be addressed.

To elucidate how Native dance today theorizes fixing and eclipsing, I conduct a close analysis of the 1491s' brief film, *Laundry*, uploaded to *YouTube* in January 2012. *Laundry* features Cinnamon Spear, a Northern Cheyenne woman fancy shawl dancing in a laundry room at Dartmouth College, where she was earning her Master's degree at the time of filming. Like St. Francis's incomplete attempts at fixing through visuality and text, which I detail in Chapter One, *Laundry*, is also fluid in meaning. The film may be viewed as reinforcing mainstream narratives—this is particularly true given the general public's unfamiliarity with Native histories and issues—and/or as a culturally sensitive portrayal that works to dispel typecasts of Native peoples and in particular Native women. I show how attentions to modes of engagement that include kinesthetic, auditory, and visual signifiers reveal facets of fixing and eclipsing and delineate how learning to move skillfully within the challenges that settler colonialism poses becomes part of the dance of being Indigenous.

Methods

This chapter conducts close analysis of a wide variety of sources to investigate the role of dance historically and contemporarily in institutional settings. Representations of students engaged in embodied practices other than basketball are rare in publications and photographs that relate to St. Francis Mission School. The silent film that I discuss—which portrays Lakota students at St. Francis performing a play about the life of Kateri Tekakwitha in 1949—is a rarity. Although it is difficult to make generalizations about Native boarding school archives, the relative dearth of sources depicting students' dance and theater activities indicates why literature about Native education has largely overlooked the role of these extracurricular activities in socializing students. These scholarly omissions also reflect a mind-body binary and hierarchy that misunderstands embodied practices as inferior and unintellectual, which has influenced both the St. Francis archives and academics' research projects. In dance studies, there is likewise a dearth of research about Native embodiment, which reflects the invisibilization of indigeneity on structural and material levels. Further, because the field frequently emphasizes the body and kinesiology, the available archival materials—which often do not show students bodies in motion—generally do not lend themselves well to a research project that uses dance studies methodologies. Diana Taylor differentiates between the archive—"supposedly enduring materials (i.e., texts, documents, buildings, bones)"—"and the so-called ephemeral *repertoire* of embodied practice/knowledge (i.e., spoken language, dance, sports, ritual)" (19). Overarching questions in this chapter are therefore: what does it mean to write about dance historically at St. Francis without access to a repertoire and with a very limited archive devoted to bodies in motion? And how do we theorize these omissions and gesture to their contemporary implications without doubly invisibilizing Lakota students?

My primary sources for this chapter include: two articles from 1907 and 1929 that appeared in *The Indian Sentinel*, narratives in *The Sioux Chieftain*, a script from *Pageant of the Plains*, photographs of St. Francis students costumed for theatrical productions, "The Dance House," interviews with Sicangu Lakota adults, and *Laundry*. I accessed issues of *The Indian Sentinel*, the *Pageant of the Plains* script, and the photographs through Marquette University's Native American Collections. As a magazine "(in English and in German) published in the interest of the Society for the Preservation of the Faith among Indian Children" (*The Indian Sentinel* 1907), *The Indian Sentinel* illustrates how officials sought to fix discourses about Lakota people, which circulated internationally (both within the U.S. and abroad). From the Buechel Memorial Lakota Museum, I collected articles from *The Sioux Chieftain*, which unidentified

writers and students penned.

In conducting close readings of articles from *The Sioux Chieftain*, the *Pageant of the Plains* script, and photographs of St. Francis student plays, I demonstrate how educators sought to inscribe ideologies on Lakota students' bodies through dance and other performances. Some of the articles in *The Sioux Chieftain* express Lakota perspectives; however, St. Francis educators and students mediated these narratives. Thus, I rely on "The Dance House" and four interviews that I conducted with Sicangu Lakota adults to reveal how Sicangu Lakota people have understood and practiced dance in the past and present. Marshall—an educator, prolific author, and archer whose other writings reveal the connections among the bow and arrow and Lakota epistemologies, values, and ways of life[28]—sets "The Dance House" in 1910 on the Rosebud Reservation. I conducted the three interviews by phone in Fall 2015 with elder-educators I had previously met, two of whom attended St. Francis Mission School from 1954 to 1977. Spanning over a century of dance discourses, all of these sources help to situate the 1491s *Laundry* by providing insight into the complex and contradictory context of dance and theater within an institution that—like Dartmouth College—originated to assimilate Native peoples. Conversely, the film illuminates how Native peoples have navigated these histories and narratives to assert present day political projects that center them and their practices.

Dance, Difference, and the Origins of St. Francis

Historically, Native dance has been highly contested and prohibited. In narratives and performances about the origins and history of St. Francis, colonial officials often referenced Lakota dance practices. Jacqueline Shea Murphy, a leading scholar in Indigenous dance, writes that this practice was integral to "[t]he fervent need to establish Indian difference from white colonizers. . . . At the same time, . . . it [is] clear that [colonial officials'] *ideas* about Indian dances—and not the dances themselves—served as a site of irreconcilable Indian otherness" (*The People Have Never Stopped Dancing* 32). Shea Murphy cites examples of "irreconcilable Indian otherness" in representations of Native peoples as "'savage'" and "'heathenish'"; these misrepresentations provide justification for assimilative policies and institutions, such as St. Francis (*The People Have Never Stopped Dancing* 32). If Native peoples are understood as uncivilized, assimilation and conversion are supposedly in their best interest.

The 1907 issue of *The Indian Sentinel* includes a narrative titled, "ST. FRANCIS' [sic] SCHOOL," which presents a "sketch of St. Francis' [sic] Mission school for the past twenty years, its ups and downs, its trials and victories in grappling with superstition and bigotry, with flesh and blood and the powers below" (21). This overview is essentially an argument that attempts to fix Lakota peoples as backwards and close-minded and links them and their practices with the devil; however, like the excerpt that opened this chapter, a close, critical reading of the text reveals otherwise. For instance, the article describes, "The late Bishop, Martin Marty . . . one of the first who preached to the Sioux, taking occasion, from the cruelties they practiced at the Sun Dance to appease the Great Spirit, to point out to them our divine Savior hanging on the tree to atone for our sins" (21-22). This excerpt, which again illustrates the author's bias and "bigotry," attempts to otherize Lakota peoples and practices. Lakota spirituality, like Catholicism, is a cultural epistemology; yet the author condemns Lakota spiritual practices while upholding Catholicism as the Truth. As I will show in my discussion of the Kateri Tekakwitha play, the purported "cruelties" that the author condemns here are contradictorily celebrated in the

[28] See Joseph M. Marshall III's *The Lakota Way of Strength and Courage: Lessons in Resilience from the Bow and Arrow*.

context of Native peoples who convert to Catholicism. This passage is also significant because of its reference to Sun Dance, which is eclipsed from articles in *The Sioux Chieftain* for reasons that I will later discuss. Discourses about Indigenous peoples and dance often focus on the Lakota Sun Dance and Ghost Dance, which demonstrates the prominence of Plains Indians and their practices in mainstream culture (in part the result of Hollywood portrayals); an inability of mainstream narratives to conceptualize Native peoples or practices as contemporary and/or innovative; and the association of Lakota people with resistance—historic and ongoing—to the U.S. government.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the article next mentions the Ghost Dance. The author describes the St. Francis Superior of the Mission who met with Sicangu Lakota leaders in "their large dancing hall" to urge them to "'Give up your dancing . . . and get out of your trouble,'" illustrating that Jesuit officials viewed Lakota dance as deviant (24). According to the article, when U.S. officers arrived to quell the dancing, they worked in collaboration with mission officials. The Superior of the Mission communicated to Sicangu Lakota leaders that those who did not participate in the Ghost Dance and instead moved their camp in proximity to the Mission would be granted protection. The author then states, "The hostiles stampeded to Pine Ridge" (24). While the word "stampeded" may be used to describe people, another denotation of the word is animals "rush[ing] wildly in a sudden mass panic," which dehumanizes Lakota resistors and implies that Ghost Dance practitioners lack intelligence and reason. The following sentence, which begins the next paragraph, eclipses the mass murder that U.S. officers committed against 300 Lakota men, women, and children: "After peace had been made, Bishop Marty invited all the Catholic Sioux to a General Congress at Standing Rock Agency, North Dakota" (24). This omission functions as an attempt to invisibilize the U.S. government's genocidal acts and St. Francis Mission's complicity. Describing the aftermath of the Massacre at Wounded Knee as "after peace had been made" elucidates the at times incredible violence of eclipsing and fixing.

Following this fraught attempt at fixing, the article mentions Lakota dances once more, linking the continuation of these practices with the Fourth of July (like the excerpt that opened this chapter), portraying Sun Dance as extinct, and reporting on the purported progress accomplished through intercultural relationships—and in particular conversion to Catholicism.

> Bishop Marty had chosen the Fourth of July years before as the date of the Indians' general gathering. It is the time of the summer solstice, when in olden times they used to have the Sun Dance with all its cruelties and superstitious practices. When Commissioner Morgan issued an order to instill patriotism into the Indians and make them observe the legal holidays, especially the Fourth of July, the non-progressive Indians fell back into their old habits. The Omaha war dance, sham battles, the giving away of property on a large scale increased, so that some one [sic] made the remark: "We need only the Sun Dance, and we have it all back." These celebrations, lasting sometimes for a week, proved also a great drawback for the Catholic Indian Congresses that have done so much good. The date, however, had to be changed, so that they could first celebrate the Fourth of July and later on go to the Congress. Bishop Marty's advice: "Gather the good element into Societies and ere long the non-progressive party will go to the wall," has been our motto, but we feel that it is hard to go against the tide of old habits. Habit is second nature. (24)

This passage provides insight into the tactics that Lakota people used to perpetuate and innovate their cultural practices and identities. The statement that "'We need only the Sun Dance, and we

have it all back,'" may have been facetious because, as each of the people whom I interviewed discussed, Lakota people maintained their ceremonies through eclipsing. Ruth, an elder and educator who attended St. Francis Mission School from 1967-1977, remarked, "Legally, [Sun Dances were] outlawed. [But] they still had them. I was at them. When I first experienced Sun Dance, I was twelve years old. It was more of local people. More of the people who didn't speak English" (Interview with author). Joe, an artist, educator, and grandfather, described a well-respected elder in the community with vast cultural knowledge (who at the time of our interview had recently passed away) "creating little codes and talks explaining what the ceremonies would be," which demonstrates the ways that Lakota people relied on secrecy when discussing prohibited cultural practices (Interview with author). By concealing community members' ongoing participation in Sun Dance through clandestineness and purposefully misleading officials (which I return to later in my close reading of "The Dance House"), Lakota people helped to reinforce ideas that the ceremony was extinct. The summation that "it is hard to go against the tide of old habits" and the alteration of the date for the Catholic Indian Congresses so that Lakota people could celebrate at the time they were culturally accustomed to, illustrate not only that Lakota people continued to negotiate attempts to assimilate and convert them, but also that their resistance resulted in accommodations they wanted.

Lakota dances as indicative of an "irreconcilable Indian otherness" resurfaces in the Fall 1929 issue of *The Indian Sentinel*, which discusses the annual Catholic Indian Conference in an article titled, "CATHOLIC INDIAN CONGRESSES OF 1929: SIOUX CATHOLIC CONGRESS INSPIRING." However, this time the critique of Indigenous dance supposedly comes from Lakota people themselves:

> Father Eugene Buechel, S.J., addressed the assembly in Sioux and outlined the program to be followed. He ended his remarks with the question, '"What must be done to preserve the Indian race?'" The solution of this problem was left to the Indians themselves. . . . Father Eugene Buechel, S.J., the principal speaker of the morning session [sic] next day, spoke on the important question he had submitted at the opening session. Father Buechel emphasized that the breaking up of family life means the ruin of the nation. Chief among the evils threatening the family he named the Indian Rabbit Dance, hasty marriages and the spirit of idleness among the young people. The solution of the problem he left entirely to the Indians. When Father Buechel finished, the Indians discussed the question from every angle. They formed some striking resolutions, among which was the resolve to abstain from taking any part in the Rabbit Dance. The earnestness with which these Indians discussed these vexing questions is a high tribute to their intelligence and willingness to do their utmost to remain loyal to the teachings of the Faith. (151)

Father Buechel addresses the assembly in Lakota, which suggests both a strategy of conversion and that members of the audience may not understand English well. Because the word "preserve" denotes to "maintain (something) in its original or existing state," the question that Father Buechel poses in this passage evidences the false "traditional/assimilated" or "traditional/modern" binary frequently applied to Native peoples and practices, which misconstrues them as static.

While this narrative attempts to fix the notion that Lakota people *themselves* identified the Rabbit Dance as threatening to "family life" and the futurity of the settler state, clearly Father Eugene exerts his influence by not only identifying what he views as dangerous, but also in

setting the parameters of what should be protected. Although St. Francis is located on the reservation, it could be argued that the boarding school itself "breaks [up] family life" by removing Lakota children from their homes and placing them in the care of an assimilative institution. The project of St. Francis contributes to the longevity of the U.S., but jeopardizes the futurity of the Lakota nation since, as I discuss in Chapter One, the institution's curriculum, as articulated in *The Sioux Chieftain*, only recognized U.S. sovereignty and citizenship and eclipsed the fact that Lakota people are also citizens of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe.

Lakota young people found ways to adapt the activities surrounding these performances for their own purposes. When probed to identify "a solution [to] the problem," Lakota people foremost elected to "resolve to abstain from taking any part in the Rabbit Dance," an answer that Father Buechel first proposed. This selection is notable when examined in the context of the other choices that Father Buechel provided: "hasty marriages and the spirit of idleness among the young people," which chastise Sicangu Lakota *people*. Conversely, the Rabbit Dance is a Sicangu Lakota social dance *practice* and only one of many types of dance; therefore, avoiding engaging in it is far less radical than condemning other community members for their choices and behaviors.

The narrative may also oversimplify Lakota people's decision to avoid participating in the Rabbit Dance. For instance, in *Standing in the Light: A Lakota Way of Seeing*, Severt Young Bear, a Lakota elder with vast cultural knowledge, explains,

> Over time, . . . rabbit songs showed the impact of modern white values, of alcohol, and of family breakups which came with modern times. The words in these songs started getting really strong after a while and they were making people jealous. I remember two or three times when some woman got hit and some men even got knocked down by their wives. (Theisz and Young Bear 88)

Read alongside the article, Young Bear's description suggests that in choosing to avoid the Rabbit Dance, Lakota people may have been distancing themselves not from their cultural practices, but the "modern white values," "alcohol," and violence attributed to intercultural exchanges and settler colonialism itself, a critique that the article eclipses. Young Bear also ascribes "family breakups" to modernity—not cultural deficiency, as Father Buechel implies. Furthermore, while some or even many of the Lakota people in attendance may have indeed been "earnest" in responding to Father Buechel's question, this narrative may also be read as a fixing device—not only in terms of colonial officials' attempts to control the narrative, but also Lakota people's subversive acts to reconfigure the aims of this and other assimilative projects. An additional possibility, for instance, is that Sicangu Lakota people's sincerity is a performance for mission officials. The narrative also relies on a Western framework that equates Lakota people's "earnestness" with "intelligence," implying that those who refuse to convert or assimilate are mentally inept.

Performing Lakota Permission and Submission in *Pageant of the Plains*

Not only internationally, but also on the Rosebud Reservation, colonial officials sought to fix discourses about the arrival of the Jesuits and the origins of St. Francis. The accounts and performances that were primarily intended for Lakota—as opposed to non-native—audiences both parallel and depart from the characterizations that appeared in issues of *The Indian Sentinel*. In the realm of theatrical productions, St. Francis officials literally wrote the scripts that they wanted Lakota youth to embody. As the actor prepares for a performance through practice—which involves memorization and repetition—such reiterations can strengthen the influence of

fixing for the performers. As I discuss in Chapter One, in Judith Butler's delineation of subject formation, a subject becomes a person through the repetition of norms (11). Here, performances were used as a tool for socialization. Further, it is at least in part the proliferation of mainstream narratives based on social constructions about Native peoples (and people of color) that give them believability and result in material consequences. The popularity of these performances—over 1,200 people attended the 1936 performance of *Pageant of the Plains*—provided an opportunity for St. Francis officials to fix narratives about themselves and the institution ("PAGEANT GRAND SUCCESS").

A 1930, four-act script, titled, *Pageant of the Plains* calls for "[a]n illuminated eight foot cross [to stand] U.R.C. [upstage, right, center]." Regardless of the action taking place onstage, this towering symbol functions to fix Christian values as central to the performance—much like the overview in *The Indian Sentinel* article, "ST. FRANCIS' [sic] SCHOOL," which foregrounds this perspective. Both the script and the article also narrate Lakota leaders requesting that the Jesuits or "Blackrobes" educate their people. Read within the politics of fixing, this device effectively operates as a form of Lakota consent. However, as I explain in Chapter One, Lakota leaders often envisioned education differently from the assimilative agenda that St. Francis and other boarding schools implemented. Lakota leaders believed that their people should be educated while retaining their language and cultural practices. The article "ST. FRANCIS' [sic] SCHOOL" reads, "When the great Sioux Chief Spotted Tail was asked by President Grant, what teachers he wished to have for his people and their children, his answer was 'Blackrobes' (Shina sapa)" (21). Interestingly, the only times that the article uses the Lakota language are to provide terms for the Blackrobes and Protestant Episcopalians or "Whiterobes (Shina ska)," which effectively operates to grant authenticity and credibility to the narrative (21). President Grant asking Chief Spotted Tail the question positions the former as an authority figure and the latter as his subordinate—a dynamic that the *Pageant of the Plains* also demonstrates.

Scene one of the script features a host of Sicangu Lakota characters, including: "small boys, small girls and women, warriors, medicine men, and chiefs." Big Turkey, a historical figure and Sicangu Lakota teacher who worked with Father Buechel, speaks first:

> Long have we waited this hour. We have come to welcome into our midst the Blackrobes and "Holy Women." The sun is sinking yonder, but the moon and stars will light the path for those who come to teach us the way of the Great Spirit. While we wait let us sing. (Song in Lakota.)
>
> At the conclusion of the song Fr. Perrig followed by Fr. Juts and the "Holy Women" enter from the south. All rise. Big Turkey and Spotted Tail advance toward the center to meet the Fathers.
>
> Big Turkey: How, Sina Sapa, How. (Shakes hands)
>
> Spotted Tail: How, Sina Sapa, How. (Shakes hands)
>
> Big Turkey: We are come to be your children, Sina Sapa. Long ago we begged the great father of the Blackrobes to stay with us but he left promising to send other Blackrobes and "Holy Women" to teach us the ways of the great Spirit. You will teach us His ways. We welcome you.
>
> [. . .]
>
> Father Perrig: Your welcome makes me happy. Soon we shall have a school for your children and you will know the blessings God has prepared for you.

The play portrays the Lakota as hospitable to the Jesuits—whom they have supposedly long awaited—and their teachings. While this perhaps references that President Grant initially sent the

Protestant Episcopalians and not Jesuits to the Rosebud Reservation, it also eclipses the context of settler colonialism, which is why some Lakota viewed education from outsiders as essential—as a tactic to safeguard the tribe's futurity. Likewise, a program for the performance that appeared in the June 1936 issue of *The Sioux Chieftain* summarizes this scene as "Sioux Indians welcome the Missionaries. Father Perrig and Jutz and the sisters arrive late on the evening of March 25, 1886. They were welcomed by the Indians who awaited them" ("PAGEANT OF THE PLAINS"). The repetition of the word "welcomed," emphasizes that the Lakota people granted the Jesuits permission and again eclipses broader historical circumstances. With the statement that "The sun is sinking yonder, but the moon and stars will light the path for those who come to teach us the way of the Great Spirit," Big Turkey also represents the Jesuits' journey as divine and eclipses that the Lakota have their own spiritual practices. The song in Lakota and the use of the Lakota language when referring to the Blackrobes illustrates the inclusion of the Lakota language in the realm of arts, particularly when it serves St. Francis's purposes. Big Turkey's statement that "We are come to be your children, Sina Sapa," and his use of the word, "begged," conveys the Lakota leader's subservience to the Blackrobes, which is all the more significant given his status. In reply to Big Turkey, Father Perrig references the origins of St. Francis, which in the performance would remind students and community members that the institution is the direct result of a Lakota leader's desires—again without depicting the coerciveness of settler colonialism or commenting on the assimilative curricula.

In scene two, the script shifts from this encounter to a morality play, which likewise employs fixing methods, and incorporates characters such as Satan, Superstition, Ignorance, Theft, Pride, Lust, and Sloth as well as a historical figure, Father Digman, who was a missionary at St. Francis in the late 19th century and during the time of the Ghost Dance. The scene tells the story of a dying, nameless Lakota girl and former St. Francis Mission School student whom Satan and the personified sins try to entice; the girl ultimately rejects these temptations as well as Lakota practices—exemplified by medicine men—and maintains her Catholic values, which results in her salvation. The girl's anonymity deprives her of an individual identity and characterizes her as a Lakota Everywoman, a narrative device that might encourage St. Francis students and community members to connect with her.

Through plot, setting, and aural devices, this scene attempts to fix Lakota peoples and practices as satanic and savage and enacts the trope of the "Indian maiden" (Marubbio). The scene calls for a tepee, log, and trees. According to the description,

> Curtain opens while band plays "King Kong." Stage flooded with red light. Imps come out by ones and twos from behind tent and trees, one from the tent itself. They prowl about, dance, whisper, pull copers until the music stops when the low rhythmic beat of the tom-tom and the incantations of the medicine men is heard. Satan appears from the south.
>
> Satan: Halt, ye cursed imps of hell. I sent you to get the soul of that girl dying in there. Why do you waste your time?
>
> Superstition: Your Haughtiness, we have the Medicine men working for us.

Here, the use of the song "King Kong" associates Lakota people and culture—including their traditional dwellings—with barbarism. The link among King Kong, the imps, and Sicangu Lakota people implies that Lakota beliefs and practices are fabricated like these fictitious figures, which is further reinforced through the character, Superstition. The red light connotes evil and danger, providing justification for St. Francis's intervention. Like the story of King Kong, at stake in this scene is a young woman, who purportedly needs protection from men and/or a male

character, which reinforces patriarchal norms of women as vulnerable and submissive. In popular culture, King Kong emerges as a tragic figure that ultimately falls to his death from the Empire State Building, a symbol of American modernity and progress; likewise, dominant discourses portray the "Native American plight," Indigenous peoples and practices as destined for extinction, supposedly because of their inability to evolve. This fabrication functions as a form of eclipsing that not only attempts to invisibilize settler colonial violence, but also engages in a form of victim blaming by pinning Native genocide on Indigenous peoples themselves. Notably the imps engage in "prowl[ing]" and "danc[ing]," embodying their otherness. "King Kong" fading into "the low rhythmic beat of the tom-tom and the incantations of the medicine men" likewise underscores Lakota difference. Consistent with Catholic beliefs, Satan enters "from the south" or hell (although ironically later in the script Father Digman, the scene's heroic figure, also arrives from this direction). Superstition's statement that "We have the Medicine men working for us" not only coveys the medicine men's fallacy, but also indicates their subservience.

The scene—again like the article in the 1907 issue of *The Indian Sentinel*—fixes the narrative to illustrate the success of St. Francis. When Satan asks Ignorance, "[D]id you keep her from knowing and loving God?" Ignorance replies, "Your Haughtiness, I could not, she went to school at St. Francis Mission. The Fathers and Sisters taught her to love God." In this script, the institution's accomplishments also emerge as gender specific, highlighting and upholding proper behaviors for young women. In response to Satan's question, "Could you not teach her to be like yourself and to despise those who commanded, corrected, or advised her to talk back or defy superiors?" Pride answers, "Your Haughtiness, she patterned her life after that of the humbly obedient Virgin of Nazareth." Likewise, Satan says to Lust, "[S]urely you have led her to enjoy smutty stories and magazines, or to dress and act immodestly." Lust states, "[S]he loves the Blessed Virgin Mary." These exchanges not only fix the Virgin Mary as the ideal woman, but also eclipse culturally specific examples of Lakota female role models. Interestingly, through Satan, the script attributes the girl's "talk[ing] back or defy[ing] superiors" not to her own insubordination, but another person who encouraged her to misbehave, which implies the girl's lack of agency. Further, commending St. Francis and its representatives, Satan tells Sloth, Lust, Deceit, and Despair, "You four still have a chance as long as the girl breathes unless the Blackrobe comes."

Spiritual—although not physical—salvation then appears in the form of Father Digman. Father Digman orders the medicine men out of the tipi, and the "[g]irl is carried out and placed half sitting, half reclining against [sic] log and facing audience."[29] Her father and mother follow. Father Digman lights candles while Satan and the imps linger. Prodded by Deceit, the medicine men inform Father Digman, "You are wasting your time. She doesn't believe in your prayers anymore." Yet, when Father Digman questions the girl, "Is that true?" She answers, "No, it is a lie," and requests, "Father, stay and help me get to heaven where our dear Lord and His loving Mother wait for me." Satan sends lust once more to "[creep] up and [whisper] in [sic] girl's ear." In response, she "raises [the] crucifix above [her] face and says, 'Jesus I love Thee!' She then kisses the crucifix." Satan and the personified sins depart.

In pitting the hero, Father Digman, against the medicine men, the play portrays Lakota epistemologies and practices as evil and satanic. The girl is presumably so ill that she must be carried; yet she retains her spiritual resolve. As in the first scene in which Lakota leaders grant Jesuits permission to educate their people, the girl grants her consent by requesting that Father

[29] The script is ambiguous as to who carries out the girl.

Digman remain with her. In doing so, the girl condemns the medicine men, betraying her own people and culture. Also like the first scene, along with permission, the main character and other Lakota characters perform submission. Father Digman prays for the girl, reciting a passage from the *Dream of Gerontius*, which commands that the girl "Go forth upon thy journey. Christian soul! Go from this world!" The script describes, "When Father Digman finishes this prayer[,] the girl's face lights up and in ecstasy[,] she holds her crucifix up before her eyes. . . . [T]he girl raises her arms and exclaims: 'The Angels are coming to get me!' Heavenly light shines down on the girl. Indians drop on knees. Hosannas louder. Curtain closes."

In choosing Father Digman over the medicine men and perishing, the unnamed girl fulfills the representation of what Elsie Marubbio "term[s] the Celluloid Maiden . . . a young Native American woman who enables, helps, loves, or aligns herself with a white European American colonizer and dies as a result of that choice" (ix). Unlike the martyrdom of Christ, the Native woman's death does not benefit all people by promising life (physical or spiritual) through salvation. Instead, her death symbolizes the extinction of Native peoples and practices to make way for European American conceptions of "progress." As Marubbio writes, "I found that . . . the woman was front and center in the formation of colonial European and American consciousness about Indians" (3). In the scene, the girl is both literally and figuratively "front and center," since the key question that the action revolves around is: who will win her devotion? The girl does not feel romantic attraction to the white hero, who is a priest, but she does demonstrate her devotion to Christ, Catholic beliefs, and the values that Father Digman embodies by "kiss[ing] the crucifix" and displaying "ecstasy." As denotations of the word "ecstasy" are not only a religious trancelike state, but also an overwhelming feeling of great happiness, the script implies that because of her faith, the young woman experiences pleasure in her perishing.

The scene depicts the girl's death as inevitable, which operates to eclipse settler colonial violence by representing Native peoples as extinct from natural and/or supernatural causes and European Americans as the rightful inheritors of the land. Marubbio notes that "the maiden's death frees the hero to fulfill his destiny as the American Adam—the icon of American progress, exceptionalism, and the American nation" (6). That the girl undertook her education at St. Francis and converted to Catholicism is apparently not enough to demonstrate progress, nor are "Indians . . . on [their] knees" (while Father Digman ostensibly remains standing). Instead Native women, figures of motherhood and culture bearing, must fixed—both in terms of controlling their representations and preventing them from producing offspring—to "[ensure] the end of a generation" and annihilate the threat of Native sovereignties to the settler colonial state. Therefore, in this scene, *The Pageant of the Plains* contradictorily attempts to fix Lakota students and community members to value St. Francis's project of assimilation, conversion, and spiritual salvation while also conveying that denunciation of one's culture, betrayal of one's people, and submission are not enough to earn Native physical futurity.

Performing Progress in *Pageant of the Plains*' "Industrial Parade"

Despite the contradictory messages that Scene Two of *Pageant of the Plains* presents, Scenes Three and Four highlight St. Francis Mission School's influence in modernizing the Lakota people through industry and conversion. In Scene Three, Big Turkey and Spotted Tail reappear and join Mother Provincial on stage. While bringing these historical figures into the play's present perhaps seems somewhat unusual, this fixing device implies that authentic Lakota people are deceased, historical figures. However, it is precisely because Lakota people were

highly visible in the performance and continue to persist in the present day—thereby thwarting dominant, fixing discourses—that they are continuously rendered as extinct. Again, Big Turkey and Spotted Tail's appearance performs Lakota consent for St. Francis Mission School's creation and ongoing project. Big Turkey states, "Mother Provincial, we are happy to have you visit us and to see what our children have learned. First, we show you what they learned from us, and then what they learned from the Blackrobes and 'Holy Women.'" Big Turkey's statement demonstrates a facet of fixing in which Lakota people become complicit, which I also discuss in Chapter One. His introduction creates a false dichotomy between Lakota and European American practices, representing the past and the present, respectively.

The script then describes, "six warriors with tom-toms take position in center of stage and begin Omaha dance song. Small boys come in and dance in circle till song is finished. Indian girls stand up stage and dance squaw fashion."[30] "Indian Huntresses for drill" follow. The *Pageant of the Plains* program in the June 1936 issue of *The Sioux Chieftain* clarifies that "Little Boys" performed the Omaha War Dances and "Little Girls," the "Indian Huntress Drill." Selecting children as the actors for the Lakota performances suggests that these practices are not only ancient, but also childish, a form of play, and practices that one outgrows. Interpreted as such, these dances emerge as culturally themed—rather than culturally relevant—curricula, activities that attempt to diminish Native meaningfulness and sovereignties. The use of the racial and sexual epithet "squaw" demonstrates St. Francis officials' ignorance and/or cultural insensitivity. That the "Industrial Parade" follows these activities implies that Native dances and practices are archaic. The order for the parade is: "Lower grade boys and girls with class work," "Flower girls," "Fancy work girls," "Dress makers," "Baker boys," "Baker girls, canners," "Cobblers," "Garden boys," "Blacksmith boys," "Carpenter boys," "Artists—boys," "Artists—girls, beadwork, drawings," "Basketball squad," and "High school classroom achievements: typing, penmanship, bookkeeping, geometric." Notably, in contrast to Big Turkey's words in the script, the "Industrial Parade" with its inclusion of "beadwork" shows that Lakota practices are indeed an official part of the curricula. Although it is entirely possible that Lakota priests and nuns taught beadwork at St. Francis, through Big Turkey's statement, the script creates a dichotomy between Lakota people and Jesuit spiritual officials.

The fourth and final scene of the play returns to the theme of spiritual conversion, central to St. Francis's project. The scene calls for "[i]n a niche a statue of the Sacred Heart well lighted, to the right a large picture of the Blessed Virgin, to the left a large picture of St. Joseph." The stage divides girls and boys, who depending on their sex either kneel before the Blessed Virgin or St. Joseph. The script reads: "St. Joseph's side [sic] Warriors, Medicine Men, Shop boys [sic] small Indian boys. Blessed Virgin's side [sic] women, Virgins, Drill girls, and Huntresses." Such a physical separation reinforces patriarchal gender norms. That the "Medicine Men" kneel in this final scene suggests that in the end, even those who have adamantly resisted Catholicism will eventually convert.

Kateri Tekakwitha, Cross-dressing Plays, and Black Face

Other "*Indian performance*[s]" at St. Francis likewise function as fixing devices, teaching Lakota students to embody and/or internalize Catholic ideologies as well as mainstream assumptions about "Indianness" and gender. A photograph from a 1956-1957 production of *Pageant of the Plains* depicts two actors playing characters that an interviewee I spoke with identified as Joseph and Mary (Interview with author). These biblical figures stand in the middle

[30] The word "squaw" is a racial and sexual slur that has been used to describe Native girls and women.

of approximately one hundred Lakota students wearing Indian costumes, including: buckskin outfits, headbands, feathers, war bonnets, and what appear to be braided wigs. (See figure 15).

Figure 15. Marquette University Archives, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, ID 09-1 51-06 1956-1957 (*Pageant of the Plains*).

The braided wigs, an example of culturally themed curricula, show that educators incorporated these visual signifiers, but only when they suited the institution's project. As interviewees told me, St. Francis required students to cut their hair as a part of the assimilation process (Interviews with author). Long hair has cultural meaningfulness, which threatened St. Francis's project. The centrality of Joseph and Mary in the image perhaps indicates the significance of their roles in the production. While all St. Francis students were Lakota, these performances relied on costumes and/or regalia to make legible their "Indianness," again an attempt to fix the notion that Native people and/or practices were distinct from modernity and relegate Native authenticity to aesthetics or culturally themed as opposed to culturally relevant programming. Religious officials and educators likely recognized the potential fixing attributes of performances that included Native characters and themes. A priest I interviewed who taught at St. Francis from 1970 until 1973 stated that plays with Native characters were examples of "inculturation," which he defined as "when you preach the word of God, you should use examples that come from the culture of the people you are speaking to so they can understand" (Interview with author). St. Francis officials sought to harness the power and persuasiveness of these performances, which students and community members may have welcomed as rare opportunities to engage with their Lakota identities and practices—even when these activities relied on tropes and typecasts.

A 1949 silent film, which shows St. Francis students performing in a play about Kateri Tekakwitha, illustrates how St. Francis performances asked students to embody mainstream ideologies, which subordinate Indigenous peoples and practices based on race and gender (mis)constructions. Born circa 1656, Kateri Tekakwitha or "Lily of the Mohawks"—the first Native American to be canonized—is renowned for maintaining her virginity and converting to Christianity despite familial and tribal pressures and self-inflicting mutilation of the flesh—including fasting and lying on a mat of thorns (Walworth 171, 267). Notably, colonial officials decried the Sun Dance in part because the ceremony includes what the 1907 article from *The Indian Sentinel* terms "cruelties . . . to appease the Great Spirit"; although the silent film produced at St. Francis does not depict or otherwise reference Kateri Tekakwitha's mutilation of

the flesh, the portrayal does celebrate her and her strong commitment to Christianity. By eclipsing these details from the play's narrative, St. Francis officials avoided revealing the contradictions of colonial logics; St. Francis students performed this play at a time when the U.S. federal government prohibited Sun Dance.

Small pocks scarred Kateri's face when she was a small child (Walworth 277); she converted when she was 19 (Jacob), and minutes after her death at the age of 24, witnesses reported that her face healed—her skin became beautiful and "fair"—a connotation of which is white (Walworth 278). As the daughter of a Mohawk chief and an intermediary between Native and European American cultures, Kateri exemplifies the Pocahontas figure with a key difference: whereas Pocahontas's Christian marriage solidifies "the great archetype of the Indian-white conjugal union" (Sheehan 175), Kateri becomes the bride of Christ and as such embodies values of assimilation and conversion and promises the perfect fulfillment of these virtues through physical death.

The approximately three minute silent film—which shows the play or at least five excerpts from it—is shot outdoors (*Lily of the Mohawks* play scenes). Presumably officials captured this footage of the play for archival purposes. While the film itself was likely not a part of the curricula at St. Francis, its performance would have provided student actors, school and community members, and even perhaps visiting religious officials with insights into how St. Francis viewed Kateri's conversion and Native peoples themselves. In the first scene, seven Native women wearing regalia, braids, and headbands are seated on the ground shucking corn (figure 16). They talk and laugh. Kateri, who sits on the edge of the frame, stands and proceeds to engage in discussion with a woman seated in the center of the shot. The conversation grows more intense, heated even. Kateri circles the group and points her finger at the woman (figure 17). Kateri then wrings her hands in distress—likely over the pressure for her to marry. A close up image of Kateri displays her concerned expression; she makes rapid movements with her hands, which she then brings to her temples, again indicating her anguish (figure 18). In the next scene, a Native male character—shirtless and wearing a buffalo cap, large medallion, and beaded chaps over his jeans—enters from stage right. He turns toward the camera, revealing that in his left hand, he holds a short, leather whip. As he speaks, he whips the air, and the women, all seated behind him, startle. He flings the whip in their direction again and takes a knee, raising his hands to the sky (figure 19). He, too, appears frustrated and disturbed. The third scene depicts a large wooden cross. In the forefront, Kateri sits with another Native woman character. In the background, a group of Native women gathers behind and beneath a large cross, which towers above them. The Native women speak with another Native woman character wearing black regalia, which signals that she is likely a nun. Kateri uses a handkerchief to wipe away a tear, and the other woman appears to comfort her. In the fourth scene, the woman in the black regalia ushers Kateri in to the shot from stage left. The women still gather around the cross. Kateri, who cups a candle with both hands, kneels before a St. Francis student, who is dressed as a priest and holds a bible (Figure 20). The film cuts to a close up shot of Kateri in profile; her eyes are closed in prayer; the priest anoints her head with holy water. The film cuts to the final scene, which opens as a Native male character, dressed in regalia and a war bonnet, shoves Kateri to the ground. As she lies there, curled into a ball, he circles around her, his arms crossed (Figure 21). He gestures to her and makes quick, angry motions with his arms. The film abruptly concludes.

Figure 16. Marquette University Archives, St. Francis Mission Records, ID 10-2 (*Lily of the Mohawks* play scenes).

Figure 17. Marquette University Archives, St. Francis Mission Records, ID 10-2 (*Lily of the Mohawks* play scenes).

Figure 18. Marquette University Archives, St. Francis Mission Records, ID 10-2 (*Lily of the Mohawks* play scenes).

Figure 19. Marquette University Archives, St. Francis Mission Records, ID 10-2 (*Lily of the Mohawks* play scenes).

Figure 20. Marquette University Archives, St. Francis Mission Records, ID 10-2 (*Lily of the Mohawks* play scenes).

Figure 21. Marquette University Archives, St. Francis Mission Records, ID 10-2 (*Lily of the Mohawks* play scenes).

Read as a fixing device, the play sought to teach Lakota students to understand conversion to Catholicism as courageous; Native peoples and practices as backward; and Indigenous men as the savage oppressors of Indigenous women. By depicting the kinship pressures that Kateri faced in her journey to conversion, the play prepared Sicangu Lakota students and community members to expect disapproval regarding their conversion to and practice of Catholicism and gave them a compelling narrative about the bravery of an Indigenous woman maintaining her resolve. However, the play eclipses the coercive and at times brutal role that settler colonialism played in such decisions as well as the immense challenges and injustices that Indigenous peoples navigated to retain their spiritual practices, which the U.S. legally prohibited until the 1978 American Indian Religious Freedom Act—although of course community members continued these ceremonies in secret. Like the morality play in *Pageant of the Plains*, the play about Kateri Tekakwitha highlighted race and gender hierarchies by portraying Native women as capable of fixing through education and conversion; Native men as figures of resistance who seek to draw Native women into their deceits; and both groups as subordinate to European American men. In both the morality and Kateri Tekakwitha plays, the action revolves around the salvation of an Indigenous woman; Indigenous men who retain their spiritual beliefs are the savage antagonists, and European American men are the heroic figures.

Notably, in the Kateri Tekakwitha play, every time that a Native male character enters a scene, he towers above the Native, female characters, portrayed seated, kneeling, or thrown to the ground. The two Native male characters display violence towards Indigenous women, and it is with this message that the film so abruptly ends. This representation conflicts with reality, eclipsing that historically and contemporarily, non-natives are the overwhelming perpetrators of violence against Native women. Again, as in the morality play, the only sympathetic male in the film is the European American character, the priest, whom, in the case of the Kateri Tekakwitha play, the Native, female protagonist willingly and deferentially kneels before. The underlying implication of both plays is that interactions with Native men lead not only to misery, but also eternal damnation, whereas interactions with and devotion to European American men result in salvation.

Religious plays were not the only theatrical productions used to educate Lakota students about dominant gender and race hierarchies. A 1953 photograph, labeled “Amateur Night,” depicts twenty Lakota young men—likely aged early to late teens—the majority of who are dressed in button up, western-style shirts and jeans (Figure 22). However, four of the male students wear long dresses; two of them also wear blond wigs. It is challenging to read the expressions of the young men wearing women’s attire. While three of the four seem somewhat uncomfortable, so, too, do some of the other students not clothed in dresses. As a fixing device, this performance—likely intended as comedic—would have instructed Lakota students about mainstream gender binaries. Socializing students to find humor in men wearing dresses reinforces such norms.

Figure 22. Marquette University Archives, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, ID 09-1 52-02 1953 (Amateur Night).

Boarding school articles and photographs also reveal that in 1941 (twice) and 1950, St. Francis students performed in minstrel plays ("BOYS PRESENT MINSTREL PLAY," "IN REVIEW," "CHILDREN ENTERTAIN").[31] In a photograph from 1954, girls in blackface, wearing knee-high dresses, stand center stage with male students, also in blackface, who appear to be their dance partners (Figure 23). Students not in blackface—also coupled in heternormative pairs—watch the African American characters from the rear of the stage. These students are more formally outfitted; the boys wear high collared shirts, vests, coats, and ties, and the women's dresses are floor-length. A mammy character, her head wrapped with a handkerchief, sits in a chair, stage right, accompanied by a male character, likewise wearing blackface, standing beside her. Like the photograph from "Amateur Night," there is no script to accompany this photograph.

[31] Students likely participated in other minstrel plays throughout the 1940s and 1950s that *The Sioux Chieftain* did not note.

Figure 23. Marquette University Archives, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, ID 09-1 51-08 1950s 01.

Robert, a Lakota elder-educator, told me that St. Francis officials intended these plays to help students understand historical context—perhaps slavery; otherwise, the elder could not recall learning about African Americans in school (Interview with author). The elder's comment does not necessarily imply that St. Francis officials intended these performances to fix students to understand themselves as superior to African Americans—after all, along with participating in minstrel plays, educators encouraged Lakota young people to play Indian. However, as I discuss in Chapter One, playing Indian is an example of culturally themed curricula, which operates to diminish Native cultural values and sovereignty, therefore representing Native peoples, practices, and nations as inferior to their European American counterparts. Further, if read in conjunction with *The Sioux Chieftain* articles about the Harlem Globetrotters—which relied on typecasts of African Americans—and an n-word joke that I also delineate in Chapter One, it does seem more likely that educators intended the minstrel plays at least in part to instill in Lakota students the idea that African Americans were subordinate to them. Such a maneuver serves U.S. political purposes and capitalism itself by encouraging non-dominant groups to compete with one another rather than unite based upon shared experiences of injustice.

Yet because of the inability to fix the narrative, Lakota students and community members likely interpreted these plays in a multitude of ways. In the Kateri Tekakwitha play, Indigenous female characters that convert to Catholicism retain their regalia, indicating that both Native aesthetics are acceptable and Indigenous people who convert can maintain their cultural identities. Further, Lakota people were not unaware of the ideologies and aims, which underpinned St. Francis's non-secular, theatrical productions. Robert shared with me that many of the plays centered "Christian-Indian themes because that was part of indoctrinating the students. [St. Francis was] trying to graduate good Catholics. Good citizens." As I discuss in Chapter One and earlier in the chapter, St. Francis's curricula eclipsed Lakota people's dual

citizenship. Yet Lakota young people found ways to adapt the activities surrounding these performances for their own purposes. Another elder stated that Kateri Tekakwitha conferences provided opportunities for students to escape the classroom environment and travel to Holy Rosary Mission School (renamed Red Cloud Indian School in 1969), located on the Pine Ridge Reservation, which borders Rosebud. In Chapter One, I reveal that traveling and interacting with other Lakota bands perpetuates cultural identities and practices. The relationship that Lakota people had with Kateri Tekakwitha plays and other embodied practices at St. Francis is contradictory and diverse. Robert told me, his wife—also Sicangu Lakota—named their youngest daughter "Kateri," because his wife was so fascinated by the narrative.

Importantly, scholars continue to develop innovative methodologies that address archival omissions regarding how colonial institutions sought to discipline Native bodies according to dominant gender norms. Alicia Cox, for instance, interrogates how the "Cherokee multiple-gender system . . . offer[s] a queer reading of the Cherokee Indian School archive that imagines alternatives to the notion that . . . cross-dressing at [a] boarding school [constitutes] a degrading punishment." Cox's approach encourages a consideration of the "Amateur Night" image that I earlier discussed within the context of Lakota gender norms, which complicate and surpass mainstream understandings. For example, *winkte*—a Lakota word that literally means "wants to be like a woman"—describes male-bodied people who perform actions that are considered feminine according to Lakota cultural norms. St. Francis students may have welcomed the opportunity to participate in and/or watch cross-dressing performances in part because they reflected Lakota views about gender.

Although St. Francis plays did seem to influence some students, the project of colonialism always remains incomplete, and Lakota epistemologies have persisted, enacting material and corporeal consequences. Charlie, another elder-educator with whom I spoke, described a story that his uncle had told him about the first time that the uncle, then a young boy, interacted with an African American. After the uncle shook hands with the Black man who was *his uncle* by a *hunka* or adoption ceremony in which a person becomes a member of the family and tribe, the boy looked at his hand to see if the man's blackness had worn off on his own skin; the boy's mother then rebuked her son. While it is not clear if the minstrel plays contributed to the young man's misconceptions, they certainly did not dispel them. However, Lakota ideas about race—like gender—provide other possibilities for thinking beyond dominant racial constructs. For example, Charlie told me that people in the community referred to a man with an African American father and Lakota mother as *pajo*, meaning "something that stands out, something that sticks out so that you notice," but importantly, not a term that implied that the man was in any way inferior. Charlie also recounted the story of his great-grandfather, a hereditary chief, who adopted an African American boy through a *hunka* ceremony. After the child—one of Charlie's grandfathers according to Lakota kinship practices—grew up, he intermarried with a Lakota woman; descendants of his still live on the Rosebud Reservation.

Eclipsing at St. Francis, on the Rosebud Reservation, and in "The Dance House"

St. Francis curricula and narratives, as articulated in *The Sioux Chieftain*, eclipse Ghost Dance and Sun Dance and instead focus on non-secular, school dances.[32] Interviewees also

[32] These dances include: tap (1940-1941, "GIRLS' ENTERTAINMENT"), freshman initiation and Halloween Masquerade (1940-41, "IN REVIEW"), square dancing (1949, 1950, "SQUARE DANCING," "CHILDREN ENTERTAIN"), and "biweekly dances complete with cake and soda" (1968, "Social Life").

confirmed the omission of Ghost Dance and Sun Dance from school programming, representations, and discussion. As Ruth told me, "No. None of that was spoken about at school ever. Ever." Educators appear to have used school dances to boost student morale and as a reward for their hard work, which was necessary to maintain the school. For example, in a 1950 issue of *The Sioux Chieftain*, an article titled, "POTATO RECORDS BROKEN THIS YEAR," discusses that "the annual Spud Dance followed" students' harvesting efforts. In some respects, the function of school dances resembles that of other embodied activities at St. Francis. For instance, as I show in Chapter One, St. Francis officials believed that the introduction of basketball at the institution resulted in a decrease of students running away; they may have viewed dances as having a similar effect on students (Davies and Clow 217-218). Furthermore, as with basketball, through dance, educators sought to fix the meanings of embodied activities by representing them as separate from students' cultural identities and in ways that were compatible with the assimilative institution's aims.

By eclipsing mention of the Sun Dance, St. Francis authority figures avoided having to address that these practices were ongoing, which would have undermined their authority by showing St. Francis's shortcomings. Demonstrating the contradictory nature of colonial logics, at the same time, the continued practice of Sun Dance helped to justify St. Francis's intervention. These omissions also likely allowed educators to avoid fraught, political conflicts with students about Sun Dance—in the words of Young Bear, "the center piece of Lakota public ceremonial life"—which many young people (unlike their teachers) would have had firsthand knowledge about (Theisz and Young Bear). St. Francis officials perhaps hoped that if they eclipsed the Sun Dance and Ghost Dance, Lakota people would forget these powerful embodied practices and epistemologies; dance's relationship to histories of resistance; and the atrocities that the institution and the U.S. government enacted. In other words, St. Francis officials perhaps hoped that through eclipsing, a strategy of assimilation, *Lakota people would forget themselves*. After all, this is the aim of assimilation.

Despite their use of eclipsing or conceivably because of the contradictions that would have surfaced, St. Francis officials remained curious about the ongoing occurrence of Sun Dances in the community. As Ruth recalled,

> I was really good friends with some of the nuns, and they were real inquisitive about those kinds of things. And they wanted to know, and I don't know if it was for them to have a negative impact on the people. I didn't feel that at the time . . . [t]hey came over to my house to see my grandma, and they would eat with us. But then at the same time, my grandma would always talk about—she would put us in a circle, and she would pray with us. She would sing, and she would tell us, "All this stuff that we talk about here at home, don't talk about it at school," because they'll come, and they'll tell us not to do this. Or they'll come, and they'll tell you that you can't live with us anymore. It was a dual life. Most of us lived it—not just me. There was a lot us.

In this passage, Ruth describes the continuation of Lakota practices through intergenerational teachings despite St. Francis's assimilative efforts. Lakota people relied on eclipsing for cultural survival.

Like the interviews that I conducted with Sicangu Lakota elders, Sicangu Lakota writer Joseph Marshall III's short story, "The Dance House," also details the role of eclipsing in cultural continuation amid intense pressures to assimilate. Set in 1910, the short story opens with the destruction of a Sicangu Lakota dance house after John Kincaid, a White man, comes to own

the meadow on which it is located. The narrator attributes the burning down of the dance house to the 1887 Dawes Act, which divided reservations into individual allotments for tribal citizens and opened up the land that supposedly remained—but was rightfully Native land—to European American settlers. The story clarifies that the U.S. government did not allow Sicangu Lakota people to choose their land, and European Americans therefore secured the most desirable areas. The Dawes Act conducts a double eclipsing by omitting that all of Turtle Island[33] is Indigenous land unjustly occupied *and* dispossessing Native peoples of their land twofold (first through reservations and then via individual allotments). The Act also evidences how eclipsing can occur through legal discourses.

The central conflict in the story revolves around how Sicangu Lakota elders will build and maintain a new dance house without the Bureau of Indian Affairs agent's knowledge, which will help to ensure the continuation of the gathering place. Significantly, the dance house contradicts the U.S. government and Jesuit institution's eclipsing strategies because it "'helped [Sicangu Lakota people] to remember the good times in the past, and . . . gave [them] good times'" (93). In contrast to dominant discourses that portray Indigenous cultures as static, this description configures Lakota culture as dynamic.

The main characters both employ and cite examples of eclipsing. To discuss the Dawes Act, historical injustices that the U.S. and Jesuit institutions committed against the Lakota, and a plan to build the new dance house, the Sicangu Lakota elders rely on eclipsing. "A small fire was started, and strips of meat hung above the flames. If one of the whites happened along, it would appear that the men were simply cooking" (88). During the conversation, Simon Broken Robe says, "'Don't forget . . . it was the Black Robes who complained loudest to the government agent about the Ghost Dance" (89). This statement, like the earlier discussed 1907 article from *The Indian Sentinel* titled, "ST. FRANCIS' SCHOOL," implicates the Jesuits in quelling the Ghost Dance. However, whereas *The Indian Sentinel* depicts the Jesuits as an intermediary between the U.S. government and Lakota people, Simon names them as the primary instigators, which makes them all the more responsible for the Massacre at Wounded Knee.

In plotting about how to surreptitiously build the new dance house, elders refer to previous histories of eclipsing. Micah Long Knife offers, "'Remember what the Ghost Dancers had to do. They had to hide their dancing in the Badlands and elsewhere, so the government and Black Robes could not see them'" (89). Because the Bureau of Indian Affairs agent's "most important duty, so far as the government was concerned, was to teach the Lakota to be farmers" (87), the elders decide that a few of them will plant a garden as a cover so that the agent "'thinks we are coming over to his way of thinking'" (90). In the meantime, men in the community will build a new home for Jacob Little Thunder and his family, which will also serve as the new dance house.

Not only must the elders employ eclipsing to achieve their aim of building and sustaining the new dance house, but they also must hoodwink Ezra Left Hand into collaborating with them. As the story unfolds, the primary antagonist emerges not as the Bureau of Indian Affairs agent, but Ezra, a young, Sicangu Lakota and "loaf-around-the-[fort]" (94), a derogatory term meaning that Ezra collaborates with the U.S. government in exchange for material goods. Ezra first questions Jacob about the round house that Jacob is building, which other characters surmise is Ezra's attempt to provide the Indian Affairs agent with a report about their activities. Not able to obtain any incriminating information other than the home will be round, Ezra returns again at the

[33] "Turtle Island" is a pan-Indigenous name for North America, which I use to avoid reinforcing settler state boundaries.

beginning of July when over twenty families gather at Jacob's about to feast. Responding to Ezra's arrival, George states, "'We shall make him an honored guest. . . . We shall feed him until he cannot eat more. Then, tonight we will sing the round dance songs. Left Hand liked the round dances when he was a boy. We shall help him remember'" (96). Doted upon, well fed, and dancing with "unattached young [women]" all night (96), Ezra becomes complicit in celebrating the new dance house. The morning after, Ezra wakes to a generous breakfast. Jacob tells Ezra, "Thank you for helping us to celebrate my new house. . . . The boss farmer [what the characters call the Indian Affairs agent] is coming tomorrow to look at my garden, I think. I will be sure to tell him how much you danced" (96). Jacob does not have a garden, which demonstrates the use of eclipsing not only in interactions with colonial officials, but also with untrustworthy community members. When Ezra protests, Jacob continues, "'Your father was a good dancer. . . . [Jacob] turned to the others sitting under the cottonwood trees. [Ezra's] father was a good dancer,' he told them, pointing at Ezra Left Hand. 'You can see this young man is like his father—as a dancer, I mean" (96-97). Here, by using his intergenerational knowledge of Ezra's familial history to remind him of his cultural heritage, Jacob both compliments and chastises Ezra. In stating that "'You can see this young man is like his father—as a dancer, I mean,'" Jacob implies that Ezra's reputation as a "loaf-around-the-[fort]" differs from Ezra's father's. Ezra attempts to quickly leave after Jacob deceives him into thinking that the Indian Agent will arrive shortly—however, not before Jacob indirectly reprimands him once more, saying, "'Next time you should bring your wife. . . . We can tell her you were here and that you were good enough to dance with all the young girls last night'" (97). Ezra, duped into eclipsing, promises that he will not tell the Indian Agent about the dance house. Jacob's final words to Ezra are, "We must keep what makes us truly Lakota. Last night the dancing was one of those things. It reminded you, all of us, how it feels to be Lakota. What is that worth, Nephew? Would you sell that for a new buggy, a new team of horses?" (98). Ezra replies, "No, Uncle. I would not. No one should" (98). Whereas dominant discourses and institutions often employ eclipsing for violent purposes, resulting in violent ends, "The Dance House" illustrates that for Sicangu Lakota people, eclipsing helps to safeguard their cultural practices and themselves. Notably, Jacob identifies dancing as "one of those things" that makes him and others "truly [feel] Lakota. Basketball, theater—and as I will show—even laundry provide other opportunities for Lakota people to perpetuate and innovate their identities.

Fixing and Eclipsing through Dance: A Synopsis and Analysis of the 1491's *Laundry*

With the exception of "The Dance House," this chapter has thus far focused on cultural productions—although negotiated by Sicangu Lakota people for their own purposes—crafted by non-natives. Furthermore, excluding the play about Kateri Tekakwitha, these sources do not provide depictions of Indigenous bodies in motion, therefore precluding a critical analysis of the role of kinesthetics,[34] a primary methodology used in dance and performance studies, in the

[34] I draw on noted dance scholars Susan Foster and Randy Martin's discussion of kinesthesia. Foster states that kinesthesia "initially referred specifically to the muscular sense of the body's movement," which is largely how I employ the term in this analysis (*Choreographing Empat*hy 74). Foster also writes that this word originated in 1880 (*Choreographing Empat*hy 7), which approximately marks the beginnings of physical education programs in the U.S. (*Choreographing Empat*hy 103) and the Native boarding school era. (For example, Carlisle Indian Industrial School, the first off-reservation boarding school, was founded in 1879.) In his work, Martin discusses the "social kinesthetic," which he uses to describe bodily movements that reveal the "deeper affinities between movement and culture" (qtd. in

project of fixing and eclipsing Native bodies. Due to these archival omissions a kinesthetic analysis of St. Francis students' bodies in motion is impossible; however, we can look to contemporary examples to elucidate how a Native body theorizes the concepts of fixing and eclipsing. To do so, I conduct a close analysis of the 1491s' short film, *Laundry*, a single-shot film, which features Spear, a Northern Cheyenne woman fancy shawl dancing in a laundry room at Dartmouth College.[35]

Dartmouth, like St. Francis, has a long history of efforts to assimilate Native peoples; Eleazar Wheelock, a Puritan minister, founded the institution in 1754 as Moor's Charity School. Additionally, both Dartmouth and St. Francis have altered their projects from assimilation to serving Native peoples in a culturally sensitive manner.[36] In 1972, Jesuit officials relinquished St. Francis Mission School to the Rosebud Sioux Tribe, who renamed the institution St. Francis Indian School; that same year, Dartmouth College introduced Native American Studies as a "modified department."[37] Fancy shawl dancing, performed by women, originated in the 1920s as the counterpart to men's fancy dancing, created to entertain non-native audiences in public spaces during the U.S. government's prohibition of Indigenous dance (Whitefield-Madrano).[38] Women initially wore bustles, mimicking the men's regalia (Whitefield-Madrano). However, not until the 1950s did the dance change into its current manifestation when women began wearing shawls and "incorporat [ing other] traditionally feminine aspects" (Whitefield-Madrano). As a pan-Indian social dance, which young women often perform at pow wows, fancy shawl dancing is appropriate for all audiences. As a relatively recent and dynamic innovation, the fancy shawl dance challenges dominant understandings of Indigenous practices as archaic and static.

The purpose of *Laundry*, like the 1491s' other work, is to challenge the ways that dominant discourses have sought to fix and eclipse Native peoples and cultures. *Laundry* is a part of a series of short "REPRESENT" films that the 1491s have published on their website and *YouTube* channel which depict Native students performing their cultural practices at the university they attend. In a 2013 TED Talk, Migz Pen and Bobby Wilson, two members of the 1491s, discuss their work, including *Laundry* and other "REPRESENT" films; they underscore the importance of Native self-representation and the "reclamation of Native American imagery

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Choreographing Empathy 8). The "affinities between movement and culture" are central to this dissertation.

[35] Although every tribe is diverse, Indigenous peoples have endured similar histories of colonization and settler colonialism; further, the Northern Cheyenne, like the Lakota, are Plains Indians. Bringing in this film broadens the implications of this primarily culturally specific research project.

[36] I define *culturally sensitive* curricula—such as Native studies courses—as programming that centers Native peoples and issues to counter and refute hegemonic histories and portrayals; in this way, culturally sensitive curricula also works to promote the interests and futurity of Native peoples and nations. Yet, culturally sensitive curricula—unlike culturally relevant—do not necessarily pertain to students' cultural backgrounds.

[37] Such a shift—from assimilatory to culturally relevant or sensitive curricula, which often occurred during the Red Power political climate of the 1970s—is common among Indian educational institutions. Perhaps because of the cultural genocide and in some cases physical fatalities that occurred as a result of forcibly removing or coercing Native young people from their communities to attend Native boarding schools, today culturally relevant programming is often conceptualized as the antidote to assimilation. Yet, these longstanding educational institutions (and the U.S. government as I will discuss in Chapter Three) are frequently remiss to admit—let alone apologize for—any wrongdoing.

[38] See Jacqueline Shea Murphy's *The People Never Stopped Dancing* for a discussion of these histories and contradictions.

because the colonial mindset has decided that it would be a good idea to warp everybody's view of what Native America is" ("1491s Play With Themselves"). Specifically, the group also wants to combat misunderstandings of Native peoples, identities, and cultural practices as solely holding aesthetic value and relegated to the past ("1491s Play With Themselves"), notions that, as I have shown, mainstream narratives and assimilative institutions have even sought to fix among Native peoples themselves. As Wilson stated, "The reality is that just because we're not dressed up in buckskin right now doesn't make us any less Indian" ("1491s Play With Themselves"). This statement contrasts how St. Francis Mission School attempted to define Native identity for its students, by relegating ideas about Indianness to arts and athletics, activities in which students often wore generic, cultural signifiers.

In its setting, *Laundry* suggests the frameworks of fixing and eclipsing by referencing the historical and ongoing confinement of Native bodies—in boarding schools, prisons, and reservations—which has accompanied colonization for the purposes of Indigenous cultural and physical genocide (figure 24). The film takes place in an institutional setting, a confined laundry room, which includes two large wastebaskets in the foreground and behind them, washers and driers on the left, a sink in the back of the room, and a protruding shelf to the right—filled with several different types of detergent. Captured with the doorframe evident in the shot, *Laundry* creates a voyeuristic impression; it also creates a visible boundary between the viewer and Spear. While, as earlier discussed, the fancy shawl dance is a social—as opposed to ceremonial—practice, denoting and respecting restrictions is important given histories of colonial and contemporary violence surrounding Indigenous dance, such as cultural appropriation. This contemporary setting and Spear's light skin and casual attire—t-shirt, sweatpants, and socks—contrast mainstream depictions of Indigenous dancers, often phenotypically "Indian," portrayed in their regalia amid stunning views of nature, which operate to fix Native peoples and practices as monolithic; aesthetic, but apolitical; anachronistic in the present day; and at odds with urban environments. The setting further connotes assimilative and/or vocational programming, such as St. Francis mandated, which sought to socialize and subordinate Native young women through the imposition of patriarchal and racial norms (Simonsen 6). However, on *YouTube*, the description below the video, which indicates that Spear is a Master's student at Dartmouth, helps to fix the meaning of Spear doing laundry, necessary labor as she advances toward her graduate degree at an Ivy League university.

Figure 24. Cinnamon Spear in the 1491s's *Laundry*.

In Spear's folding of the towel, she symbolically depicts fixing and eclipsing. The rhythmic drumming of the laundry turning in an old dryer both connotes capitalism through its mechanical droning and a heart beat, representing Indigenous peoples and cultures as "alive and thriving" despite histories of institutional repression ("1491s Play With Themselves"). Using the length of her arm span, Spear opens the towel fully; then she brings her hands together, closing the cloth. She folds the towel again. Although the towel is clean whether folded or rumpled, societal norms construct folded as preferable, suggests the ways that fixing operates by representing one condition and its intersections (race, gender, and/or culture, for example) as superior to the other. The towel also exemplifies a metaphor for eclipsing, as a folded towel only reveals a part of the cloth; albeit some of the material is unseen, that does not mean it ceases to exist. Likewise, although a narrative may eclipse other peoples, perspectives, and/or practices, that does not erase these alternative stories or epistemologies nor make them any less real. The folds in the towel also indicate markers of time, layers of history, even generations, as I will return to later. Using her chin, Spear folds the towel twice more, down the length of her torso, from chest to hips, across her vital organs, reminding the viewer of the Indigenous body, its powerful knowledges, and its contestation in colonial and contemporary spaces. She places the towel atop another already folded on the dryer; after all, it is in part the stacking of stories that contributes to their credibility.

Through Spear putting on the towel as a shawl, *Laundry* critiques the ways that institutions have sought to fix Native women according to dominant gender norms (figure 25). Spear picks up the light and dark pink, striped towel, marked "Victoria's Secret." Holding it horizontally on either end, Spear quickly shakes out the wrinkles, before bringing the towel briefly back to her body, from naval to just below her knees. Spear's dancing, as I will later describe, also shakes the wrinkles from the towel, demonstrating how Indigenous peoples have performed work and/or success—in fact strengthened their achievements—in institutional settings while still maintaining and innovating their cultural identities. As I delineate in Chapter One, a facet of fixing, used in the colloquial sense, expresses educators' attempts to discourage Lakota students from producing offspring by encouraging them to become a nun or priest, which I argue should be considered within histories of Indigenous genocide and forced sterilization. In the morality play from *Pageant of the Plains* and the silent film about the life of Kateri Tekakwitha, Native women are also prevented from reproducing offspring, which implies the inevitable extinction of Indigenous peoples and nations. However, in momentarily holding the towel against her body, a female body, where her womb would be, Spear not only reminds the viewer of attempts to fix Indigenous peoples' reproductive practices, but also that Indigenous peoples have persevered despite overwhelming odds. She again implicates her body, embodied practices, and kinesthetic epistemologies as central to these forms of accommodation and resistance. Then, still grasping the towel and circling her left hand swiftly around her head, Spear dons it as a shawl with the words "Victoria's Secret" upside down. In pan-Indian epistemologies, a circle, such as a medicine wheel, can hold tremendous knowledge and multiple meanings. This movement therefore signals Spear's fixing or reindigenizing of the towel, whose color and brand evoke mainstream gender norms for women, including their representation as sexualized objects. Because of the way that intersectionality operates, Indigenous women and women of color—constructed as embodying deviant and exotic femininities—are hypersexualized, which leads to dire material consequences, namely sexual violence.


Figure 25. Cinnamon Spear in the 1491s's *Laundry*.

In the Native context, the Victoria's Secret brand evokes the 2012 controversy that ensued when model Karlie Kloss wore a Native American-style headdress in the company's annual fashion show along with a leopard-print bikini, turquoise accessories, and fringed high heels; Victoria's Secret and Kloss issued apologies after the show (Keene). Kloss's culturally themed ensemble—much like the Native costumes that educators at St. Francis provided for students—appropriated Native regalia; sought to diminish cultural values and sovereignties; and represented Native peoples monolithically. In a blog post about the incident, Native studies scholar and activist Adrienne Keene linked the sexualization of Native women to the sexual violence that disproportionately affects them (Keene). By wearing the towel upside down, Spear literally flips the notion that Indigenous cultures and peoples are primitive and oppress women—a common argument used as an attempt to justify the colonization and assimilation of Indigenous peoples—by portraying patriarchal gender norms as problematic. At this moment, a drumbeat fades over, then replaces the sound of the dryer, again underscoring Spear's fixing through auditory and visual signifiers. Spear has refashioned an item from a brand associated with scantily clad supermodels to enhance her own cultural practice and values; her usage of the towel directly counters Victoria's Secret's brand identity since in the fancy shawl dance, "[o]f utmost importance is modesty" (Whitefield-Madrano). Notably, Spear does not cast off the Victoria's Secret towel, indicative of the ways that one cannot escape social structures such as race and gender, which influence the multiple meanings of Indigenous bodies, dances, and cultural productions. However, she does protest these constructions. The upside down, striped towel connotes an upside down U.S. flag, which Indigenous and other peoples use to signal grave danger, specifically indicating that one's life and property are at stake; this is significant given that decolonization—as I discuss in Chapter Three—requires the repatriation of Indigenous life and land (Tuck and Yang 1). Spear celebrates her critique—in Latin, the feminine name "Victoria" means "victory" or woman's victory—by wearing the towel not only as a shawl, but as a champion fighter might sport a flag around her shoulders. It is through Indigenous methods of fixing—a form of fighting—that Indigenous identities and practices have survived.

Laundry also displays how Indigenous peoples continue to employ fixing and eclipsing for the purposes of cultural continuity and Indigenous sovereignty. The single-shot film shows the enduring connection between the Indigenous past and present, challenging ideas that as a result of assimilative policies and institutions, Native peoples and nations are no longer authentic and therefore no longer entitled to sovereignty. The denotation of the word "secret" describes the ways that Indigenous peoples have relied on eclipsing to continue their cultural practices despite legal prohibitions and withheld cultural knowledges when inappropriate to share. Still holding onto the towel, which she has now transformed into a shawl, Spear takes two low, stationary bounce steps, easing her way into the dance, keeping rhythm with the drumbeat, now accompanied by singing. The music, a song by the famed pow wow group, Eyabay, is recognizably Native, which, along with Spear's presence and dancing, reclaims the institutional space as Indigenous. Precisely because of eclipsing, mapping contemporary Indigenous presences onto the land as well as spaces frequently considered non-native—such as institutions and urban areas—has important implications for Native peoples and sovereignties.

Spear's skillful movements also provide insight into fixing and eclipsing as articulated through the body. Her arms, huddled close to her torso as if in a woman's traditional dance, extend like wings, where they will remain for the dance's entirety, dipping from one side to the other. Her head, keeping rhythm with the music, often follows the direction in which she moves—although not always, occasionally she looks back—her gaze turning from side to side, upon the periphery, horizon, floor, and ceiling (see figure 26). Like her footwork, the way Spear turns her head is difficult to decipher, such unpredictability is useful in Indigenous methods of fixing and eclipsing as is being continually aware of one's surroundings. Although her lower body moves the most, maintaining the wingspan also entails incredible exertion and stamina; this suggests the ways that Indigenous peoples have had to condition themselves not to react when encountering tremendous challenges in institutional settings, which can still demand discipline and effort.

Figure 26. Cinnamon Spear in the 1491s's *Laundry*.

Often observers draw parallels between fancy shawl dancers and butterflies (Whitefield-Madrano). Even without colorful regalia, simply and casually attired, Spear, like a butterfly, is physically beautiful; with her slender build and long, thick, swaying ponytail, she fits mainstream conceptions of feminine beauty, what a dancer supposedly looks like. Yet unlike a fancy shawl dancer at a pow wow, Spear's clothing is plain, contrasting dominant depictions of an Indigenous dancer. This again operates to subvert mainstream understandings of Indigenous peoples and practices as only having aesthetic value. Like a butterfly's movement, Spear's dancing is quick; her upright, upper body supports her feet's light touch. At times, Spear does seem to fly (figure 27); after all, it is through nearly superhuman feats that Indigenous peoples and cultures have survived. But a butterfly is also polymorphic, and it is through polymorphism—the disparate meanings that Native peoples have attached to embodied practices and items, such as a towel—that Indigenous peoples have perpetuated their identities. Gradually, Spear draws her knees upward, bringing her thighs nearly parallel to the floor. She dances in a stationary position at first, agilely on the balls of her feet, her knees still high, toes tapping the floor lightly and diagonally across the plane of her body. It is as if she is familiarizing herself with the music, assessing her environment before determining what to offer, how to intervene. Indigenous fixing necessitates such intelligent and improvisatory interventions. Spear bounces to the back of the room; the ball of her foot momentarily touches the ground, then back up in the air, and across her body. Her energetic footwork suggests in part that she is avoiding obstacles as a runner would raise her knee to jump over a hurdle in a race, one challenge and then another, almost an insurmountable number.

Figure 27. Cinnamon Spear in the 1491s's *Laundry*.

But in Spear's dance, avoidance is not enough. Sometimes she lifts her leg, stick straight, as if finding new ways to traverse the challenges (figure 28). Often she follows the dodges with darts, staccato yet fluid footwork. With high knees, she incorporates the obstacles into her dancing, but fixes her response to reflect her own style, informed by cultural teachings and embodied knowledges. Her extension and agility are surprising considering the confined space. Teachers sometimes instruct students in the fancy shawl dance footwork by asking them to envision themselves standing in a box; the foot can move to each of the four sides and on diagonals ("How to Dance Powwow"). Likewise, Indigenous peoples and nations must find ways to negotiate the confines of colonialism to promote their own interests, ways of moving. Learning to move artfully—with poise, grace, and endurance—within the challenges of settler colonialism becomes part of the dance of being Indigenous. In the dance, "there is no particular set of steps to which dancers must adhere, and balance and symmetry are more esteemed than fancy moves" (Whitefield-Madrano). Balance and symmetry are attributes that help to condition equanimity despite challenges, which is a useful skill to develop in Indigenous forms of fixing. Spear then glides forward towards the viewer, taking a few skipping, skimming steps, turns without ever slowing her pace (figure 29). She dances forward again; when it seems that perhaps she has transformed the space into a runway, she does not complete the circuit, but dances briefly in the center. Her movements seem unscripted, irregular, like successful resistance often requires, so the mainstream cannot—at least initially—keep up.

Figure 28. Cinnamon Spear in the 1491s's *Laundry*.


Figure 29. Cinnamon Spear in the 1491s's *Laundry*.

Spear's performance of the fancy shawl dance evokes what Shea Murphy refers to as a "layered sense of time," the notion that the Indigenous past is also present, carried, created, and innovated through Indigenous bodies and practices ("A Compelling Way of Understanding the World"). In the word, "REPRESENT," inscribed over the final image of the film, the prefix "re," meaning "again" or "again and again," highlights a dynamic Native cultural continuity in the Native dancer's embodied presentation (figure 30). This idea is foundational to fixing, which relies on reindigenizing activities and spaces meant to assimilate Native peoples. Spear moves back and forth on the stage that she has created, again and again, at a fantastic pace, as if repeatedly from the present to the past. She then dances to the position in which she began, standing before the dryer. She gracefully circles the shawl around her head, bringing it to the front of her body to fold. The casualness with which she conducts these actions suggests the ways that Indigenous identity, peoples, and practices are always present—although often eclipsed. At the completion of her first fold of the towel, the music fades, so only the sound of the dryer is heard as at the beginning of her performance. This time Spear does not use her chin to fold her towel; the effect is that the Victoria's Secret towel looks different from the others, not as neatly folded. The folded towel notably causes the words "Victoria's Secret"—connoting the Indigenous woman's victory and Indigenous peoples tactics of eclipsing—to become unseen. However, the messiness of the towel and Spear's still dancing feet, which also indicate an omission—that the dancing that has both vanished and continues—beckons the viewer to look closer.

Figure 30. Cinnamon Spear in the 1491s's *Laundry*.

Conclusion: "Still Our Own Indian Selves"

This chapter examines St. Francis officials' attempts to control narratives about the institution that circulated in international articles and educators and students' implementation of fixing and eclipsing in the boarding school setting and beyond through dance and theatrical productions. I use a wide variety of sources to meditate on the recovery of the irrecoverable: Indigenous bodies moving, dancing, and theorizing. By doing so, I make an important intervention into dance, performance, and Native studies by not only highlighting the insufficiency of current methodologies, but also illuminating how creating a new constellation of colonial sources and counter narratives can provide powerful insights into archival omissions.

I find that the subject matter of articles intended for audiences outside the St. Francis setting both reified and departed from the narratives that Jesuits disseminated and asked students to embody within the institution. In both cases, authors retold St. Francis's origin story by underscoring Sicangu Lakota consent in the institution's project, but eclipsed the coercive factors of settler colonialism, which informed Sicangu Lakota leaders' decisions. St. Francis's productions excluded references to Ghost Dance and Sun Dance as well as the Jesuit institution's complicity in extreme and gratuitous violence—namely the Massacre at Wounded Knee. Instead, St. Francis officials sought to fix Native men as the perpetrators of spiritual and physical violence against Indigenous women, as a way to justify the supposed necessity of St. Francis's intervention. Recent attention has rightfully focused on the missing and murdered Native girls and women, violences often committed by non-native perpetrators (Duthu and "Ending Violence Against Native Women," for example); however, it is also critical to highlight that Indigenous boys and men likewise endure brutality, leading to a multitude of adverse circumstances past and present, including incarceration, which I discuss in the next chapter. The disparities in the stories intended for non-native audiences and Sicangu Lakota people indicate officials' awareness of embodied performances as a tool to socialize students and community members as well as the ruptures of fixing, which has remained an unfinished project.

Never has this been clearer than in the contemporary moment. I wrote the initial draft of this chapter amid the actions at the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation—the largest gathering of Native peoples in recent history—where Lakota, Indigenous peoples from all over the world, and non-native allies gathered to prevent the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline or DAPL. The Dakota Access Pipeline—which President Donald Trump approved through executive actions in January 2017—has obliterated Lakota sacred sites and traverses Lake Oahe, a section of the Missouri River. *Mni wiconi*, a Lakota epistemology meaning, "water is sacred," is the still resonating battle cry for this Lakota-led, grassroots, and non-violent movement, which the state of North Dakota has met with at times horrific violence (Fox). Standing Rock's Sacred Stone Camp, where thousand of water protectors remained until President Barack Obama initially denied DAPL in December 2016, offered a medical clinic and school for children. Media coverage of Standing Rock featured Indigenous peoples performing dances, such as jingle and haka (Midge, "War cry for Standing Rock"). Unlike the culturally themed activities at St. Francis, these dances overtly performed resistance. Through Indigenous methods of fixing, as evidenced not only by the actions at Standing Rock, but also in this chapter's discussion of "The Dance House" and *Laundry*, Native peoples continue to subvert the goals of assimilatory institutions by reclaiming their bodies, identities, cultural practices, and sovereign rights. While Indigenous peoples remain vigilant as they work to fix settler colonial projects—as Spear demonstrates in her performance of the fancy shawl dance through her unpredictable head movement and gaze—pushing for structural change that values Indigenous peoples, lands, and epistemologies, such as *mni wiconi*, are vital to our collective survival.

And while culturally relevant dances are certainly a part of these difficult and enduring community struggles, they also provide another very important attribute that one would be remiss not to mention: joy! In the March 1940 issue of *The Sioux Chieftain*, student writer, Anne Hale, penned a rare description of Indigenous embodiment in an article titled, "WASH THEM CLEAN, RING THEM DRY AND IRON THEM NICE":

> A group of laughing girls can be seen each day as they slowly mend (sic) their way to the laundry. Did I say slowly? Correction please: Four of these girls dash down the sidewalk and when they reach the laundry, there is a big skirmish for the lunch pan. The two that resemble Joe Louis in his quick boxing tactics are the ones who return with the buns.
>
> Mondays and Saturdays, the girls work like little bees—yes, we do have a few drones—to get the wash sorted, hung up and taken down again. If you should ever drop in and see a white grotesque figure dancing in and out among the clothes, don't get excited, it's only a girl trying to find out how the rest of the girls manage to get such a thing on the line. Aren't you glad we wash when the sun is bright instead of when the moon is high?
>
> The rest of remaining days are spent in ironing every little fantastic article that appears. Those girls are so skillful with the irons that hardly a dirty mark is left on the white clothing, I won't say much about the colored clothing, it doesn't show if there is a smudge on yours, boys. But don't worry, the girls work so hard with the clothes that you would surely be surprised if you know how these happy, carefree, coy, little girls take pains with the wash.

> I hardly think there is another place that is so much looked-forward to as the work in the laundry. We are still our own Indian selves; we love the pure, open air.
>
> With that I end the latest news in the laundry vicinity.

Hale's idea of the "the pure, open air" is generative as it encourages scholars to continue examining the importance of non-canonical forms of dance in outdoor, educational, carceral, and private settings. In her energetic, enthusiastic, and delightful depiction—which notably did not threaten St. Francis officials enough to warrant the article's removal—Hale reminds her readers of the interconnectedness of embodied practices; that work and play are not always mutually exclusive; and that despite all of the efforts to assimilate Sicangu Lakota people, she and her classmates "are still [their] own Indian selves."

Chapter 3: **Beyond a Politics of *Carceral Liberation* Towards Decolonization**

Introduction

In Chapters One and Two, I offer the theoretical frameworks of *fixing* and *eclipsing* to describe St. Francis Mission School's attempts to dominate students and narratives; these terms also underscore Lakota people's negotiations of institutional aims to suit their own purposes. Using the terms "fixing" and "eclipsing" to describe both the strategies of the oppressor and the tactics of the oppressed highlights how colonial officials and Lakota students employed similar methods for at times very different goals. In contrast to the previous chapters—which focus on a colonial, educational institution—I situate this chapter at a tribal, carceral facility that operates in the present day: *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* (Eagle Life Center), the juvenile hall founded in 2005 on the Rosebud Reservation. (See figure 31 and 32.) As I discuss in the Introduction to this dissertation, for Native American children in the U.S., education has been inextricably tied to incarceration. At Carlisle Indian Industrial Institute, colonial officials applied the methods originally developed to assimilate Native prisoners to socialize Native youth (Adams 45, 154). Examining *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* in conjunction with St. Francis allows me to uncover how the detention facility's project and praxis both perpetuates and departs from that of the mission school.

As I will show, the politics of fixing and eclipsing Indigenous peoples and practices did not expire with colonial institutions, such as St. Francis, but endure in the U.S. government's ongoing attempts to control Native bodies and lands. However, as a tribal *institution* whose stated mission is to socialize young people as ethical and productive citizens of the Lakota nation, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* differs from Lakota *individuals*' reconfiguring of St. Francis's goals through fixing and eclipsing. In this chapter, I use the oxymoron *carceral liberation* to describe how *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* both moves beyond individual and communal acts of fixing and eclipsing and yet still remains limited by the current system. In the context of historical and ongoing human rights violations committed against Native youth related to various methods of confinement—such as boarding schools and detention facilities—*Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* seeks to intervene by maneuvering against the curricula and methods employed by assimilative and punitive institutions. Within the restrictions that the U.S. government imposes, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* employees adopt what I describe as *decolonial tactics* to counter and refute colonial logics of Native dehumanization and displacement and assert Native peoples and nations' interests. Carceral liberation also flags the irony that while imprisoned, Native peoples frequently have greater access to culturally relevant curricula and other educational and even leisure opportunities than they do outside of detention centers.

The word "liberation" builds upon Freirean and Foucauldian discourses and Lakota[39] people's discussion and embodiment of cultural continuity. Although Foucault does not discuss in detail the idea of liberation, he does invoke the concept to articulate how carceral institutions purportedly punish prisoners equally by denying basic human rights (232). Neither Freire nor Foucault adequately account for the dynamics of settler colonialism; I provide a more nuanced narrative that uncovers Native peoples' sacrifice of physical freedom for the ability to participate in cultural practices and understandings of liberation as extending beyond human centric discourses. The term "tactic" draws from Michel de Certeau's differentiation between strategy—

[39] In this chapter, I frequently use the broader term "Lakota" as opposed to the branch specific "Sicangu Lakota" because I also rely on Oglala Lakota peoples' ideas about liberation. Likewise, in discussing the youth imprisoned at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*, I often use the word "Native" rather than "Sicangu Lakota" because in 2014, the facility began to incarcerate youth from other tribes.

modes of power originating from the "'proper' place or institution" (xx)—and tactic, "the place [that] belongs to the other" (xix). I argue that although *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s logics depart from those of assimilative and punitive institutions, they also perpetuate legacies of colonization and confinement. Carceral liberation highlights that the U.S. government—from which the tribal detention center receives its funding—continues to prescribe the terms of Lakota sovereignty while Lakota and other people working at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* negotiate these interactions to promote the wellbeing of Native youth and nations.

I draw on a range of sources to examine the limitations of carceral liberation and how Lakota people have articulated and navigated these challenges. I uncover that a reduction in federal funding has caused *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* to implement culturally relevant curricula and informal caretaking through interactions between Lakota staff and youth. I then ask how does Frank Waln's music video "Oil 4 Blood"—which describes the threat of the Keystone XL Pipeline, comments on colonization and confinement, and calls for the Rosebud Sioux Tribe to implement decolonial tactics—present possibilities for moving beyond a politics of *carceral liberation* towards decolonization?

Figure 31. "Wanbli Wiconi Tipi Video Tour."

Figure 32. "Wanbli Wiconi Tipi Video Tour."

Methods

To analyze *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s project and praxis, I undertake close readings of several sources: interviews with *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* administrators, educators, and staff, a promotional video about the facility, a presentation about the detention center, and a post on *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s Facebook page. I conducted the interviews during annual summer visits to the Rosebud Reservation (2011, 2013, 2014, 2015, and 2016).[40] In the summer of 2013, a film crew interviewed facility administrators to create the promotional video, "Wanbli Wiconi Tipi Video Tour," which the Bureau of Justice Assistance funded. In the fall of 2015, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* Administrator Miskoo Petite gave a talk at UC Berkeley on "Native American Justice System: Incarceration/Rehabilitation on the Rosebud Reservation." I also examine a November 2015 Facebook post that appeared on the detention center's page. The Facebook page functions as a means to communicate *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s activities and events to the larger community. This constellation of sources locates *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* historically and contemporarily, providing insight into its origins, mission, structure, daily operations, and the ongoing challenges that the facility faces.

While this is largely a culturally specific project, this dissertation is also concerned with the broader implications of this research—particularly given the overrepresentation of incarcerated Native youth and the dearth of research about these issues. For this reason, I include testimony given at the U.S. Senate Committee on Indian Affairs' July 2015 Oversight Hearing on "Juvenile Justice in Indian Country: Challenges and Promising Strategies," which indicates how dominant discourses conceptualize Native juvenile delinquency and frame culturally relevant programming. Because it is important and even necessary to think beyond the current system, which continues to devalue Native life and land, I use an approximately fifteen minute documentary titled, "Liberation Day 2014: Lakota resistance to the KXL pipeline," and Frank Waln's "Oil 4 Blood" as theoretical frameworks from Lakota perspectives to uncover alternative imaginings that strive for Native freedom and futurity.

Contextualizing Education and Incarceration for Native American Youth

In the Introduction to this dissertation, I highlight that Native educational institutions operate in the shadow of Indian boarding schools, which emerged in the late 19th century to assimilate Native youth and labeled Native practices as deviant to justify their colonial projects. Literature and mainstream narratives in education and critical prison studies mostly focus on the black/white binary and on men and boys of color in urban areas (see Alexander, Davis, and Rios, for example); less attention is given to the unique experiences of Native American youth, who are citizens of tribal nations. Scholars have yet to examine how the logics of tribal juvenile halls (which, if federally funded, are required by law to educate Native youth) are related to and depart from that of Indian boarding schools. This chapter shifts settings from St. Francis to *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* to ask: how does this tribally run facility, whose mission is to educate and discipline Lakota youth according to tribal norms and values, move beyond strategies and tactics of fixing?

I argue that de Certeau's delineation of strategies and tactics does not consider the unique situation of Native nations and/or institutions, which must negotiate from both spaces of sovereignty—albeit dependent sovereignty—and the other. The legitimacy of the U.S. relies on its representation as the "proper" (de Certeau xx)—in other words, rightful—authority of Turtle

[40] In Summer 2012, I did not conduct research on the Rosebud Reservation as I received a Fulbright Scholarship to the Philippines to research parallels in American colonial education among Native peoples in the U.S. and Filipinos abroad.

Island. Such a construction figuratively and quite literally displaces Native nations and peoples, whose very existence becomes deviant and threatening to the authority of the U.S. Therefore, according to de Certeau, Native nations and institutions must implement tactics. Yet, there is a notable difference between tactics of fixing, which occur primarily unarticulated and unsanctioned on an individual level, and decolonial tactics, which are both overt and subversive—although their ultimate goals, contributing to Native peoples freedom and futurity, may be quite similar. At times, "proper" institutions (de Certeau xx), such as St. Francis Mission School and the U.S. government, sanction fixing and decolonial tactics when these maneuvers support their projects. *Carceral liberation* describes the ways that Native nations, institutions, and peoples have used fixing and decolonial tactics to negotiate the confines of colonialism that mainstream governments have instituted. As I uncover in Chapter Four, Native youth at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* regard the facility and tribal nation as an authoritative institution exercising strategies—*not tactics*—because of the ways that the U.S. government eclipses its influence, and they exert their own fixing of the detention center's programming and mission.

Despite the historical legacies of education and incarceration for Lakota youth and ongoing limitations on sovereignty, in the present day, U.S. and tribal governments generally agree that Native youth should remain in their communities (or at least under the care of Native peoples and institutions) while incarcerated and that culturally relevant curricula benefit Native youth (United States Senate Committee). In U.S. policy discussions and mainstream media, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* has recently received positive attention for its focus on educating and rehabilitating Lakota youth through culturally relevant programming (United States Senate Committee and Horwitz, for example). Yet, there is currently a dearth of information available about tribal juvenile halls and how they implement and sustain culturally relevant curricula. At the U.S. Senate Committee on Indian Affairs' July 2015 Oversight Hearing on "Juvenile Justice in Indian Country: Challenges and Promising Strategies," Addie C. Rolnick, an expert on juvenile justice in Indian country and an Associate Professor of Law at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, stated,

> [T]here is a good reason to think [tribal detention facilities] work better, that the local programs are more responsive, for example, but there is also a reason to think that a jail is a jail or if it is a jail with a lot of traditional elements and decorations, it might not be that different than a jail outside Indian Country.

Rolnick's observation illuminates that tribal juvenile halls may and likely do provide tangible benefits for Native youth; however, these sites ultimately remain carceral facilities. Indeed, because of the passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act in 1978—which allowed Native peoples incarcerated in state and federal institutions to practice their spiritualities—access to Native cultural ceremonies is not unique to tribal jails and juvenile halls, but also occurs in state and federal institutions (Grobsmith 2). By identifying the Native décor common in tribal carceral facilities, Rolnick points to colonial logics of culturally themed curricula, which have often relegated Native cultural contributions to arts and athletics, revealing derogatory ideas about the value of Native epistemologies and practices.

Wanbli Wiconi Tipi

From an aerial view, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* appears as a massive, 55,000 square foot facility in the shape of a man's body lying with his arms outstretched on a forty-eight acre site on the Rosebud Reservation ("Wanbli Wiconi Tipi Video Tour"). (See figure 33.) Facility administrators' description of the gendered body bears significance given that mainstream

narratives frequently depict Native men as figures of resistance; considered within the context of *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s project, the detention center's design reclaims Native men, associating them with wellness. The shape of the facility is also apt considering that the body is a contested space in colonial and contemporary contexts. Alternative names for the facility are the Youth Wellness and Renewal Juvenile Center and the Juvenile Detention Center or "JDC" for short.

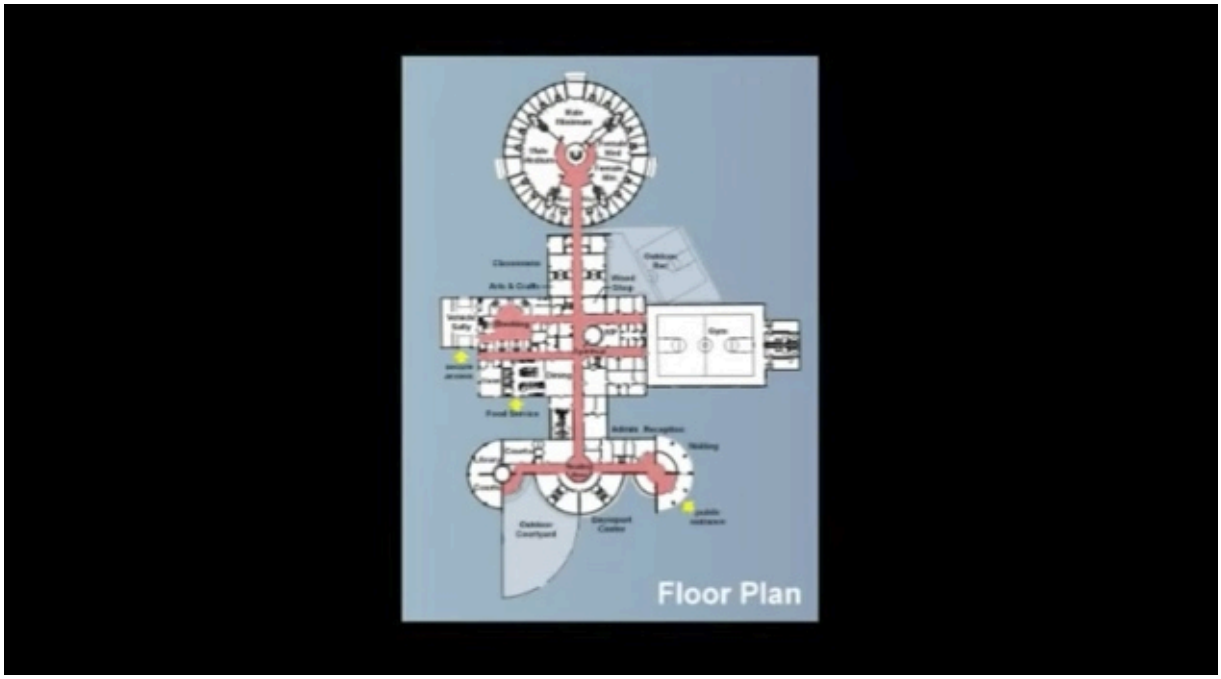

Figure 33. "Wanbli Wiconi Tipi Video Tour."

Prior to *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*, Sicangu Lakota youth were frequently incarcerated at off-reservation facilities, sometimes hours away from their community. *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*, which opened in 2005, is a secure, full-service, thirty-six bed facility, containing separate areas dedicated to maximum, medium, and minimum security settings as well as non-secure areas for Native youth who are in the process of transitioning to release and alternative sentencing spaces ("Wanbli Wiconi Tipi Video Tour"). The US Department of Justice funded the $9.2 million cost of building *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*, and the US Bureau of Indian Affairs and Justice Delinquency program support the $1.4 million annual expense to operate it (Petite). From 2005 to 2014, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* only served Lakota youth from the Rosebud Reservation, ages twelve to seventeen. The facility houses minors—the majority of whom have been involved with substance abuse and are repeat offenders—charged with committing illegal activities, which range from truancy to federal crimes.

In 2013, a U.S. federal sequester that cut funding for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Indian Health Services also strained *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s budget, forcing administrators to reduce staff (Administrator's interview with author). Primarily as a result of the sequester, but also the low population of Sicangu Lakota intakes from the Rosebud Reservation, in April 2014, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* began incarcerating youth from the Crow Creek, Lower Brule, Omaha, Standing Rock Sioux, Turtle Mountain, Winnebago, and Yankton Reservations, where there are no tribal juvenile detention facilities currently operating (Administrator's interview with author).

The increased revenue from these young people has allowed *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* to continue operating despite federal funding reductions (Administrator's interview with author).

With seventy percent of *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s space dedicated to educational programming, the facility's design reflects the focus of its project on Native youth's education and rehabilitation through a Lakota cultural lens (Petite). If the facility is conceived of as a man's body, the circular space of the spiritual room is located at the man's heart. (See figure 30.) There and in the outdoor sweat lodge, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* spiritual leaders conduct healing ceremonies with incarcerated youth, which typically occur weekly—depending on the availability of spiritual leaders (Administrator's interview with author). The spiritual room's positioning within the heart space reflects that tribal leaders envision culturally relevant ceremonies as integral to Lakota youth's education and rehabilitation. *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s mission statement reads,

> 'Wanbli Wiconi Tipi' offers structured care for tribal youth law violators and their families with a special emphasis on the youth of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe (RST). This will be done through a safe and healthy environment for the youth and staff. Adjudicated youth will receive contemporary schooling and services as well as tribal disciplinary practices addressing all aspects of the Lakota culture to restore cultural, societal, kinship values and healthy families. (Petite)

While the mission statement implies a differentiation between mainstream and tribal disciplinary practices, as I discuss in this chapter and in the chapter that follows, the ongoing process of colonization has shifted perceptions of what constitutes "tribal" and even what comprises normative, deviant, and oppressive. The Rosebud Sioux and U.S. governments recognize that Native youths' wellbeing is interrelated to the health of their home environments, which continue to be impacted by the violence of colonialism and its ongoing legacies (Petite and United States Senate Committee). Through the Wellness Court, which requires that youth and their families attend weekly trainings together on topics related to holistic health, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* includes relatives in youths' rehabilitation programs (Administrator's interview with author). The Court also offers an alternative to incarceration, which *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* administrators consider a last resort (Administrator's interview with author). The facility is committed to protecting, nurturing, and disciplining Native youth through practices and programming that center the Lakota culture.

Interestingly, while the wording of the mission statement also suggests a separation between modern educational paradigms and Lakota forms of socialization, in practice, this is not the case as the facility relies on applying both models in working with Native youth. As former *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* psychologist Dr. Patricia Hill stated, "We try to take everything that is normally seen as Western mental health and reshape it into something that is more understanding and culturally relevant" ("Wanbli Wiconi Tipi Video Tour"). Although mainstream narratives frequently portray Native peoples and cultural practices as relegated to the past, extinct, and/or assimilated, Indigenous peoples and cultures are and have always been dynamic. As Scott Richard Lyons writes in *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent*, "[T]he arrival of new technologies, cultural practices, beliefs, and ways of living . . . are sometimes characterized as signs of 'colonization' and 'assimilation' . . . but they can just as well be described as characteristics of modernity" (2). Dr. Hill's statement demonstrates the ways that Lakota peoples continue to incorporate and transform modern innovations while maintaining cultural continuity.

To provide schooling, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* has partnered with both St. Francis Indian School and Todd County School District—both of which are located on the Rosebud Reservation—although the facility currently contracts with Todd County (Administrator's

interview with author). With this support, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* has offered a school for incarcerated Native youth who are on medium and minimum-security settings and a separate day school for delinquent and truant minors who are not currently incarcerated (Administrator's interview with author). Many of the youth at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* perform academically below their grade level and/or have Individualized Educational Programs (IEPs) because of their disabilities (Administrator's interview with author). Imprisoned Native youth in a maximum-security setting are prohibited from attending school; instead, on school days, teachers bring work to the students in the morning, stay with the students for ten to fifteen minutes, and return in the afternoon to answer questions about the assignments and collect work (Administrator's interview with author).

The facility includes eight classrooms, each of which allow for a maximum capacity of twelve students ("Wanbli Wiconi Tipi Video Tour"). The classrooms are equipped with an alarm system and audio and video surveillance system, which allows officers to respond to an incident without requiring that they are present during classroom instruction ("Wanbli Wiconi Tipi Video Tour"). *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* has a library with approximately 5,000 books, two arts and crafts rooms—one allotted for traditional Lakota arts and crafts, such as beadwork and regalia, and the other for woodshop—a full sized gym, and recreation yards ("Wanbli Wiconi Tipi Video Tour"). In addition to the curricula that St. Francis Indian School and Todd Country have provided, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* has also offered its own programming, including: Lakota language and culture classes, Lakota spiritual ceremonies, non-Lakota faith based activities, individual and group counseling sessions, gardening, and recreational activities, such as Lakota arts and crafts, woodshop, and basketball (Petite). According to an administrator, gardening provides youth with a healthy, outdoor activity, and basketball teaches youth about teamwork ("Wanbli Wiconi Tipi Video Tour").

Like St. Francis Mission School, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* officially recognizes only two genders, and young men and women are separated accordingly throughout most of the daily activities (Administrator's interview with author). While youth are typically allowed to participate in any of the activities offered regardless of gender, Lakota and Western norms frequently influence educators' methods of instruction and youths' involvement in the programming (Administrator's interview with author). Evidencing the persistence of traditional Lakota gender norms and methods of education and socialization despite assimilative policies and institutions, educators from the community who offer classes at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* are at times more comfortable teaching youth of the same gender, which is the way that the Lakota have customarily taught young people (Administrator's interview with author). The administrators and educators I spoke with also highlighted that through gender determined dialect variation,[41] the Lakota language reflects the Lakota worldview that men and women have different roles in society. Men and women have varied responsibilities in cultural ceremonies, which require introducing a gendered component into the curricula that allows students to understand their particular tasks. For these reasons, Lakota educators teaching at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* have at times requested that administrators segregate the youth by gender (Administrator's interview with author). Further, students may self-select for programming in a manner that corresponds with dominant gender norms (Administrator's interview with author). Perhaps because woodshop is often perceived as a male space, young women may decline to participate. However, although beadwork is traditionally understood as women's work, both young men and women at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* have generally participated in this activity (Administrator's

[41] In other words, the Lakota language has separate male and female gendered forms.

interview with author). Educators and youth typically view other programs, such as gardening, as "gender-neutral" spaces (Administrator's and youths' interviews with author). However, gender as a social construction still influences participants' experiences while engaging in these activities; future research might consider examining the politics and material conditions of "gender-neutral" spaces in juvenile detention centers.

Decolonial Tactics

I offer the term *carceral liberation* to discuss *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s project and mission, which I argue exemplify what I call *decolonial tactics*. The term *decolonial tactics* describes the practices that Native institutions implement within the restrictions the current system imposes to counter and refute colonial logics of Native dehumanization and displacement and assert Native nations and peoples' interests. Because of systemic limitations on structural and individual levels, decolonial tactics are markedly different from decolonization itself. In their article, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang denounce discourses that coopt "decolonization" as a term and/or framework without acknowledging Native peoples or the "incommensurability" of decolonization. The authors also underscore that decolonization "is not a metaphor for other things we want to do to improve our societies and schools" (1). Instead, as Tuck and Yang expand, "Decolonization brings about the repatriation of Indigenous land and life" (1). Considering the compelling ways that colonialism operates and the invisibilization of Native peoples from mainstream discourses, it is important to illuminate Native peoples' significant contributions and hold them in conversation with possibilities for decolonization.

While not directly concerned with the repatriation of Native lands or the abolishment of the systemic structures that enabled the juvenile detention center's establishment, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s project does aim to alleviate the various injustices that Native peoples have endured while incarcerated and to depart from colonial histories and policies whose legacies extend into the present day and continue to contemporarily disadvantage Native youth, who comprise 44 percent of the Native population in the U.S., ("Native Lives Matter"). As the Lakota People's Law Project's 2015 report, "Native Lives Matter" details, Native peoples are grossly overrepresented in carceral facilities, and the criminal system subjects Native youth to some of the harshest treatments throughout the legal process. The study states,

> More commonly than any other ethnic group, Native Americans suffer the two most severe punishments that juvenile justice can offer, out-of-home placements and a transfer to the adult system. The Center for Disease Control has found that children who are transferred to the adult criminal justice system have a 39 percent higher recidivism rate to violent crime, which is a contributing factor towards the higher arrest and incarceration rate for Native adults. Although Native youth are only 1 percent of the national youth population, 70 percent of youth committed to the Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) as delinquents are Native American, as are 31 percent of youth committed to the BOP as adults. (4-5)

Out-of-home placements in the present day correspond with a historical trajectory of colonial policies—such as the boarding schools and interracial adoption—that have removed Native youth from their communities and cultures. As "Native Lives Matter" indicates, exposing Native youth to the adult criminal justice system has devastating and enduring consequences (6).

Through decolonial tactics, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s project works against the ongoing legacies of colonial logics, policies, and institutions that have frequently denied Native nations' sovereignty, portrayed Native practices as criminal, and sought to socialize Native youth as

ethical and productive citizens of the U.S. nation state. These histories of colonization have helped to prescribe the frameworks in which Native peoples—and indeed other modern subjects—think and act. As Thomas Biolsi writes, the Lakota became modern subjects in the late 19th century through subjection. According to Biolsi, "the processes of subjection largely determined how Lakota people thought—and, to some extent, think—about themselves and 'society' and how they perceived and acted in their own self-interest. This does not mean that an autonomous Lakota culture was obliterated by subjection or that there was no resistance to subjection, but the new forms of individuality, even where resisted, could not be ignored" (30).

Wanbli Wiconi Tipi officials have worked within structures imposed by the U.S. government to negotiate and combat histories of colonial and ongoing violence perpetuated against Native youth. Unlike many Indian boarding schools, which were located off of reservations to facilitate the assimilation process, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* is situated on tribal grounds and centers Lakota cultural practices in the education and rehabilitation of Lakota youth. Even prior to *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s inception, community elders and planners assumed a significant role in shaping the facility's design and project ("Wanbli Wiconi Tipi Video Tour"). The Rosebud Sioux Tribal Land Enterprise selected the site for the facility, and the Tribal Elder Advisory Board, which included medicine men from the Rosebud Reservation, named the facility after they observed an eagle—known in the Lakota culture for its ability to carry prayers to the Creator—circling over the area ("Wanbli Wiconi Tipi Video Tour"). In the present day, Sicangu Lakota tribal members, who comprise the vast majority of administrators, educators, and staff, exercise significant control over the programming (Administrator's interview with author).

Wanbli Wiconi Tipi's project also counters settler colonial logics that have linked Indianness with deviance as an attempt to justify the project of assimilation. Pratt's infamous 'Kill the Indian in him and save the man'[42] pedagogy, which conceptualizes Indianness as distinct from humanity, demonstrates this problematic conflation (Adams 52). As Luana Ross notes, "Through various procedures, state and federal governments have defined Native Americans as 'deviant' and 'criminal'" (5). Despite the injustice of U.S. laws and policies, dominant discourses have positioned the U.S. as the supreme and rightful authority of Turtle Island and therefore represent Native resistance as illegal.

In the "Wanbli Wiconi Tipi Video Tour" promotional video about the facility, an administrator describes, "We're designed by tribal leadership and tribal membership who hold the youth as sacred beings and want to assure that they are treated with respect and that they are given every opportunity to reenter society and contribute to a positive future for the Sicangu Lakota people." This statement succinctly demonstrates how *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* refutes colonial institutions that have usurped tribal authority, criminalized Native peoples—specifically, Native youth—and sought to socialize Native young people as ethical, loyal, and productive citizens of the U.S. The administrator underscores "respect" as instrumental in interactions with Native youth. Victor Rios explains the desire of youth who are labeled deviant to be treated with dignity,

> Institutions in the community coalesce to mark young people as dangerous risks for noncriminal deviant behavior and, as such, deny them affirmation and dignified treatment through stigmatizing and exclusionary practices. As a result, young people strive for dignity, so that their social relations, interactions, and

[42] Pratt's gendered phrasing again reveals the ways that *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s design in the shape of a Native man functions as a decolonial tactic, combating dehumanizing representations of Native peoples and Native men in particular.

> everyday activities become organized around maintaining their freedom and feeling empowered in a social landscape that seems to deny them basic human acknowledgment. While some scholars believe that these kinds of young people are aggressively searching for *respect* [italics mine], for others to pay them homage and help them earn their "stripes," I find that these young men are, at a more basic level, striving for dignity, demanding to be treated as fellow citizens who are innocent until proven guilty. Working for dignity has to do more with a sense of humanity than a sense of power. (39)

While Rios departs from other scholars' understanding of respect, which he defines as "for others to pay them homage and help them earn their 'stripes,'" his interpretation of "dignity" reflects the administrator's delineation of respect, which relates to youths' sacredness and humanity. In this way, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s mission statement is in conversation with and offers alleviation to the injustices that Rios identifies. It also markedly differs from Pratt's educational methods and the contemporary institutional tendencies to criminalize marginalized youth that Rios observes.

With a focus on "Youth Wellness and Renewal," *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* seeks to nurture in Native youth a strong sense that they are valued. Conversely, to aid the project of assimilation, colonization has downplayed the worth of Native peoples and practices. Given the current Native youth suicide epidemic—a byproduct of colonization—the decolonial tactic of asserting Native peoples and practices as sacred is critical and urgent. However, whereas Rios foregrounds the need for society to recognize the humanity of Black and Indigenous young people, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* centers Native youths' sacredness. Sacredness may connote, but is not limited to humanity. Western paradigms hierarchize humans (and create interhuman hierarchies) above animals and inanimate objects (Tuhiwai Smith 48)[43]; conversely, Lakota epistemologies recognize interconnectivity and reciprocity, the praxis of which helps to sustain Lakota futurities and wellbeing (Iron Cloud). In Native ways of knowing, sacredness extends to a reverence for places and objects and commands respect, which is necessary for collective survival. In this way, Lakota epistemologies and socialization methods differ from and enhance understandings of respect in juvenile justice discourses. Further, using the term "sacred"—illustrative of Native epistemologies—rather than the word "humanity" in articulating *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s project indicates how Lakota actors have extended and innovated Lakota concepts into the present day.

By educating and rehabilitating Native youth "to reenter society and contribute to a positive future for the Sicangu Lakota people," *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* directly challenges the goals of colonial institutions on the Rosebud Reservation and beyond to assimilate Native youth as loyal and productive of the U.S.[44] *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* officials also communicate this message to incarcerated young people at the facility: "What we tell youth when they enter the facility is the *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* is a good place to make changes in your life, so that you can contribute to a positive future for the Sicangu Lakota people" ("Wanbli Wiconi Tipi Video Tour"). Contemporary statistics on Native youth and incarceration reveal that imprisonment trains these

[43] Importantly, Linda Tuhiwai Smith notes, "Early European societies would not have made much distinction between human beings and their natural environment," which indicates how Western hierarchies and structures have shifted worldviews (47).

[44] As I have written in Chapter 2, St. Francis Mission School sought to produce U.S. citizens who would serve the settler state; other scholarship also has shown that Indian educational institutions prioritized securing Native youths' loyalty to the U.S. nation state. See Adams for a discussion of "citizenship training" as an "aim of Indian schooling" (24).

young people for recidivism rather than freedom ("Native Lives Matter" 4). In striving to prepare Lakota and other Native youth for release and to promote their respective nations' longevity, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* attempts to work against colonial logics and their enduring legacies. Notably, this is a central component of decolonization. As Tuck and Yang write, whereas "[s]ettler nativism is about imagining an Indian past and a settler future; in contrast, tribal sovereignty has provided for an Indigenous present and various Indigenous intellectuals theorize decolonization as Native futures without a settler state" (13). *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s present decolonial tactics—which enact tribal sovereignty, value Native peoples and practices, and socialize Native youth to contribute to Native nations—point to possibilities for decolonization.

Carceral Liberation

Despite *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s admirable attempts to counter U.S. colonial logics by promoting the health and endurance of the Sicangu Lakota people, culture, and nation, the institution also continues settler strategies. This is in no way a criticism of *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* or its employees, but rather a reflection of the pervasive systemic structures that continue to suppress Native nations' sovereignty. I suggest the term *carceral liberation* to highlight how the settler state has imposed various forms of imprisonment on Native peoples, who have navigated the confines of colonial and carceral settings to further their futurities. Carceral liberation implies that the current system severely restricts Native nations and peoples' freedom—both on structural and individual levels—so that liberation occurs only within colonial frameworks, therefore thwarting tribal sovereignty and decolonization efforts. Perhaps most concerning is what Rolnick refers to as the "tangled web of jurisdiction in which Federal, State and tribal courts all might have power over any particular case is something that is undermining tribal efforts to reform their systems."[45] As prescribed by the Federal Juvenile Delinquency Act, this "web of jurisdiction" allows "federal prosecutors . . . [to] prosecute [Native] kids whether or not a tribe has prosecuted them and whether the tribe wants them to" (United States Senate Committee). By maintaining absolute authority over Native youth who have allegedly committed a crime, the U.S. government's project of fixing continues into the present day, on and off reservations. Further, the U.S. government's ability to intervene in this way essentially replicates its interference into Crow Dog's 1881 murder of *Sinte Gleska*, which I discuss in the dissertation's Introduction. Although "[t]he matter [of *Sinte Gleska*'s murder] was settled according to long-standing Lakota custom and tradition[,] . . . Federal officials charged Crow Dog with murder in a Dakota Territory court" (Indian Law and Order Commission 117). This incident marked the first time that the "Federal government . . . asserted authority over Indian-versus-Indian criminal justice issues in Indian country" and eventually led to the implementation of the Major Crimes Act of 1885, which "for the first time extended Federal criminal jurisdiction to a list of felonies committed on reservations by Indians against both Indians and non-Indians" (Indian Law and Order Commission 117). The Federal Juvenile Delinquency Act maintains the U.S. government's ultimate sovereignty over—and by extension its ability to fix—young, Native bodies. I do not use the term carceral liberation to blame Native peoples or projects for their shortcomings; rather, I use the term to underscore the extensive challenges that Native nations face in order to commend their indomitability and accomplishments despite the restrictions

[45] The capitalization of "Federal" and "State," but not "tribal" in the transcript from the U.S. Senate Committee on Indian Affairs' Oversight Hearing indicates the hierarchy that the U.S. government seeks to impose on Native nations. This is also an example of the U.S. government's attempts to fix the dominant narrative.

settler colonialism imposes.

Whereas mainstream and theoretical discourses on the body, discipline, incarceration, and even colonization frequently exclude Native peoples and nations, carceral liberation simultaneously centers both the particularities and vast cultural diversity of Indigenous peoples' experiences. As Tuck and Yang highlight, Freire's articulation of liberation in regard to colonization is vague and overlooks the dynamics of the settler state:

> Freire positions liberation as redemption, a freeing of oppressor and oppressed through their humanity. Humans become 'subjects' who then proceed to work on the 'objects' of the world (animals, earth, water), and indeed read the word (critical consciousness) in order to write the world (exploit nature). For Freire, there are no Natives, no Settlers, and indeed no history, and the future is simply a rupture from the timeless present. Settler colonialism is absent from his discussion, implying either that it is an unimportant analytic or that it is an already completed project of the past (a past oppression perhaps). . . . Freire's philosophies have encouraged educators to use 'colonization' as a metaphor for oppression. (20)

Interestingly, alongside invisibilizing settler colonialism, Freire also positions humans as exploiters of nature. For Freire "Liberation [is] a human phenomenon" (Freire 53). However, Freire unfortunately equates "humans" with Europeans and Western ways of knowing. Sicangu Lakota epistemologies and spiritualities respect the land and water as sacred, which are ideas and practices that carry into the present day as evidenced by Sicangu Lakota actions to prevent the Keystone XL Pipeline, which would traverse Lakota lands and endanger the Ogallala Aquifer, one of the world's largest aquifers. *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* familiarizes the youth incarcerated there with these Lakota philosophies through its culturally relevant curricula and ceremonies. As a *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* official stated, "What our sweat lodge represents . . . is our mother earth" ("Wanbli Wiconi Tipi Video Tour"). This Lakota form of socialization seeks to prepare youth to make positive contributions to the Lakota nation—which may be interpreted as combative to the U.S.—including defending its people and lands against threats like Keystone XL. Unlike Freire's scholarship, carceral liberation accounts for settler colonialism and collusions between Western and Lakota epistemologies and practices. Decolonization must transcend Western discourses that invisiblize settler colonialism and equate liberation with humanity by recognizing the interconnectivity of humans and their non-human relatives, "animals, earth, and water" (Tuck and Yang 20).

Likewise, although Foucault is not considered a philosopher of liberation, in underscoring the supposedly "universal" punishment that the prison inflicts, he does not account for histories of U.S. colonization and "an entangled triad structure of settler-native-slave," which has persistently denied Native and African Americans freedom (Tuck and Yang 1). In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of a Prison*, Foucault writes,

> This 'self-evident' character of the prison, which we find so difficult to abandon, is based first of all on the simple form of 'deprivation of liberty.' How could prison not be the *par excellence* in a society in which liberty is a good that belongs to all in the same way and to which each individual is attached, as Duport put it, by a 'universal and constant' feeling? Its loss has therefore the same value for all; unlike the fine, it is an 'egalitarian' punishment (232).

However, contrary to Duport's and Foucault's claims, Native and African Americans have largely not experienced this "'universal and constant feeling'" of liberty nor has incarceration

held "the same value for all." In the Native American context, the federal government did not grant Native peoples citizenship until 1924, and Congress did not pass the Native American Religious Freedom Act—which at least in theory guaranteed the right of Native peoples to practice their spiritualities—until 1978. Further, the word "liberty" denotes freedom from imprisonment, forced labor, and governmental control. Yet, Indian boarding school scholarship documents the forcible removal of Native youth from their communities for education in off-reservation boarding schools. Some of these institutions required and in some cases financially depended upon Native youth to perform forced labor. On a structural level, liberty also implies Native nations' sovereignty, which the U.S. government continues to restrict.

Alongside drawing attention to the unequal treatment of Native peoples—both de facto and de jure—in comparison to their European American counterparts, carceral liberation also underscores the contradictions of carcerality. As an oxymoron, carceral liberation describes the phenomenon that Native peoples may gain the ability to participate in cultural practices otherwise unavailable to them as a result of sacrificing their physical freedom. This is often because officials have recognized that Native cultural practices can benefit federal and state institutions' projects by positively enhancing their public relations. Brad Lookingbull details that Pratt organized cultural exhibitions, which the incarcerated Plains Indian warriors performed for non-Native tourists (91-92). Jacqueline Shea Murphy highlights that Native peoples used such opportunities to perpetuate their Native identities and engage with cultural practices (67-70). Likewise, boarding schools—another realm of Native confinement—have historically engaged in similar practices by allowing Native peoples to practice their cultures when these performances served the institutions (see Chapter Two, for example). These exhibitions created meaningful opportunities for Native peoples to connect with their Indigenous cultures and identities.

In the present day, these carceral legacies continue. While tribal facilities differ from state and federal institutions, youth imprisoned at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* have often had unparalleled access to Lakota language classes, culturally relevant curricula and ceremonies, and leisure activities—such as river rafting and video games—that are frequently not available to them and/or mandated in school settings (Administrator's and youths' interviews with author). *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s centering of culturally relevant curricula has made the institution a standout in U.S. discussions surrounding Native youth and the justice system and mainstream narratives (see United States Senate Committee and Horwitz, for example). Dominant discourses about incarceration frequently celebrate culturally relevant programs and facilities without acknowledging how histories of carceral liberation—i.e. supporting purported "liberation" within spaces of confinement—are indicative of colonial violence (United States Senate Committee) and in particular, "settler moves to innocence" (Tuck and Yang 10). As Tuck and Yang describe, "[s]ettler moves to innocence are those strategies or positionings that attempt to relieve the settler feelings of guilt or responsibility without giving up land or power or privilege, without having to change much at all. . . . [S]ettler moves to innocence are hollow, they only serve the settler. . . . [Settler moves to innocence are] excuses, distractions, and diversions from colonization" (10). Despite the determination of *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*, its board, and staff to decolonize juvenile justice, they face a fiscal and governing environment that pushes them to fall into line with the dominant society's vision of detention and juvenile correction. The danger is that *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* risks serving "settler moves to innocence"—regardless of the Lakota community's goals (Tuck and Yang 10). While to an extent *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* has operated under tribal sovereignty by naming and designing the facility as well as creating, contracting, and maintaining its programming, the U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and

Justice Delinquency program have specifically allocated millions of dollars to imprison Native youth on the Rosebud Reservation in a permanent, carceral facility that employs a majority of tribal citizens. The *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* administrators whom I spoke with frequently stated that they believed Native youth benefited from participating in the facility's culturally relevant activities, which they believe have healing and rehabilitative qualities. Yet an administrator I spoke with also indicated that whereas a guardian's permission is not required for youth to participate in Christian faith-based practices, it is for Lakota spiritual ceremonies. One *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* staff member told me that the facility now requires a minor's guardian to sign a waiver in order for the youth to enter a purification (sweat lodge) or healing ceremony. This effectively marks Christian practices as normative and Lakota as aberrant. However, the Sicangu Lakota and other Indigenous peoples have also reindigenized or fixed Christianity, which complicates an understanding of these practices as solely settler colonial culture.

Similarly, in testimony given at the Oversight Hearing on Juvenile Justice in Indian Country, Rolnick asserted that integrating traditional tribal practices into educational programming likely helps Native youth; however, Rolnick also underscored the importance of intervening prior to incarceration and conceptualizing delinquency programs more broadly:

> [W]hen we usually think of the justice system, we think of the flagship detention facilities [such as *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*] and the courts. There is a lot more to it and I think it is really important to remember the other parts of it. For significant mental health treatment or incarceration, it is hard to tell which of those programs work. I think the ones that do incorporate tradition but maybe not only traditional approaches. There is probably a lot more that needs to go into those. I think where you see the incorporation of tribal traditions flowering more is at the early intervention stages. A lot of tribes run what we usually do not think of as delinquency programs [so] leadership programs. Santa Clara Pueblo has a running club for kids. It is not part of their detention system or part of their juvenile system, but running is traditional to [Tewa] people who are runners. They are incorporating something that is traditional. It is just an activity at this point, not officially part of their juvenile system. Those programs incorporate what is already going on in the community and historically what the kids and people have done actually are already successful. Kids end up going to them. They are the ones who go to Washington and become leaders before they get into the system. That is the part I think we need to think of in terms of funding as part of juvenile justice, not something that is outside of it.

In her testimony, Rolnick references the White House Tribal Youth Gathering—supported by United National Indian Tribal Youth, the Department of Justice, and the Department of Health and Human Services. "The Youth Gathering [built] on [President Obama's] launch of Generation Indigenous, an initiative to help improve the lives of Native youth and to cultivate the next generation of Native leaders" (The White House). As President Obama articulated at the White House Tribal Nations Conference, held in December 2014, "We want to give those young people and young Native Americans like them the support they deserve. We have to invest in them, and believe in them, and love them. And if we do, there's no question of the great things they can achieve—not just for their own families, but for their nation and for the United States" (The White House). Interestingly, the project of the Tribal Youth Gathering recalls Indian education rhetoric from the late 19th and 20th centuries that sought to produce Native students' loyalty to the U.S. with the exception that President Obama also

references the futurity of tribal nations. However, President Obama's rhetoric glosses over the fact that settler state projects are frequently opposed to those of tribal nations, whose very existence challenges the legitimacy and sovereignty of the U.S.

Caught between these at times diametrically opposed politics and projects, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* exemplifies carceral liberation. As Rolnick notes in the prepared statement she submitted to the Oversight Committee:

> Another important factor is the traditional beliefs of that community regarding justice and childrearing. Tribal justice systems that incorporate tribal culture and tradition tend to be more focused on restorative justice, community well being and treatment and healing, and less focused on adversarial process and individualized punishment. In addition to culturally specific beliefs about justice, a tribal system might also be guided by culturally specific beliefs about youth. For many tribes, these include beliefs about the importance of respect and guidance for youth who have gotten into trouble. All of these factors suggest that, given the freedom to design a juvenile justice system appropriate for their community, many tribal governments would choose one that emphasized treatment, traditional approaches, and community-based intervention over incarceration and punishment. (16)

Yet although *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* officials are dedicated to helping heal Lakota and other Native youth, by funding the facility, the U.S. government attempts to continue fixing the relationship between colonization and confinement, education and incarceration for Native youth, and federal and state control over disciplining and socializing young, Native bodies.

Evidencing the politics of carceral liberation and perhaps also pointing to an uneven distribution of funding that privileges incarceration over education, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* administrators have employed the facility in strategic ways to support other educational programming on the Rosebud Reservation. For instance, in November 2015, a *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* administrator posted a photo on the facility's Facebook page that depicts a group of children and two educators from the Rosebud Sioux Tribe's (RST) Head Start Program visiting the detention center (Wanbli Wiconi Tipi/JDC). The caption reads,

> We had some awesome visitors this morning from the RST Head Start Program. We discussed the importance of Education, Respect and learning about our Lakota Culture. I gave them a Lakota Language test and they passed with flying colors. We gave them some WWT Logo Frisbees, lip balm and candy and encouraged them to have a safe and happy holiday. Thanks to all the RST Head Start Programs for the excellent work that you do in working with our children! (Wanbli Wiconi Tipi/JDC).

The caption indicates how *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* administrators have transformed this carceral setting into a desirable and rewarding place for young children to visit, which—much like their Head Start Program—emphasizes the importance of Lakota culture. While the visit may be an educational and enjoyable experience for the children, they are nevertheless taking a field trip to a detention center.

Reductions in federal funding have also forced *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* to make accommodations, which have effectively shifted the facility's original commitments to exclusively serve Sicangu Lakota youth (Administrator's interview with author). The revenue brought in from incarcerating youth from other reservations has been instrumental in maintaining the facility; however, transferring youth from other reservations to *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* for education and rehabilitation also replicates boarding school histories that forcibly or coercively removed Native young people from their families and communities. There are many obstacles

that prevent even Sicangu Lakota families living on the Rosebud Reservation from visiting their incarcerated relatives—including a reliable vehicle or resources for gas money—which are significantly magnified by geographic distance (Administrators' interview with author). However, a primary difference between boarding school histories and *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s actions is that the facility's goal is not assimilation, but Lakota socialization. Considering the documentation of widespread racism in the Great Plains towards Native peoples that occurs in carceral facilities and beyond, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*—which is primarily staffed by Sicangu Lakota citizens who receive culturally competent training ("Wanbli Wiconi Tipi Video Tour")—offers Native youth a healthier and safer environment than state and federal institutions.

Furthermore, in discussing the benefits that traditional practices offered Native youth in the present day, Rolnick references the running club that the Tewa people operate. However, especially considering the binary of traditional and modern and/or assimilated that mainstream narratives impose on Indigenous peoples and practices, it is also important to understand that tradition shifts over time. Therefore, Indigenous cultural practices, which remain rooted in traditional values since time immemorial, may have transformed with modernity. As I uncover in Chapter One, Sicangu Lakota people recognize strong connections between basketball—which is immensely popular on the Rosebud Reservation, among Native peoples in the Great Plains, and throughout the U.S.—and traditional tribal games to the extent that one elder stated, "basketball was invented on the reservations." At *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*, basketball is also a popular activity among Native youth. These insights suggest the importance of not only viewing juvenile delinquency programs more broadly, but also practices deemed "traditional," which may enhance strategies to further serve Native youth. In Chapter Four, I center interviews with Native youth imprisoned at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* to illuminate their varied understandings of what constitutes culturally relevant curricula and its relationships to tradition and modernity.

Liberation in the Lakota Context

Carceral liberation not only makes an intervention into Freirean and Foucauldian discourses by revealing the historical and contemporary limitations on Native peoples' freedom; the concept also centers Lakota ideas about liberation. Founded in 1998, Lakota Liberation Day—a commemoration of the American Indian Movement's 1973 Wounded Knee Occupation—includes a walk in which groups from each of the four directions converge at Wounded Knee to honor the sacrifices that Lakota people have made to preserve their ways of life (Ibanez). The embodied action of the walk bears significance given the ways that the U.S. government has sought to fix the meanings of Native bodies and embodied practices and Lakota peoples' willingness in the past and present to make sacrifices in order to protect the people, their practices, and the earth. As renowned Oglala Lakota activist Debra White Plume stated about preventing the Keystone XL Pipeline, "If the paper war isn't successful, then we need warriors. We need warriors who are ready and trained and willing to stand up to fight for whatever was said in those papers. Resistance by the Lakota nation against the Tar Sands coming through our lands and waters is going to be a physical resistance. We will have our bodies out there, and we will stop that Pipeline from being constructed if it's approved by President Obama" ("Liberation Day 2014").

As White Plume articulates, Lakota definitions of liberation—unlike Freirean discourses—recognize the layers of connection among humans and their non-human relatives and the continuity between the past and present, which results both from systems of oppression

and the extension of Lakota cultural practices and values into the present day. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes,

> It angers us when practices linked to the last century, and the centuries before that, are still employed to deny the validity of indigenous peoples' claim to existence, to land and territories, to the right of self-determination, to the survival of our languages and forms of cultural knowledge, to our natural resources and systems for living within our environments. (1)

Tuhiwai Smith describes various ways that systems of oppression adversely impact Native peoples, practices, and places. Dominant discourses represent those who strive to protect mother earth and water—or "sacred life" according to Lakota ways of knowing—as "activists," which illuminates the ways mainstream society normalizes the disconnect between people, land, and water. As Justin Roland discusses in a 2014 video made about Lakota Liberation Day:

> Being Lakota is the greatest thing in the world, but it is also the hardest life ever because we have to grow up watching this. The dominant society destroys everything of ours. They pollute our air. They cut down our water. They cut down our trees. They're raping mother earth. They're just killing her. And us as Indigenous people, we don't want to be activists, but that's what we're being forced to be. ("Liberation Day 2014")

Lakota worldviews provide important insights into sustainability and collective survival; yet these understandings often conflict with capitalist ideologies and projects.

Further demonstrating Lakota understandings of connections among historical and contemporary events, the Lakota Liberation Day video opens with a title that states, "A Four Directions walk to the mass grave of the Lakota ancestors in Wounded Knee, SD brings up recollections of past struggles as the present struggle to stop the KXL Pipeline wages on." As the site of the 1890 Massacre and the 1973 Occupation, Wounded Knee symbolizes U.S. violence committed against the Lakota and their ongoing resistance. One of the leaders depicted in the video, Aloa Martinez, who is Oglala Lakota, also discusses Lakota protests against the uranium mining that occurred on Pine Ridge from the 1970s to the 1990s, which she relates to the present threat of the Keystone XL Pipeline. Addressing community members, Martinez asks, "Do you want your kids to have water? Do you want your grandchildren to have water? I'm really honored to be part of this resistance and part of this movement that refuses to give up. That refuses to bow down" ("Liberation Day 2014"). Lakota conceptions of liberation consider Native peoples' futurity and recall their strength and indomitability. Likewise, an unidentified Native woman in the film states,

> With this pipeline coming in, and they're going to go across our aquifer, we'll have no chance at all for survival. We're here. We're going to make our stand. We're going to fight until the end. Our people are suffering from so many, many genocidal events going on: alcoholism, suicides, rapes. . . . And now they want to take our water? Now they want to take our children's future for money. ("Liberation Day 2014")

This passage delineates the threat of the Keystone XL Pipeline to the Lakota and decries capitalist values, which accept money as compensation for Lakota life, lands, and futurity.

Whereas both resistance against the Keystone XL Pipeline and *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s approach to juvenile detention constitute decolonial tactics aimed at protecting Lakota people and ways of life, the settler state funds the juvenile detention center, and as such, curtails the possibilities of these decolonial tactics. Resistance against the Keystone XL Pipeline "unsettles"

the settler state, which Tuck and Yang identify as a characteristic of decolonization—though not evidence of decolonization itself, which "doesn't have a synonym" (3). In November 2014, former Rosebud Sioux President Cyril Scott issued this statement:

> The House has now signed our death warrants and the death warrants of our children and grandchildren. The Rosebud Sioux Tribe will not allow this pipeline through our lands. . . . We are outraged at the lack of intergovernmental cooperation. We are a sovereign nation, and we are not being treated as such. We will close our reservation borders to Keystone XL. Authorizing Keystone XL is an act of war against our people. (Indian Country Today Media Network Staff)

In this statement, President Scott performs an interesting decolonial tactic by asserting tribal powers not recognized by the U.S. government. Native nations in the U.S. do not have the authority to declare war (Lenzerini 165-168). President Scott therefore challenges the supremacy of the U.S. nation state. In November 2014, the Senate rejected a Keystone XL Pipeline bill, so no incidents transpired; however, this does not prohibit other versions of the bill from passing in the future.

Contemporary Sicangu Lakota people implement decolonial tactics in a variety of ways and realms. Cultural productions provide yet another space for critiques of colonialism and decolonial tactics aimed at decolonization. To further illuminate decolonial possibilities surrounding Indian education, incarceration, and the repatriation of Lakota life and land on tribal terms, I conduct a close reading of award-winning hip hop artist Frank Waln's music video "Oil 4 Blood" (2013).

From Carceral Liberation to Decolonization? A Synopsis and Analysis of "Oil 4 Blood"

The term *fixing* derives in part from photographs depicting a shirtless Lakota boy and student at St. Francis posed in front of a U.S. flag with the letters "U-S-A" painted on his torso. As I will demonstrate, there are striking parallels between the 1950s photographs of the shirtless Lakota boy marked with the letters "USA" and the 2013 music video "Oil 4 Blood," but for conflicting purposes, which illustrate the differences between St. Francis' methods and *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s decolonial tactics. From a Sicangu Lakota perspective, the music video critiques U.S. colonization—including collaborations between the federal government and the Rosebud Sioux Tribe, such as *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*—capitalism, and presents tactics for Lakota liberation. I ask, from Waln's perspective, what is the alternative to *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*?

The title "Oil 4 Blood," which describes the threat of the Keystone XL Pipeline, links Lakota lands and Lakota bodies—two sacred elements—both of which must be repatriated for decolonization to occur. Lakota and pan-Indian spiritualities recognize the number "four" as sacred because it draws parallels between nature and humans, such as the four directions, seasons, and life stages. The music video's title also portrays Lakota lands and bodies as sites of violence—oil is mother earth's blood—and suggests that Lakota people are willing to make embodied sacrifices to protect the land.

The video's opening shot provides a critique of U.S. colonialism, which has sought to assimilate and control Native peoples through various mechanisms of confinement—boarding schools, prisons, and reservations. Depicted in a still shot with a black background, Waln is blindfolded with his mouth taped. The tape is marked in black with the letters "NDN," which I will later discuss. (See figure 34.) In the subsequent shot—which portrays Waln sitting in a single chair facing the camera—the video reveals that his wrists are also bound. Waln wears a tan colored, button up "work shirt," indistinct enough to connote prisoners, soldiers, and

students' uniforms. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault—discussing disciplinary power as a normalizing mechanism—writes, "in its function, the power to punish is not essentially different from that of curing or educating" (303). In the Native context, in which colonial officials sought to fix the bodies of youth, punishing, curing, and education are perhaps even more conflated. Waln likewise highlights these connections through the various connotations of his work shirt. A red and white striped cloth—which at the end of the video is revealed as a U.S. flag—blindfolds Waln and his taped mouth and bound wrists further reinforce the theme of imprisonment. While Foucault creates somewhat of a distinction between schools and prisons, again this analysis does not account for the experiences of Native peoples. Foucault notes,

> In several respects, the prison must be an exhaustive disciplinary apparatus: it must assume responsibility for all aspects of the individual, his physical training, his aptitude to work, his everyday conduct, his moral attitude, his state of mind; the prison, much more than the school, the workshop or the army, which always involved a certain specialization is 'omni-disciplinary' (235-236).

Boarding schools for Native youth, such as St. Francis, have displayed many of the same "omni-disciplinary" characteristics as prisons. David Wallace Adams points to the relationships between prisons and Native boarding schools as "total institutions." Relying on Erving Goffman's delineation of "total institutions," Adams states, "[Native boarding schools] clearly fulfill the requirements of Hoffman's definition and even appear to go beyond it" (358).

Figure 34. Frank Waln's "Oil 4 Blood."

Waln's restraints symbolize the ways that colonizers and the U.S. government have sought to control Native sovereignty on individual and national levels and the ways that Native peoples have negotiated these interactions despite power differentials. The white tape, inscribed in black with the letters "NDN," seals Waln's mouth. Christopher Columbus, mistakenly believing that he had arrived in India, used the word "Indian" to portray Native peoples. However, the shorthand spelling "NDN" is generally understood as an insider term and a fixing

of the word "Indian," which exemplifies Native peoples' reclaiming of an inaccurate, at times derogatory term. Static—what appears to be a poor connection—ruptures the music and the shot of Waln. This detail locates Waln in an unquestionably contemporary setting, which is an important political tactic given the ways that dominant discourses depict Native peoples as static and/or extinct. Waln's body jars from side to side, symbolizing the rupture and violence of U.S. colonialism. The next shot is of Waln's wrists, which are bound together, shackle-like, with another red and white striped cloth. Again, not until the end of the video, is it divulged that this is the Rosebud Sioux Tribe flag.

The flag tying Waln's wrists suggests both a critique of the tribe—and indeed his lyrics make this idea explicit—and a significant departure from St. Francis methods of fixing by foregrounding Lakota nationalism, which is a decolonial tactic. Later in the music video, Waln raps "most my tribal leaders wack." While Tuck and Yang discuss that "[d]ecolonization is accountable to Indigenous sovereignty and futurity" (35), Indigenous sovereignty should not be romanticized as innocent or always in the interest of Indigenous futurity. The Rosebud Sioux Tribe—like all other nation-states—enacts forms of oppression, and in fact, non-native lawyers in Washington, D.C. designed the Rosebud Sioux Tribe and its constitution. The carceral and disciplinary nature of *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* are a direct effect of the underlying law and order, and judicial apparatus of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe, which is why incarcerating Native youth in a tribal detention center may constitute for some an act of sovereignty.

From the shot of Waln, the video moves outdoors to depict a boy, arms outstretched to hold the Rosebud Sioux flag. (See figure 35.) The first audible words are heard, "Everything's RED," which evokes a few different connotations: reference to Native peoples, a state of emergency, and if red is understood as "read," a commentary on mainstream media's typecasting of Native peoples—which is a prevalent theme in the video—and the ways that Waln employs the written word to fix these narratives. Waln's "Everything's RED" counters mainstream representations and textbook histories that invisibilize Native peoples and nations. Like the title of the video, "Oil 4 Blood," "Everything's RED" suggests violence; the color red also connotes urgency, perhaps to propel viewers into actions that defend mother earth. An emphasis on Sicangu Lakota nationalism and sovereignty continues into the next scene, which features Waln—center screen—also holding the Rosebud Sioux flag and behind him, another artist, a young man about Waln's age who plays a handheld drum. (See figure 36.)

Figure 35. Frank Waln's "Oil 4 Blood."


Figure 36. Frank Waln's "Oil 4 Blood."

Waln's attire, a t-shirt and camouflage shorts, references and combats histories of U.S. assimilation policies and mainstream narratives about Native peoples. Although the graphics on Waln's t-shirt are not visible until later in the video, they depict: a U.S. flag, two figures beneath—perhaps politicians—with skulls for heads wearing suits, and at the bottom of the shirt, the word "OBEY" in all capital letters. (See figure 37.) "[R]ooted in the Do It Yourself counterculture of punk rock and skateboarding," Shepard Fairey's OBEY Clothing "[w]ith biting sarcasm verging on reverse psychology . . . goads viewers, using the imperative 'obey,' to take heed of the propagandists out to bend the world to their agendas" ("Since 1989"). Here, Waln's very presence serves as an affront to histories of genocidal policies perpetuated against Native peoples and their practices by the U.S. government. While Waln is very much alive, his shirt depicts the skull-suit figures as dead, a reversal of dominant tropes that portray Native peoples as extinct as an attempt to obscure the ongoing violence of colonization. Understood metaphorically, the dead politicians connote a spiritual demise, which might lead a person to devalue Lakota life and sacrifice water—or "sacred life"—for profit. Conversely, since they are not racially specific, the dead figures also suggest tribal leaders complicit with U.S. nationalism and/or other forms of corruption who are notably not exempt from Waln's criticism. Like the boy branded with the painted letters "U-S-A" in the 1950s photograph, the U.S. nation state marks Waln; he literally wears it. Through the use of the "NDN" tape that covers Waln's mouth at the opening and close of the music video, the artist alludes to histories in which Native peoples—like the boy at St. Francis—did not have the liberty to speak. Notably, Waln relies on the written word—as did St. Francis officials—to fix dominant discourses.

Unlike the boy in the 1950s photograph, Waln's voice is audible to the viewer, and the artist-activist relies on other visual signifiers to convey his critique. Throughout the video, Waln and the man playing the handheld drum wear large beaded medallions, which as bold jewelry are consistent with hip hop style and also highlight their Native pride. (See figure 37.) Waln wears two medallions: one a medicine wheel and the other indecipherable, but also in medicine wheel colors. In the context of the video—which promotes Lakota practices and values—and juxtaposed with the beaded medallions that Waln wears, the t-shirt emerges as strikingly ironic and conveys Lakota resistance. Clearly, Waln and his ancestors have refused to "OBEY" the U.S. nation state, because they have remained Sicangu Lakota.


Figure 37. Frank Waln's "Oil 4 Blood."

Through the use of other symbols, Waln "(re)maps" Sicangu Lakota presence and sovereignty onto the land. (Re)mapping evidences collective and individual decolonial tactics. Mishuana Goeman describes, "(re)mapping . . . [is] the labor Native authors and the communities they write within and about undertake, in the simultaneously metaphoric and material capacities of map making, to generate new possibilities" (3). She discusses the ways that "Native narratives . . . mediate and refute colonial organizing of land, bodies, and social and political landscapes" (3). Similarly, though with a focus on performance as well as writing, Shari Huhndorf observes that Native cultural productions have "defie[d] the colonial erasure of Native peoples exemplified by absences on the map, and . . . trace[d] a continuous indigenous presence on the land that challenges U.S. possession" (2). By referencing Turtle Island in the video, the pan-Indigenous name for North America, Waln and the other artist featured—the young man also dressed in casual, contemporary clothing who keeps rhythm with a hand-held, painted drum that features a large green turtle—reclaim the landscape. (See figure 37.) Turtles have many connotations in Lakota culture and are considered ceremonial and sacred animals. The background of the drum is painted medicine wheel colors: red, white, black, and yellow. The turtle drum and the medicine wheel colors indicate the persistence of Lakota epistemologies into the present, including their aptness in critiquing contemporary crises, such as the threat of the Keystone XL Pipeline.

Further departing from St. Francis officials' methods of fixing and illuminating decolonial tactics, the video transitions to a still shot of a young man's flexed and tattooed bicep, which features the Rosebud Sioux flag. (See figure 38.) The Sicangu Lakota body still appears as a site of international struggles; however, a tattoo—unlike the painted body of the minor at St. Francis—typically connotes an ideology that one has self-selected rather than one that has been imposed or coerced. The tattoo appears a second time in the video when Waln rhymes, "Forever tribal with no connection to the bible." In the image accompanying these lyrics, two young men display their right biceps, tattooed with the Rosebud Sioux flag. (See figure 39.) The lyrics

"Forever tribal with no connection to the bible" counter narratives of Native assimilation into U.S. nationalism, which, as at St. Francis, was often accompanied by conversion to Christianity. However, in reality settler colonialism continues to shape the parameters of Native sovereignty on individual and structural levels, as demonstrated by the wavier that *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* requires for youth to participate in Lakota spiritual ceremonies. Waln's lyrics therefore illustrate his reimagining of Sicangu Lakota histories and entertaining of possibilities outside the current system.

Figure 38. Frank Waln's "Oil 4 Blood."

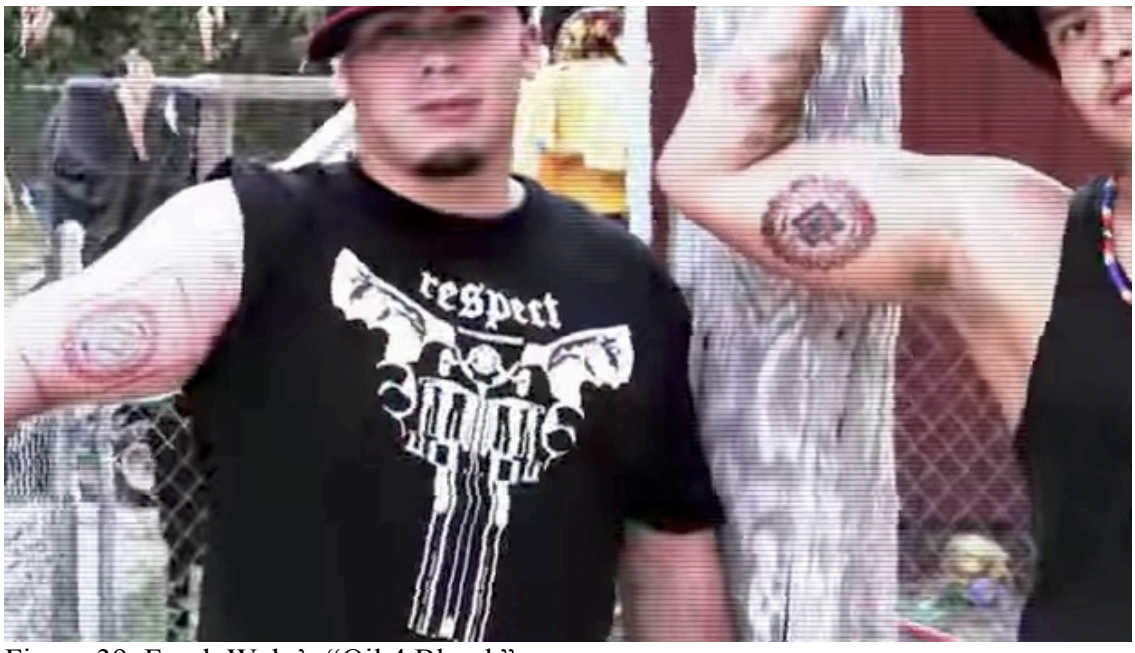

Figure 39. Frank Waln's "Oil 4 Blood."

One of the young men with a Rosebud Sioux flag tattoo wears a t-shirt in which the word "respect" is written above two pistols, their barrels butting against one another (see figure 39); the association of the tattoo with the t-shirt constitutes a decolonial tactic by demanding respect for Rosebud Sioux sovereignty and envisioning Lakota futurity.[46] Waln's video underscores that in the Lakota context, young men, who are citizens of their tribal nation, strive for recognition not only at the individual but also the national level. The importance of respecting the Rosebud Sioux Tribe's authority is key in the context of Keystone XL, because if the U.S. government took seriously the Lakota nation's sovereignty, the Pipeline would never be built. Putting President Scott's words that the U.S. House of Representatives vote for the Keystone XL Pipeline was as an "act of war" in conversation with the t-shirt displaying two pistols suggests what can and has happened when conflicts arise between the U.S. and Native nations.

The emphasis on the Rosebud Sioux Tribe and Lakota nationalism continues as the music video transitions to another young man standing center screen and holding the tribal flag. (See figure 40.) Behind him is the mural—which Frank rapped in front of earlier, painted in medicine wheel colors—depicting Native people holding hands in solidarity and Native animals. The eagle, coyote, horse, and buffalo surround a medicine wheel; alongside the Native people, this portrayal represents relationships between humans and their non-human relatives. These understandings are instrumental in Lakota opposition to the Keystone XL Pipeline. The stylistic rendering of the mural also suggests Lakota winter counts or tribal pictorial histories that record important events. Winter counts convey Lakota perspectives and practices, marking a longstanding mode of Lakota self-representation. As such winter counts are a precursor to Waln's contemporary form of Lakota representation: a hip hop music video.

Figure 40. Frank Waln's "Oil 4 Blood."

[46] Rios writes that "marginalized Black and Latino young men's actions must be understood in the context of wanting to be acknowledged, to feel accepted, to feel human, instead of the typical assessment that they are power-hungry, preemptive, respect-seeking individuals, as most accounts make them out to be" (40).

Linking the violence committed against Lakota lands to that perpetuated against Lakota bodies, the video moves to an image of a globe—placed on the earth, beside stones—before transitioning back to Waln, standing center frame. Waln is rendered in black and white, and a bright red filter imbues the shot. (See figure 41.) He repeats the word "red," followed by "dead," and the video returns to the globe, now covered in a thick, dark substance that appears to be oil or perhaps blood. (See figure 42.) Momentarily, the video returns to Waln—shown as he was in its opening—blindfolded, his mouth taped and denoted "NDN." The words "red" and "dead" connote Indigenous peoples, genocidal policies, violence, human blood, mother earth's blood, and urgency.

Figure 41. Frank Waln's "Oil 4 Blood."

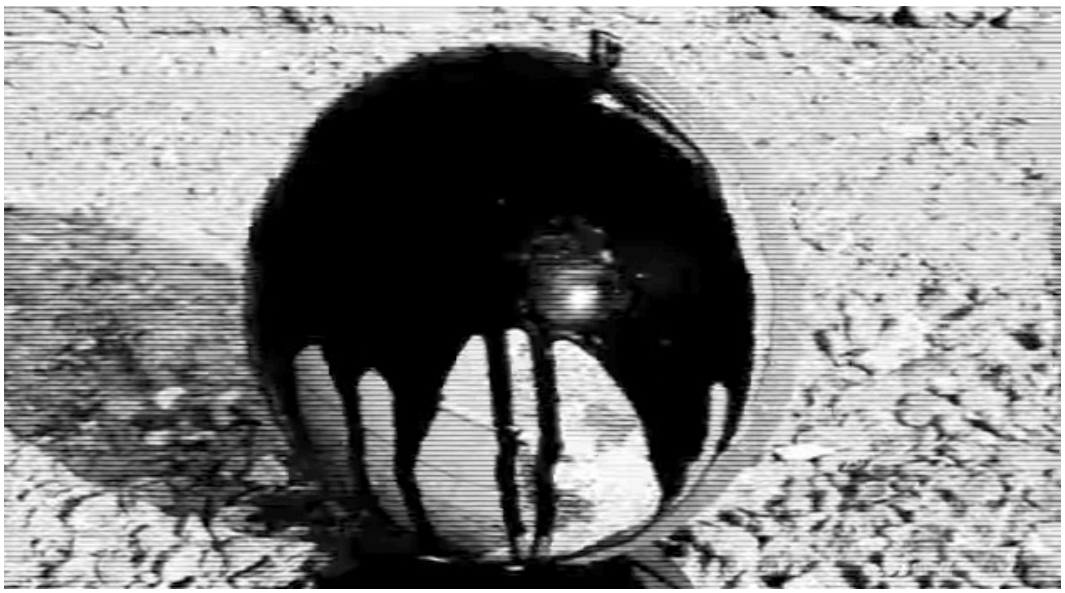

Figure 42. Frank Waln's "Oil 4 Blood."

Yet, despite these histories, Waln remains connected to his Lakota culture and acknowledges another artist whose lyrics analyze mainstream narratives that dehumanize Indigenous peoples. In front of the mural, Waln flows, "First off, I send love to Lupe / For giving us hope in this Lakota Sioux way." Waln references rapper Lupe Fiasco who released a single titled "Around My Way (Freedom Ain't Free)" in 2012. The song opens by referencing the Pine Ridge Reservation, bordering the Rosebud Reservation, and condemning "all the damage that the white man wine did" (Fiasco). Fiasco then critiques the criminalization of peoples and practices—"[they s]ay everything's hostile"—as rhetoric that has historically been used to justify U.S. colonialism and the violence it has inflicted against Indigenous peoples and lands. Lakota epistemologies are indeed "hostile" to U.S. colonization and capitalism because they value the futurity of life and land and deem them as sacred entities worth fighting for. The song mentions genocidal policies committed by the U.S. government against other Native peoples—such as the Trail of Tears—and implicates religion in U.S. colonization: "[c]rucifixes, racism, and a land grab" (Fiasco).

Fiasco's "Around My Way," also address similar themes as Waln's "Oil 4 Blood," referencing prisoners' remarkable perseverance, critiquing capitalism, and highlighting the importance of alternative narratives. Other pan-Indian issues—such as the continued celebration of Columbus Day as a U.S. federal holiday—appear in the song. Whereas Fiasco flows, "Live from the other side what you see / A bunch of nonsense on my TV" and "Reporting live from the other side what you hear / A bunch of nonsense all in my ear," in "Oil 4 Blood," Waln raps, "Revising our story they're televising" as two other young men heave a large television above their heads and throw it down several stairs roughly carved into a plateau. (See figure 43.)

Figure 43. Frank Waln's "Oil 4 Blood."

Waln critiques "poverty porn" or mainstream representations of Native peoples that depict them as destitute, addicted to alcohol and drugs, and savage without providing the context of colonization. Instead, emphasizing the value of self-representation, the artist commands, "Give me your camera, send Peltier your lawyer" (Waln). Waln names Leonard Peltier who is an Ojibwa, Dakota Sioux, and Lakota[47] activist and American Indian Movement member convicted for shooting two Federal Bureau of Investigation agents during a 1975 conflict on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Despite many indications that he received an unjust trial, Peltier remains incarcerated at the United States Penitentiary, located in Coleman, Florida. Peltier has continued his work as an activist and writer behind bars, and in 2000, published his memoir, *Prison Writings: My Life Is My Sun Dance*. In the text, Peltier represents himself as a symbol of the injustices committed against Native peoples and condemns incarceration, stating, "We don't need more prisons. We need more compassion. That compassion is our own highest possibility" (Peltier 207).

Likewise, Waln advocates for releasing Native people from carceral institutions and reveals systemic oppression against Native peoples, which leads to their criminalization. The video transitions from shots of Waln rapping beside the young man with the turtle drum and images of Lakota youth holding the Rosebud Sioux flag and skateboarding. The author raps,

> Free all my people get them out of prison
> Take them to Sundance show them how we're livin'
> Give youth an outlet / disadvantage prodigies
> Feed these Republicans all our commodities
> Put them on the rez from the day they're born
> They won't survive cuz their cancer is airborne
> Put them in our schools, put them in our shoes
> Take away their $$$ and give them our blues

Unlike *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s project, Waln foregrounds the importance of freeing Native peoples from imprisonment before engaging them in cultural practices. In Waln's words, Lakota youth are "disadvantaged prodigies" subjected to almost insurmountable conditions. The artist follows these lines with "(RED) Make everything Red / Words of my ancestors up in my head / Food for thought, our kids underfed." Waln now associates the word "red" with a cultural revitalization or (re)indigenization. During the lyrics, "Words of my ancestors up in my head," a black and white photograph of a Native man wearing a headdress overlays Waln rapping in front of the mural. (See figure 44.) Waln indicates that Lakota epistemologies and practices extend into the present day and provide holistic nourishment for Lakota youth. The video then portrays individual close-up shots of two women chanting, "Oil 4 Blood," in unison with Frank's lyrics. In one of the shots, beside the woman's face the text, "Oil 4 Blood," appears in unison with Waln's words, reinforcing his message (See figure 45.) Unlike dominant discourses that exotify and sexualize Native women, these representations picture Lakota women in close-up shots wearing a conservative, collared gray shirt and black sweatshirt, respectively.

"Oil 4 Blood" also encourages viewers to make connections between Lakota and non-Native activists and artists who fight for liberation. Frank and the young man who previously held the drum sit on either side of a skateboarding ramp, while another young man, standing between them, holds the Rosebud Sioux flag rippling in the wind. (See figure 46.) The young man with the flag wears a beanie in red, yellow, and green with black and white embroidery that

[47] Peltier writes that "[t]hough my bloodline is predominately Ojibway and Dakota Sioux, I have also married into, and been adopted in the traditional way, by the Lakota Sioux people" (63).

portrays Bob Marley. The colors of the beanie are also those on the hand drum. Alongside creating political songs about anti-colonialism and liberation, both Waln and Marley are artists whose spiritualities influence their music.

Figure 44. Frank Waln's "Oil 4 Blood."

Figure 45. Frank Waln's "Oil 4 Blood."

Figure 46. Frank Waln's "Oil 4 Blood."

In the climax of the video, Waln declares his willingness to fight on behalf of the land and the people in accordance with Lakota epistemologies if the U.S. government passes legislation allowing the construction of the Keystone XL Pipeline. He rhymes, "My ancestors studied numbers and astrology / Lakota philosophy, keep them haters off of me / Keystone XL, you smell like an atrocity / To my home and ancestors I am loyal / Build that pipeline and I'm burning down your oil" (Waln). The video shows the globe—previously covered in the dark substance—on fire. A young man wearing aviator glasses and a black bandana tied around his forehead raises his hands in front of the camera to make the "Roc-a-Fella Records" sign—associated with rapper Jay Z—in which the thumbs and pointer fingers meet to form negative space in the shape of a diamond (Harris). (See figure 47.) The young man wears red shotgun shells on all ten fingers. In rhythm to the music, he transitions from the "Roc-a-Fella Records" gesture to the American Sign Language symbol for "I love you." Together, the two signs reads "I love diamonds" or "I love wealth." The juxtaposition of this message with the shotgun shells and the text "OIL 4 BLOOD" overlaid across the shot comments on the deleterious cost of building Keystone XL to the people and earth, whose survival is interdependent.

The conclusion of the video reinforces the importance of Lakota self-representation and nationalism and suggests that despite the ongoing violence of colonization, contemporary Lakota people are engaging in powerful forms of resistance and reindigenization. The video returns to Waln shown as he was at its opening, seated against a black background, hands bound, mouth taped, eyes blindfolded. A young girl removes the Rosebud Sioux flag from Waln's wrists. The flag is wrapped an extra time around Waln's left wrist—the heart side—indicating his ties to the Lakota people and nation, since in some wedding ceremonies, the partners wrists are bound together to symbolize their bond. The child also takes the tape off of Waln's mouth. She then removes the U.S. flag from over his eyes. The flag used as a blindfold symbolizes the ways that U.S. government and mainstream culture have attempted to eclipse alternative truths and fix Native and non-Native peoples to "OBEY" regardless of the costs to life, land, and futurity.

Waln then opens his eyes and looks directly into the camera, powerfully meeting the viewer's gaze as an equal, a human, a sacred being. The girl leaves the shot only to return again with a microphone that she hands to Waln, indicating that he has a voice and will speak. (See figure 48.) The screen momentarily fades to black, and then credits roll over a burning globe. Threats to Lakota life and land persist; we must take action.

Figure 47. Frank Waln's "Oil 4 Blood."


Figure 48. Frank Waln's "Oil 4 Blood."

Conclusion

This chapter introduces the concepts "decolonial tactics" and "carceral liberation" to examine the limitations that U.S. occupation continues to impose on Native nations and how Indigenous institutions and the people within them navigate these challenges for the wellbeing of Native life and land. I discuss decolonial tactics and carceral liberation in the context of *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s project as well as Lakota activists and artists' resistance against the Keystone XL Pipeline. While Sicangu Lakota people have exercised authority over *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s design and curricula, ultimately the federal government funds the institution, therefore maintaining some degree of control. U.S. discourses depict tribal juvenile halls, intervention programs, and wellness courts as partnerships between the U.S government and tribes aimed at alleviating the current crisis in Native juvenile justice (United States Senate Committee). However, by positioning the U.S. government as a benevolent and now culturally competent caretaker without acknowledging the ongoing links between the colonization and confinement of Native youth, these collaborations constitute "settler moves to innocence" (Tuck and Yang 10). Cooperating with tribes also allows the U.S. government to scapegoat Native nations and peoples for the systemic structures caused by U.S. colonization, which contribute to Native youths' criminalization and incarceration.

In an era when the federal government is attempting to curb mass incarceration and the inhumane treatment of prisoners, the U.S. government has essentially replicated the structures of mass incarceration on the Rosebud Reservation. Perhaps most critical is to address the federal government's unchecked ability to prosecute Native youth who are citizens of Native nations without permission from the tribe (United States Senate Committee). In other words, although U.S. narratives portray the federal government as partnering with and even deferring to tribes, ultimately the U.S. retains supremacy over these young people. Considering that Native youth have often been on the frontlines of activist movements critiquing, condemning, and challenging the U.S., the federal government's desire to retain absolute power over young, Native bodies—those who have allegedly committed a crime—is consistent with colonial fixing projects. Additionally, incarceration itself, which detrimentally affects Native youth—many who have experienced trauma—should also be questioned and opposed. As Darren Cruzan, Director of the Office of Justice Services for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, stated at the 2015 Oversight Hearing on Juvenile Justice in Indian Country,

> I think there has been a great deal of research and studies done citing that simply incarcerating juveniles is not helpful. In fact, I think there are a lot of studies that point to the fact that it is more harmful than helpful. Tribes have been telling us this for a long time. Fortunately, the Federal Government is beginning to listen and to partner with local programs to help the tribes address these issues. They have talked about it for a long time and it is very encouraging to have our Federal partners as part of the solution with our tribal partners.

Cruzan glosses over important insights that might help to address the heart of this problem. Why did the U.S. government ignore the tribes for so long? Why is the federal government listening now? And in what ways is the federal government still unresponsive to the needs of Native peoples? The large scale financial investment in *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*, the facility's permanence, and the tribal citizens employed there doing powerful culturally relevant and healing work now present additional factors to consider in addressing Native juvenile justice.

Although *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s project is incredibly responsive to the ways that colonization has dehumanized Native peoples and practices—including maneuvers to control

tribal sovereignty and assimilate Native youth—it does not provide a critique of colonization and confinement as explicitly as resistance against the Keystone XL Pipeline or Waln's "Oil 4 Blood." In these instances, resistance against U.S. policies—which the federal government does not fund—and situated within the cultural realm provides Sicangu Lakota with alternative spaces to imagine possibilities outside of currently existing frameworks. Like *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s project, these decolonial tactics have not achieved the repatriation of Lakota life and land. Nevertheless, as they build on and innovate the contributions of Lakota people and ways of knowing, they work to fix previous harms and present new possibilities.

Chapter 4: **"Disadvantaged Prodigies": The Insights of Incarcerated Native Youth**

Introduction

In this chapter, I build on my analysis of *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s project and praxis by centering the voices of Native American youth or what Frank Waln terms "disadvantaged prodigies" incarcerated there.[48] I ask, what constitutes hurting and helping Native young people at this tribal facility? To answer the question, I conduct close readings of interviews that I did with Native youth held in detention at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*, as well as members of the *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* staff, including an administrator, two educators, a former correctional officer, a community member, and elders. I weave together youths' experiences with and ideas about *social confinement*, *carceral liberation*, and culturally relevant curricula. To explicate the ways that social structures significantly limit Native peoples' agency, I introduce the concept of "social confinement," a term I created to reflect the multiple and persuasive oppressions that Indigenous peoples experience based upon the intersections of race, gender, class, sexuality, and ability that lead to criminality and incarceration (Blu Wakpa 163).[49] Race and gender constructions, for instance, mark the non-white, non-male body as suspect, deviant, and criminal (Blu Wakpa 166). As I will discuss, for Native young people, age is yet another factor that increases their vulnerability to imprisonment. I draw on social confinement to critique "choice" paradigms that represent individuals as entirely responsible for their decisions without attending to the ways social structures severely constrain people's options (Blu Wakpa 163).

As I discuss in Chapter Three, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s mission statement reflects its commitment to caring for Native youth and using Lakota cultural programming to educate and rehabilitate them. Studies have found that Native peoples who engage in Indigenous cultural practices are more likely to experience holistic health, a connection to their community, and healing from historical trauma ("Weaving Traditional Arts into the Fabric of Community Health" 13). However, scholars have yet to show how incarcerated Native young people understand this programming. In the previous chapter, I undertake close readings of interviews with *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* employees and a variety of other sources to coin the analytic *carceral liberation*. This phrase demarcates how *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* affiliates employ what I call *decolonial tactics* to counter and refute colonial logics of Native dehumanization and displacement and assert Native peoples and nations' interests. Carceral liberation also illuminates the irony that as a result of racial discrimination, economic oppression, and the U.S. and Rosebud Sioux Tribe's competing interests, Native peoples may have greater access to culturally relevant curricula while imprisoned than they do outside of the carceral system. I ask, how does social confinement create the conditions that lead to incarceration? How do Native youth understand the programming at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* as hurting or helping them? And does culturally relevant curricula have a liberatory or wellness dimension for these young people?

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[48] See the lyrics to "Oil 4 Blood," which I discuss in Chapter Three. Referring to Native American youth who are imprisoned as "disadvantaged prodigies" underscores how social structures inhibit them from achieving success according to mainstream norms and faults the system rather than the individual.

[49] I created this term for an article titled, "A Constellation of Confinement: The Jailing of Cecelia Capture and the Deaths of Sarah Lee Circle Bear and Sandra Bland, 1895-2015," that applies a literary and social analysis to examine Native and African American women's experiences of imprisonment and other forms of oppression. The concept of "social confinement" developed alongside and in consideration of my research at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*.

In this chapter, I argue that social confinement and carceral liberation make visible the systemic and unequal power dynamics that disadvantage Native peoples, producing material consequences that continue to jeopardize their wellbeing on individual and national levels. I also demonstrate that imprisonment at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* temporarily reconfigures the conditions of social confinement for Native youth—in part through carceral liberation and culturally relevant curricula. However, Native young people articulate different understandings of carceral liberation, and some youth argue that *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s requirement that they engage with Indigenous culturally relevant curricula is oppressive. After Native young people's release from the detention center, they return to circumstances that powerfully infringe on their ability to avoid recidivism. I find that because of the immense pressures of social confinement, Native youth may prefer incarceration to alternatives such as house arrest and remarkably, their freedom. Yet I also uncover a Native young woman's community organizing while incarcerated to help youth in her community avoid detention, which I identify as a facet of carceral liberation. Given Native young peoples' vulnerability on reservations and beyond, research that illuminates the injustices of social confinement and carceral liberation and provides insight into useful interventions is critical to promoting the health and wellbeing of Indigenous youth.

Methods

To uncover how Native young people conceptualize social confinement, culturally relevant curricula, and carceral liberation, I undertake close readings of the interviews that I did with eleven incarcerated youth, ages 13 to 17, at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* in Summer 2016. Although the youth did not articulate their experiences in terms of social confinement, culturally relevant curricula, or carceral liberation, when I described and asked them about these phenomena, they often provided their insights and opinions, sometimes at length. Young men comprised ten of the eleven interviewees, reflecting the disproportionate number of imprisoned boys in the U.S. compared to their female counterparts.[50] For this reason, research about imprisoned people frequently overlooks women and girls ("Girls and the Juvenile Justice System"). Yet, in the past twenty years, the proportion of young women in all areas of the juvenile justice system has increased (Sherman and Balck 5), and Native young women in particular are at significant risk for harsher treatment ("Girls and the Juvenile Justice System"). This chapter foregrounds the young woman's voice as her interview was the most forthcoming and insightful, which she attributed to being the only girl in her pod and not having anyone else to speak with.[51] She was also one of the oldest participants whom I interviewed and described being incarcerated multiple

[50] The U.S. Department of Justice's Office of Justice Programs website states that in 2013—which is the most recent date available—"[n]ationally, females accounted for 14% of juvenile offenders in residential placement ("Juveniles in Corrections). According to this source, since 1997, the rate for young women in residential placement has vacillated from 13 to 15 percent (Juveniles in Corrections).

[51] She stated, "I've been meaning to talk about [the issues that we discussed in the interview] with somebody. [But] because I'm the only girl back there, and I don't have anybody to talk to, I just sit there and watch TV. I'm usually a quiet kind of person, so this is probably the most I've talked in two weeks. Seriously" (Youth's interview with author). Although this quotation implies that the young woman did not enjoy being the only girl incarcerated at the facility, when I asked her about her experience, she elucidated, "Well, it has it's advantages. I don't have to fight with somebody. 'Hey, I want to watch that.' 'No, I don't want to watch that,' like—yeah. And there's been times where I've sat in here with so many girls and it's just . . . hormones flying everywhere. And everybody was just growling at each other and just getting mad at each other and trying to fight each other—so much tension. It's actually really a change of scene right now, me being the only one in here" (Youth's interview with author).

times, which may have contributed to her powerful perceptions. The overall lack of female perspectives, however, precludes an in-depth gender analysis. I also include relevant excerpts from discussions that I had with an administrator, an educator, and a former correctional officer employed by the facility to help contextualize the youth's viewpoints.

For a researcher or educator to ask incarcerated people what crime they were charged with is considered inappropriate, as such an action stigmatizes the individual. Stigmatization is a form of dehumanization that not only compromises my own ethical commitments, but also those of the *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*. The facility, as I discuss in Chapter Three, "hold[s] the youth as sacred beings" ("Wanbli Wiconi Tipi Video Tour"). For these reasons, throughout this chapter, I am intentional about the language that I use to describe the youth and the system. I rely on the terms "disadvantaged prodigies," "children," "young people," and "youth," which I view as more humanizing than the legal terms "juveniles" or "minors." I purposely do not use the phrase "criminal justice system," because as scholars have shown, the system is actually *unjust* (see Alexander, Davis, and Ross, for example), and the modifier "criminal" dehumanizes young people regardless of whether they have been charged with a crime. Further, according to the Committee for Protection of Human Subjects, an entity designed to safeguard research subjects, the young people whom I interviewed comprise a vulnerable population—sometimes for more than one reason—because of their status as children, incarcerated people, low social economic status, and levels of schooling ("CPHS Policies and Procedures"). At times Native youth voluntarily disclosed their crimes to me. However, I have elected to withhold this information. Instead, I include an annual report of the charges that Native young people at the facility allegedly committed in 2014 and rely on Leonard Peltier's *Prison Writings* in which he details his experiences as a minor with law enforcement and the carceral system.

In contrast to the majority of scholarship surrounding Native peoples' incarceration and the socioeconomic conditions on reservations—which are, as I show, interrelated—this research takes a qualitative approach. Quantitative information about these topics provides broader insight into the material conditions that Native peoples living on reservations face, their overrepresentation in state and federal institutions, and the inequalities that they endure there and throughout the legal process. Such statistics demonstrate the urgent need for reliable resources and further research to assess the effects of interventions aimed at alleviating poverty and addressing trauma on structural and individual levels. Yet, by relegating Native peoples to numbers, this work may also eclipse Native individuals, perspectives, and agency as well as the ongoing violence of colonialism—therefore reinforcing typecasts. This chapter aims to contribute to the Indigenous archive by presenting the voices of Native youth imprisoned at a carceral facility and by doing so, clarifying their thoughtfulness in a way that deconstructs stereotypes[52] and offers information that I hope will be useful for educators, administrators, and policy makers.

[52] A Native young person with whom I spoke also expressed her interest in dispelling stigmas that represent incarcerated or formally uneducated people as dense. In our conversation, she stated, "I'm actually really intelligent" (Youth's interview with author). Further, a math teacher whom I interviewed also highlighted Native youths' cleverness despite the fact that many perform academically below grade level and have difficulty reading by describing how they showed an ability to access social media despite the blocks that *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* officials created to prevent them from doing so (Math teacher's interview with author). Because I knew that Native youth at the facility struggled with reading comprehension, I read the surveys aloud to them, and they completed one question at a time.

Since I began conducting research on the Rosebud Reservation in 2010, I have tried hard to approach my work with a commitment to reciprocity and self-reflexivity. In Summer 2011 while conducting pilot research, I met with an administrator at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* and described my previous experiences tutoring and teaching yoga to incarcerated young people. I asked him if there was a way I might be useful to the youth and the facility. The administrator thought that the young people would benefit from yoga classes. From 2011-2015, I volunteered teaching yoga at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* mostly to incarcerated youth, but also their relatives and young people participating in an after school program. In 2013, after I developed an awareness that imprisoned youth had more access to culturally relevant programming and other recreational activities while incarcerated—an understanding that eventually led me to develop the concept of carceral liberation—I also began offering yoga at the Rosebud Reservation's Boys and Girls Club and Sinte Gleska University (the tribal college), located in the Mission area. Because I was nine months pregnant in Summer 2016 when I did the interviews with the young people at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*, I spoke with an administrator and decided to offer a week long, Native studies program[53] for the youth instead of yoga classes. My husband, Dr. Makha Blu Wakpa, and I co-designed and facilitated this curriculum. During the interviews that I did at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*, I also collected information from the youth that facility administrators requested to use in applying for future grants.[54] The young people we worked with seemed to appreciate, enjoy, and were at times visibly moved by the Native studies curriculum that we presented. The young woman who had stopped attending high school for reasons that I later discuss expressed that the programming we presented inspired her to reconsider going to college, which shows—as scholars have discussed—the ways that culturally relevant curricula can interest and motivate students, including Indigenous youth (Sleeter).[55] Interacting with the students through presentations and discussions also helped me to develop rapport with the youth that was helpful in making them feel comfortable during the interviews.

Social Confinement in *Prison Writings*

The legal process overwhelmingly does not account for the ways that the interconnectedness of systemic structures—such as race, gender, class, sexuality, ability, and age—causes criminality and incarceration and instead represents illegal activity as an individual offense (Ross 12). In the first study to focus on imprisoned Native women, Luana Ross underscores that historically the U.S. has inflicted immense injustice on Indigenous peoples (Ross 15); U.S. law, used to maintain European American dominance over Native bodies and lands, represents Indigeneity as deviant (Ross 16). Another dilemma is the binary that the legal system constructs between perpetrator and victim.[56] Yet a critical understanding of the

[53] Topics that the Native studies curriculum covered included: athletics, diets and food sovereignty, hand talk (sign language), hip-hop, incarceration, and mascots.

[54] In Summer 2016, a *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* administrator asked me to gather information about youths' diets for a grant that officials were applying for which would fund the setup and programming for hydroponics in a section of the facility's gymnasium.

[55] She said, "You guys activated my brain waves. I'm starting to think about college again. . . . You guys actually really inspired me. You guys both have degrees right?" (Youth's interview with author).

[56] The U.S. Department of Justice's Office of Justice Programs explains that many youth experience victimization, which ranges from "what might be called normal childhood activities: fights on the playground, pushing and shoving in the halls . . . [to] serious victimization from many sources." However, this chapter finds attempts to normalize or differentiate among the severity of violence as

circumstances that Native peoples living on Plains Reservations often experience, which results from ongoing colonialism, challenges the perpetrator/victim dichotomy. For instance, people on the Rosebud Reservation experience: unemployment due to a shortage of jobs, poverty, and inadequate housing conditions and health care ("Living Conditions"). The Rosebud Reservation ranks second lowest in per capita income on Plains Reservations following Pine Ridge ("South Dakota: Rosebud Reservation"). Literature has also well documented the linkages among poverty, trauma, and substance abuse (Garner, Sarri, and Figueira-Mcdonough 175, 181). Native youth not only disproportionately use alcohol and drugs, but also begin experimenting with these substances earlier than their non-native counterparts ("Substance Abuse in American Indian Youth"). Substance abuse can produce consequences, such as crime, incarceration, and premature death ("Substance Abuse in American Indian Youth"). In 2014, underage consumption, drug possession, and huffing constituted three of the top seven charges for Native youth incarcerated at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* (Petitie).[57] Compared to their non-native counterparts, Native youth have the highest suicide rate, highlighting the need for intervention (Almendrala).

As I discuss in Chapter Three, the project of colonialism—which is the impetus for the origins of Native boarding schools—and the social construction of race mark Indigenous peoples as deviant. In *Prison Writings*, the trajectory of Peltier's so-called juvenile delinquency delineates the connections among racial stigmatization, colonial education, and incarceration. As Peltier writes,

> I consider my years at Wahpeton [a Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding school, located in North Dakota] my first imprisonment, and it was for the same crime as all the others: being an Indian. We had to speak English. We were beaten if we were caught speaking our own language. Still, we did. We'd sneak behind the buildings, the way kids today sneak out to smoke behind the school, and we'd talk Indian to each other. I guess that's where I first became a 'hardened criminal,' as the FBI calls me. And you could say that the first infraction in my criminal career was speaking my own language. That's an act of violence for you! (78)

In the assertion—"That's an act of violence for you!"—it is ambiguous as to whether Peltier intends the statement sardonically or if he is referencing systemic and institutional harms enacted against Native peoples, which contribute to social confinement.

The multiple and persuasive oppressions that Indigenous peoples often endure produce circumstances that lead to crime and hence incarceration. BIA police arrested Peltier when he was only fourteen for observing a Sun Dance, which is an illegal practice at the time. Peltier explicates:

> So speaking my language was my first crime, and practicing my religion was the second. When I was also arrested that winter for siphoning some diesel fuel from

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problematic. Any type of violence can still detrimentally affect the victim in significant ways. For instance, as I later uncover, other students "ridiculing" the young woman at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* caused her to drop out of high school. Further, social confinement may increase a person's susceptibility to violence that is characterized as normative, because that person is likely also facing additional challenges and/or forms of violence, such as racism, sexism, and/or classism. For instance, in *Prison Writings*, Peltier does not attend school because he "only had rags to wear," which demonstrates his and his families' economic hardship (84). While one can speculate that Peltier was concerned other students might deride him because of his tattered clothing, this is ultimately unclear.

[57] However, in many of the charges—for instance, disorderly conduct—substance abuse may also be a factor.

> an army reserve truck to heat my grandmother's freezing house, I was arrested again and spent a couple of weeks in jail. That was my first stretch of hard time. So trying to keep my family from freezing was my third crime, the third strike against me. Henceforth, I would be considered 'incorrigible.' My career as a 'hardened criminal' was already well on its way. (84)

By providing the context for his actions, Peltier demonstrates the ways that social confinement functions. Dominant narratives often portray imprisoned people as making poor choices. Yet the social construction of race and the economic hardship that Peltier endures constrains his options, so that the author must choose between his family's survival and committing what the legal system constructs as a criminal offense.

Experiences of Social Confinement Among Native Youth at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*

The *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* employees I spoke with likewise emphasized the structural and social conditions that cause Native youths' incarceration. An administrator shared with me:

> We might be low on numbers now. But I think that it's probably going to rise again. Just due to the fact that poverty is still out there. And people are still doing bad things. I think we've seen a lot more problems with sexual behaviors. We've had some kids that have become perpetrators and stuff. . . . Those wounds are out there and probably going to start gravitating in [to *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*] (Administrator's interview with author).

Although the administrator described youth as "perpetrators," in referencing "wounds," he also takes into account their victimization.

Similar to Peltier's predicament when he was forced to watch his family freeze or siphon the fuel from the army reserve truck, a Lakota language teacher underscored Native youths' limited options on the Rosebud Reservation.

> I had a teenager that grew up around here. . . It was so tough for him. He was walking down the road with headphones, and they hit him with the machete, and it was all because he was wearing the wrong colors. He was supposed to be wearing red, and he was wearing blue. Those are the challenges that they go back to. You know they have to join a gang or one of the people that belongs to gangs nearby is going to get you. They won't leave you in peace. They won't even let you walk down the street (Lakota language teacher's interview with author).

In this excerpt, the educator indicates that Native youth must join gangs for protection. Yet, according to an administrator, the vast majority of young people incarcerated at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* have gang affiliations, which evidences that gang activity often leads to imprisonment for youth on the Rosebud Reservation (Administrator's interview with author).

When I asked young people about the challenges that they faced in avoiding incarceration, they often pointed to the persuasiveness of peer pressure. Yet, one young man illuminated that while peer pressure was certainly significant, he also found the possible benefits of illegal activity tempting (Youth's interview with author). He told me, "But then again, you want to [participate in an illegal action], because you want some stuff or something" (Youth's interview with author). Similarly, another young man stated, "I like money, man. There's not a lot of ways to make money out here" (Youth's interview with author). While these statements may imply the youths' greed or materialism, as I have described, the social context of life for many people on the Rosebud Reservation indicates that survival drives at least some of the crimes that youth commit.

While the young woman I spoke with also implicated peer pressure in influencing her decisions, she illuminated how her classmates' influence caused her to drop out of school.

> I mean I really want to go to college. I really want to step up my education, but it's hard, because I get ridiculed for being intelligent. You know, all these kids, "Oh, she's just a book worm," so after that I dropped out of high school, and I didn't ever want to go back, because I was bullied for being too smart (Youth's interview with author).

Because the law requires that youth attend school, dropping out of school constitutes a criminal act. Further, studies have connected discontinuing school with a higher rate of incarceration (Dillon). The young woman also stated that she had only been released for 24 hours from *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* before she was arrested again and returned to the facility (Youth's interview with author). She expressed concern for the much harsher consequences of adult criminality, which she would face in less than a year, when she turns eighteen:

> I'm done with [breaking the law]. I can't sit here and come in and out, in and out, in and out, in and out. And then once I turn eighteen, I'm not going to be coming here anymore. I'm going over there [the Rosebud Sioux Tribe Adult Correctional Facility]. And it becomes a lot more serious than it is now. . . . My case right now, it is what it's always been for me, which is I just brush it off, go out and do the same thing I've been doing, and then I come back in here, over and over, and over and over. And when I get to the adult system, it's you only get three strikes and you're out—twenty-five to life. And that's a lot, and I don't want to do that. . . . I don't want to get caught for anything. I actually want to go somewhere. And I want to help people. I want to take them with me—if I can, if they want it (Youth's interview with author).

The young woman affirms her individual determination to avoid incarceration in the future. Yet, social confinement creates conditions that constrain agency. As I will discuss later in the chapter, her desire "to help people" demonstrates not only her commitment to Lakota cultural values, but also how incarcerated people employ decolonial tactics.

Despite administrators, educators, and youths' experiences and insights into social confinement, the facility formally privileges a paradigm that represents crime as an individual offense. A mural at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*, which pictures the medicine wheel, states, "Within the Circle of Life are two paths. One of Sorrow . . . One of Happiness . . . You have a choice!" ("Wanbli Wiconi Tipi Video Tour.") (See figure 49.) The *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi—Resident Handbook*, which youth receive after they arrive at the facility, states:

> Your life in this facility is a series of choices. You can choose to create a lifestyle of balance, respect, and accomplishment. We encourage you to choose a positive path. You can begin by respecting yourself and others around you. You can choose to use this time to reflect on the path you have chosen.

However, in contrast to constructions of individual choices that penalize youth for criminal acts, local, legal procedures exercise leniency based upon understandings of social confinement. For example, an administrator described youths' incarceration at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* as "a last resort" (Administrator's interview with author). Indeed for a first offense, youth receive probation and/or substance assessment (Petite). A second offense violation results in house arrest (Petite). Not until the third infraction do officials detain youth (Petite). Such clemency shows the importance of tribal legal procedures and institutions. Further, youths' incarceration at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* limits their choices by creating artificial conditions that shift the boundaries of social

confinement. As I have shown, systemic injustices produce situations that frequently interfere with individuals' abilities to forge a healthy and positive lifestyle. A few young people I interviewed spoke to this, articulating how they prefer incarceration to house arrest, because the facility limits their choices by constraining their freedom and therefore reduces the likelihood that they will commit crimes (Youths' interviews with author). As one young man told me, "[House arrest] is too hard" (Youth's interview with author).

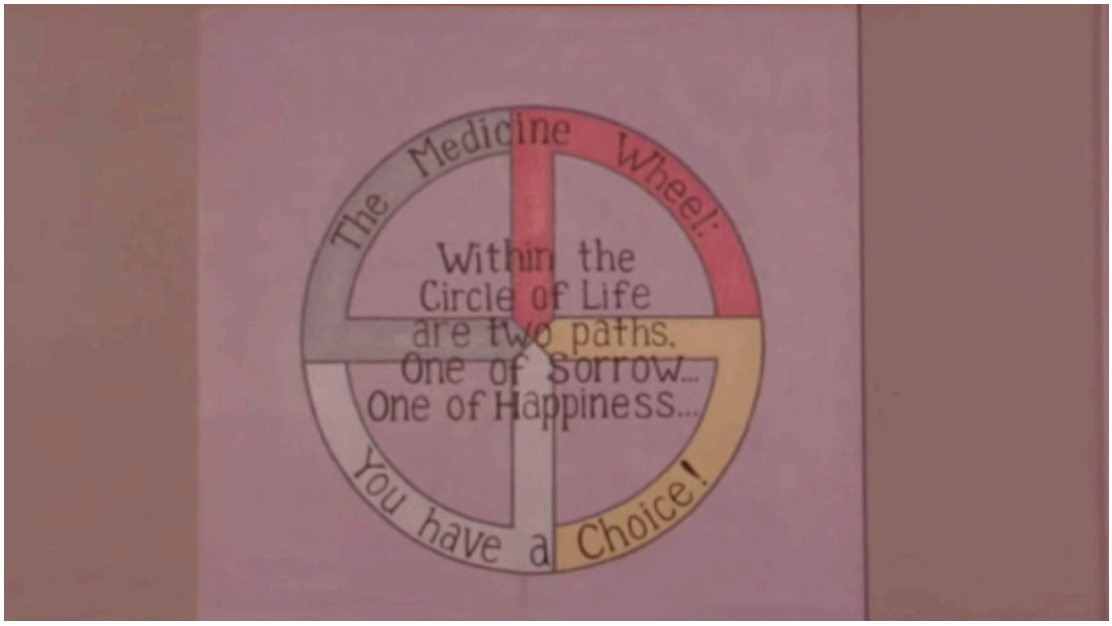

Figure 49. "Wanbli Wiconi Tipi Video Tour."

Additionally, the passage encourages youth to "begin by respecting [themselves]." *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* seeks to promote young people's self-respect through culturally relevant curricula, which can reaffirm youths' Native identities. However, the trauma that social confinement can cause may make enacting this value challenging for youth. For example, the Lakota language teacher told me that internalized racism shapes young people's identity formations:

> There is a couple of [the youth] that say, "You know, why should I come here when I'm White?" when they're not. That's cultural shame. They're not [White]. Because if they were, they wouldn't be here. This is a place where the Indian kids come. And if they were White, they would be somewhere else—not here. (Lakota language teacher's interview with author).

A young person I spoke with told me that he was "like half White" and did not know his tribe, which may indicate cultural shame or simply reflect his knowledge about his identity and how he elects to express it (Youth's interview with author). I did not ask him more about what I read as a sensitive topic for him. Another finding—which may relate to self-respect and also individual responsibility—is that many young people felt that they "deserved" to be incarcerated, which they viewed as a way (and in some cases the only way) to "make them learn" (Youths' interviews with author). One young man indicated that he belonged at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* not necessarily for committing a crime, but because he was unsuccessful in his attempt (Youth's interview with author). He stated, "I believe if you get caught, you should do the time" (Youth's interview with author). Of all the youth I interviewed, only one young man understood

incarceration for youth as unjust. He said, "For kids, they shouldn't take them away from their families and put them in jail. They should make them do community service, things like that" (Youth's interview with author). Yet, like house arrest, community service does not lessen the pressures of social confinement, demonstrating the immense difficulty of identifying solutions that support Native youth in making positive decisions. Additionally, the majority of the youth I spoke with preferred imprisonment at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* to community service, restorative justice oriented activities, or other alternatives to incarceration. But youth did think that doing community service or implementing restorative justice practices would be "fair" (Youths' interviews with author). One young man even speculated that with community service or restorative justice "people wouldn't do the same thing again" (Youth's interview with author). However, another disagreed, telling me, "I'd probably be back to it eventually" (Youth's interview with author).

Wanbli Wiconi Tipi: Promoting Punishment or Wellness?

As I discuss in Chapter Three, an alternative name for *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* is the Youth Wellness and Renewal Juvenile Center, which indicates the facility's focus on promoting health rather than instituting punishment. Many of the incarcerated youth I spoke with agreed with this articulation of *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s goals; in their reasoning, they mentioned the ability to eat snacks, play video games, walk around the center and its grounds, and go to the gym (Youths' interviews with author). One young man said, "If this was punishment, we'd be in our cell most of the time" (Youth's interview with author). The young woman lauded her experience at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* saying, "This is like a vacation for me" (Youth's interview with author). When I asked the youth what the advantages to their incarceration were if any, they again referenced playing video games (Youths' interviews with author). One young man also stated that being imprisoned allowed him to save money since the facility provided food and snacks, and there were not other opportunities to spend money (Youth's interview with author).

While the majority of the youth agreed that the facility was not punishment, they overwhelmingly expressed that they would rather be home than incarcerated (Youths' interviews with author). An administrator acknowledged this when he told me, "[F]or the most part none of [the youth] want to be here. You know it's not a good place to be. You lose a lot of freedoms here" (Administrator's interview with author). Two young men I spoke with agreed. They understood *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* as punishment because they were unable to engage in the activities they wanted. One said, "[Incarceration at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*] is punishment to me. Because there are better things to do. It's too boring" (Youth's interview with author). Another stated, "You can't do what you want. Can't see the people you want. Not a whole lot you can do besides sit and wait for your next meal" (Youth's interview with author). I also asked the youth how long they would have to be incarcerated at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* before it felt like punishment. The responses varied from the first two days to six months (Youths' interview with author). In this respect, carceral liberation in the Native context departs from Jeremy Bentham's principle of "rule of Severity," which mandates that for deterrence to function successfully, the conditions that prisoners experience while imprisoned cannot exceed that of the lower classes (Bentham 38). The young people's answers indicate that the circumstances of their incarceration at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* are less harsh than those they endure outside of the facility (Youths' interview with author). Further, as I have discussed, poverty, trauma, and substance abuse disproportionately affect Native peoples, the ongoing recipients of colonial violence. Therefore, while on house arrest, Native youth may encounter unhealthy circumstances in the home where

they are confined, which can contribute to their recidivism. As minors, young people are a vulnerable group; age—along with race, gender, class, sexuality, and ability—can be yet another persuasive factor in social confinement.

Related to *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s emphasis on youth wellness, an administrator indicated that many of the imprisoned youth consider the staff to be role models (Administrator's interview with author). When I asked young people about this, they again varied in their responses (Youths' interviews with author). One young man underscored that he did not view the correctional officers as role models "because I know what a lot of them do when they're not here" (Youth's interview with author). As I discuss in Chapter Three, an advantage of *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* is that youth remain on the Rosebud Reservation and in proximity of their relatives and communities—although this has changed somewhat since, in April 2014, the facility began to incarcerate youth from other reservations that do not have tribal detention centers. However, as the young man's comment indicates, imprisonment on the same reservation that one lives can also be a disadvantage, because many people have had previous and sometimes intergenerational interactions with others and their families, which are not always positive. Such conflicts may cause youths' disagreements with authority figures and hinder young people's learning while they are imprisoned. A couple of youth expressed similar sentiments when discussing culturally relevant ceremonies held at the facility, which they criticized as not being "authentic" (Youths' interviews with author).[58]

In contrast to this young man's statement, the young woman did view the staff as role models. She explicated:

> [*Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* employees] take the time to come here and sit here and if you're having a problem, talk to you. They may call it babysitting because that's basically what they're doing is babysitting us. But it takes a lot to come to work at a juvenile facility and be disrespected and talked about. And "Oh, that guard is this, and that guard is that." But to take time out of your life, your kids, your family, to come here and work with these kids and try to help them make sure they get out and not do the same thing . . . I mean you should appreciate that. And I think they're role models, because most of them talk to me, "Hey, you should go to school for this" or "You should become a C.O. [correctional officer] when you turn 18." That actually really makes me interested in becoming a C.O., because you can get hired at 18 [years of age] next door [at the Rosebud Sioux Tribe Adult Correctional Facility]. And it only takes so much weeks of training. It seems like [the C.O.s] have a lot of experience with kids. Some of them have been working here forever (Youth's interview with author).

The young woman underscores the meaningful conversations that she had with the correctional officers (Youth's interview with author).[59] She also reaffirms that youth have suspicions about

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[58] The notion of "authenticity" regarding Native peoples and practices can be problematic. Because dominant discourses construct Native peoples and practices in the past, "authenticity" is often conflated with "traditional" and misunderstood as in binary opposition to modern. The false notion of authenticity as an unaltered state can be used to unjustly deprive Native peoples and nations of their statuses and sovereignties. See also Scott Richard Lyons (10).

[59] Some youth felt isolated from the correctional officers and did not have similar conversations with them (Youths' interviews with author). When I asked the young woman about this, she said, "[The correctional officers] want you to come up to them and ask them questions. They want you to make the decision of, 'Oh maybe I should ask them where they went to college or how they graduated high school.'

Wanbli Wiconi Tipi's employees and may view the staff as hypocritical (Youth's interview with author). The young woman suggests that officers are aware of these criticisms—which, in her opinion, make their jobs more challenging—and nevertheless strive to help youth at the facility (Youth's interview with author). She also cites the officers giving her educational and career advice as evidence of their status as role models (Youth's interview with author). The officers encouraging her to become a correctional officer further reveal the tensions of *carceral liberation*. The officers recommend the educational and occupational pathway that they took, which has allowed them the opportunity to positively influence Native youth and provide an alternative to incarcerating Native young people in state facilities. In this way, the officers work to counter the methods and curricula that colonial and punitive institutions employ. However, the correctional officers also support the imprisonment of Native peoples—youth and adults—who in turn provide the reason for their employment. For example, a former *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* correctional officer stated:

> After working [at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*] seven years, I got the idea—I mean, this thought in my head, you know—why am I doing this, this type of a job, where I'm locking up kids. So I finally realized that I didn't enjoy my job as to working with the kids. I just looked at it as locking up kids after awhile. And I didn't like that. (Correctional officer's interview with author)

In this passage, the former correctional officer highlights that the contradictions of carceral liberation caused her enough internal turmoil that she eventually quit.

Further, the young woman mentioned the Rosebud Sioux Tribe Adult Correctional Facility as a place that she might work in the future if she were to become a correctional officer (Youth's interview with author). Like *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*, the adult jail is another space of carceral liberation. In 2013, eight years after *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* opened, the tribe completed the $25 million Rosebud Sioux Tribe Adult Correctional Facility, also funded by the U.S. government ("New Jail on Rosebud Sioux Tribe Reservation"). This carceral center replaced a similar facility on the Rosebud Reservation that did not adhere to safety regulations ("New Jail on Rosebud Sioux Tribe Reservation"). Like *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*, tribal members helped design this facility based upon Lakota epistemologies, and the jail focuses on culturally relevant programing to promote prisoners' wellness ("Rosebud Breaks Ground for Adult Correctional Facility"). Major budget cuts delayed the opening of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe Adult Correctional Facility, causing the newly built detention center to initially remain closed (Eaton).[60] That the federal government funds the construction of permanent carceral facilities on the Rosebud Reservation to imprison Native peoples, but does not adequately support the Lakota cultural programming underscores the federal government's commitment to Native peoples' confinement more than their wellness.

They want you to make the decision to try to learn some stuff and take it with you when you leave. But a lot of kids don't really want to talk to them or want to ask them questions like that. They just think, oh they're just here to watch us. But it's not that. They're actually here to yeah, watch you, but help you learn, teach you in a way" (Youth's interview with author). The young woman's observation indicates that youth who may not have the knowledge, confidence, or interest in asking for help may be underserved.

[60] The federal government originally allocated a $5 million annual operating budget for the Rosebud Sioux Tribe Adult Correctional Facility. However, budgetary cutbacks reduced the annual budget to $840,000 (Eaton).

What Constitutes Culturally Relevant Curricula?

In some ways, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s curricula resemble the programing at St. Francis Mission School. For instance, at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*, like former St. Francis students, youth also participate in basketball, gardening, woodshop, movie nights, and Native arts and crafts. As I discuss throughout the dissertation, Native peoples have fixed or reindigenized culturally themed programming—curricula that appropriates symbols of Indigenous cultures as a means to diminish cultural values and sovereignty—to promote their own individual and tribal interests. This blurs the division between culturally themed and culturally relevant programming. Further, as Scott Richard Lyons highlights, the tendency to differentiate between traditional and modern is troublesome:

> The most problematic aspect of a modern/traditional distinction is, of course, its binary-oppositional character: that is, those things we identify as modern can often be discovered in what we call the traditional, and vice versa. Everything is relative and exists on a continuum that does not carve neatly into two separate and oppositional wholes (10).

These characteristics make defining culturally relevant curricula exceedingly challenging—particularly in the Native context, since mainstream narratives often represent Indigenous peoples and cultures as static and/or extinct.

Considering *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s emphasis on promoting wellness through Lakota practices, it is important to understand what activities youth conceptualized as culturally relevant and why. The young people I interviewed viewed Lakota language lessons, Lakota art classes (such as beadwork), and ceremonies as culturally relevant, but otherwise gave diverse responses—largely based upon their previous knowledge about the histories of athletics and gardening (Youths' interviews with author). Among youth at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* (as at St. Francis), basketball was one of the most popular activities. While officers at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* typically allotted youth about thirty minutes to play basketball a day, many of them said that they wished they had several hours (Youths' interviews with author). They attributed this desire to the enjoyment that they experienced playing the sport and feeling like since coming to *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* they were significantly less active (Youths' interviews with author).[61] Yet the majority of the youth did not understand basketball as a culturally relevant practice (Youths' interviews with author). Evidencing one young man's internalization of the dominant and problematic paradigm that represents Native practices as "traditional," he responded that basketball is "for everybody; it don't matter who" (Youth's interview with author). Another young man questioned this construct, asking, "What is traditional?" (Youth's interview with

[61] Many of the young people told me that they had gained weight since coming to *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* (Youths' interviews with author). An administrator I spoke with indicated that many youth often did not eat regular meals outside of the facility (Administrator's interview with author). Yet youth overwhelmingly pointed to a decrease in physical activity as a reason for their weight gain (Youths' interviews with author). As one young man told me, "I ate the same. But I just got bigger when I came here" (Youth's interview with author). Another joked, "I think [outside of *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*] the cops keep me in shape, because they keep me running" (Youth's interview with author). Young people used good-natured jesting throughout the interviews and their interactions with me and other authority figures. Not only does comedy provide joy and serve as a source of entertainment, but also as Vine Deloria Jr. states, for Native peoples, humor is "a method of control of social situations by Indian people," a way to "[show] humility and at the same time [advocate] a course of action they deeply believed in," convey "unity and purpose," and survive (39-40, 53).

author). The young woman, however, pointed to Indigenous games that resembled basketball as evidence that it was a culturally relevant activity. She told me, "The Aztecs and the Mayans, they used to play a game that looked like basketball. It was, you know, the same concept: to get [the ball] in a hoop at the other end. And the Spaniards went to Mexico, and they switched [the game] up; it evolved again" (Youth's interview with author). Here, the young woman demonstrates an understanding of Native cultural practices as continuous and dynamic.

Many of the youth also referenced lacrosse, because a group had recently come to *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* and offered this programming to the youth (Youths' interviews with author). Some of the young people lamented that the group had not returned for a few weeks, evidencing another facet of carceral liberation (Youths' interviews with author). Although as a tribal facility, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* may emphasize Lakota culture more than state-funded schools, because the detention center lacks adequate funding, such curricula is often inconsistent, which may foster hardship and distrust among the youth who look forward to these activities. The majority of the youth I spoke with did not understand lacrosse as related to Lakota culture (Youths' interviews with author). However, the young woman again demonstrated an in-depth knowledge of the sport's relationship to Native practices.

> Lacrosse has a lot of history to it. The Iroquois played it, and the reason why it started getting called lacrosse is because the French went to New York—well, before it was New York—and they watched them play the game. And the sticks look like those things that the missionaries carried—the lacrosse. So they were like, "Oh, we're going to call it lacrosse." And then from there as time went on, the game started evolving. . . . I think of it as a traditional game, but the stuff they added to it, it's less brutal than it used to be. It's not really that traditional anymore. But it's still one of the games that originated with the Native people (Youth's interview with author).

In this excerpt, the young woman shows a remarkable understanding of histories related to lacrosse, the founding of the U.S., international relations between the Iroquois and French, and connections between constructions of traditional and modern.

Gardening was another activity that some youth construed as culturally relevant whereas others disagreed (Youths' interview with author). *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* administrators originally began the garden, which includes greenhouses and beehives, with funds from a 4-year Green Reentry Grant that they secured in 2010 (Administrator's interview with author). After the funds expired, staff relied on their resourcefulness to keep the garden going (Administrator's interview with author), again evidencing the ways that carceral liberation—which often relies on federal funds to achieve Indigenous aims—privileges Native confinement over wellness. As one person who worked for the Rosebud Reservation's White Buffalo Calf Woman Society[62] told me, the inconsistency of grant money causes challenges for Lakota people, because the community comes to depend on such programing (Interview with community member). When those services are no longer available, it can foster community mistrust of those organizations, interventions, and activities.

One young man described the design of the garden at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* as evidence of its cultural relevancy (Youth's interview with author). He stated, "The way that they have it set up is in four [sections]—basically like the medicine wheel" (Youth's interview with author).

[62] White Buffalo Calf Woman Society is a non-profit that provides services and shelters to victims of domestic violence, sexual assault, dating violence, and stalking.

Although some youth viewed gardening as an endeavor for European Americans[63] or women,[64] others were reluctant to associate the activity with a single racial or gender group, which they viewed as stereotypical (Youths' interview with author). One young man said that outside of *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*, he typically associated gardens with elders rather than youth[65] (Youth's interview with author). The young woman disagreed that gardening was culturally relevant or traditional. She said:

> I don't think so because I've been reading a lot of books. . . . There's this book I'm reading right now [*Land of the Spotted Eagle*] that was published in 1933 by Luther Standing Bear, and he was one of the last chiefs that we had—our people—before we got moved to reservations. Anyway, he started talking at the beginning of the book about how we didn't garden. We actually looked for our food. We basically got the food from mother earth, and she provided it for us, and we didn't have to garden it because it was all there for us. So we just used it to the best of our ability, and that's how we kept ourselves healthy. A long time ago, there was no sickness in our blood because all of the healthy stuff we ate, like roots, berries. Buffalo meat is really low in fat, and it's high in protein. And we always worked out—well not worked out, but we were always active, always on the move. So I don't really think [gardening] was really an important part of our culture (Youth's interview with author).

In her response, the young woman relied on a culturally relevant book by Luther Standing Bear—an Oglala Lakota chief—that she had located in *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s library and elected to read on her own. This indicates the ways that youth may also gain cultural knowledge informally at the facility through books or interactions with staff and each other.

The young woman also did not view the plants growing in the garden as culturally relevant—except for in one instance. She said:

> All of the fruits and vegetables that we have today are mainly brought from different lands, so they're not really traditional. But we do have a chokecherry tree out there, and it's probably the only thing that is [culturally relevant]. I don't know how it grew there, but it's growing there between the fence. Because it just grew all by itself (Youth's interview with author).

However, the young woman did believe that gardening could cultivate Lakota values (Youth's interview with author). She discussed, "You have to have certain characteristics to take care of the garden. You have to be passionate about what you're doing, loving because you have to put a lot of love into a garden. . . . You have to have wisdom about your plants" (Youth's interview with author). This statement shows the ways that the young woman was able to imbue practices that she considered non-native with Lakota characteristics. As I discuss in Chapters One and

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[63] For example, one young man stated, "*Wasi'cu*s garden" (Youth's interview with author). *Wasi'cu* is the Lakota word for European Americans, which translated literally means "takes the fat"—in other words, a greedy person.

[64] Some youth indicated that gardening—and in particular tending smaller plots of land—was for women (Youths' interview with author). They thought that men were more likely to farm or take on larger projects (Youths' interview with author).

[65] He stated, "I don't see a lot of gardens around here, and if I do, it's mainly the elders. I don't see a bunch of younger people growing gardens. My grandma used to. She would grow watermelons and pumpkins and fruit when I was really young" (Youth's interview with author).

Two, such a maneuver has allowed Lakota people to perpetuate their individual and national identities—even in assimilative environments, such as St. Francis.

Many of the youth I spoke with conveyed that they liked gardening, because it gave them the opportunity to go outdoors (Youths' interviews with author). The young woman found gardening a relaxing and reciprocal activity (Youth's interview with author). She said, "[I] love it. It's a stress relieving activity. You can talk to the plants. That way you don't have to tell anybody your secrets. You water them, take care of them, and they'll give you back food" (Youth's interview with author). Although many young people enjoyed gardening at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*, most of the youth did not believe that they would continue gardening after they were released from the facility given that there were other activities they would rather participate in and that gardening "takes a long time" (Youths' interviews with author). The young woman also indicated that community members currently did have access to the means to start a garden from the Tree of Life,[66] but in her opinion, were overwhelmingly not interested (Youth's interview with author). She told me, "In Mission, in front of the Tree of Life, there's like this big old box filled with seeds of every kind of plant imaginable, and nobody thinks about how we could grown our own food and won't have to worry about going to buy it" (Youth's interview with author). Although some Lakota people on the Rosebud Reservation do garden as other youth identified, the young people's comments suggest a disconnection among not only their own, but also broader community interests and the curricula at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*. In carceral liberation, such disjunctures can exist because of the discrepancy between federal and grant funding and community needs or capabilities given the challenges that social confinement creates. Further, social confinement makes pursuing the same activities that one engaged in while incarcerated more challenging outside of incarceration. However, some youth did identify one reason they wanted to learn more about gardening. As one young man stated, "I'm interested because I believe marijuana will be legal. I want to grow legal marijuana and sell it" (Youth's interview with author). While the stigmatization of marijuana exists both inside and outside of Native communities and *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* in no way linked gardening and the cultivation of marijuana, the young man's comments are well taken because they reflect conversations and controversies that were happening at Indigenous academic conferences and in Native communities during that time.[67]

In 2015, the Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe planned to open a marijuana lounge on their reservation, also located in South Dakota, after the U.S. Department of Justice ruled that tribes—like states—could legalize the drug on tribal lands ("S.D. tribe with big marijuana ambitions torches crop"). The tribe estimated that venture could earn over $2 million dollars a month in profit ("S.D. tribe with big marijuana ambitions torches crop"). However, in November 2015, less than two months prior to the lounge's scheduled opening, federal officials indicated that they might initiate a raid, leading the tribe to destroy its crop ("S.D. tribe with big marijuana ambitions torches crop"). As I discuss in Chapter Three, carceral liberation describes how the U.S. government continues to prescribe the terms of Lakota sovereignty while Lakota peoples negotiate these interactions for their freedom and futurity. As this anecdote demonstrates, reservations—originally intended and exercised as a carceral space—remain subject to the

[66] Tree of Life Ministry is a non-profit sponsored by the Dakotas Conference of the United Methodist Church, located in the Mission area of the Rosebud Reservation ("Who We Are").

[67] At the 2016 Native American Indigenous Studies Association Conference, held in Honolulu, Hawaii, the "Indigenous Economic Development" panel included Courtney Lewis's presentation, titled, "The New Casino?: Legalizing Cannabis on Reservations" (Lewis).

whims of the U.S. government, which continues to deprive them of economic and political power.

Articulating the Benefits of Culturally Relevant Curricula

Youth at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* expressed a variety of perspectives regarding culturally relevant curricula and its connection to Native peoples' wellbeing (Youths' interviews with author). Ironically, even if youth believed that this programming was tied to Native peoples' wellness, they often still expressed skepticism about the aims of learning more about Lakota practices and struggled to articulate how Lakota culture and health might be related (Youths' interviews with author). For example, one young man pledged to participate in Sun Dance "mostly because [he] was making bad decisions . . . and Sun Dance would help" (Youth's interview with author). Conversely, he did not think that learning about his Lakota culture was important (Youth's interview with author). As he told me, "[Lakota culture is] already mostly gone, and one person knowing it is not going to bring it back" (Youth's interview with author). Although the young man took for granted that culturally relevant curricula would help him, he also understood Lakota cultural practices as nearing extinction and therefore inconsequential. Likewise, another young man viewed learning Lakota language as a potentially isolating experience by implying that there were very few to no speakers remaining (Youth's interview with author). He posed the question, "Who are you going to talk to?" (Youth's interview with author). While colonization and its legacies certainly have detrimentally affected the intergenerational transmission of Lakota culture, asserting that Indigenous peoples and/or practices are dwindling or extinct also perpetuates mainstream narratives and constructions that do not adequately account for the dynamic interplay between Indigeneity and modernity. One young man simply stated that culturally relevant programing is important because "culture is tradition" (Youth's interview with author). Another admitted his uncertainty about why *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* highlighted culturally relevant curricula, saying, "I don't know. Because they want us to learn?" (Youth's interview with author).

Unlike the young men, the young woman spoke at length about the relationship between culture and wellness.

> I think [cultural knowledge is] very important. Because in this day and age, we're going through a lot of difficulties on the reservations, and a lot of people don't seek a higher power to help them with whatever they need help with. . . . And to understand your culture and to live the way of life as our ancestors did is actually very important. It's kind of hard to describe, but I believe that every single one of us as Native Americans have this calling inside our heart once we go around a Sun Dance or go to a ceremony or participate in a sweat, there's something deep inside that feels like it belongs. You know that you're supposed to be doing that because it was part of our way of life, it was a major part. Me personally I grew up doing ceremonies. . . . Growing up that way, it—I mean I'm still doing bad things, I still give into peer pressure, yeah—but it's like I always have something to lean on, like a crutch. It helps me get through some of the stuff that I've been through. I kind of encourage kids to get into the language, the culture, the ceremonies, everything, because it's weird how it just fits right into your life, and it feels right. And a lot of kids don't understand that. They just think there's nothing else; there's no hope. They just want to go drink and do drugs. You know do whatever else they're doing. It makes me feel happy when I see kids trying to

> learn their language or trying to talk to their elders about their history and listen to the oral traditions that are passed down through the generations. . . . There's also another part of your culture, it makes you feel like you're . . . the term *mitakuye oyasin*—is we're all related—and the more you can see that, the more you can see the beauty of the world. Like just taking a walk down the road and watching the birds fly, the grass flow, just stuff like that, the little things. It makes you appreciate life. And I think if more kids got into their traditional ways and started doing their ceremonies and listening to the history, it will come to them. I think that's why it's important (Youth's interview with author).

Here, speaking from her own experiences, the young woman discusses the benefits of cultural engagement for Native youth. She states that participating in Lakota cultural practices contributes to feelings of belonging and hope. For her, the Lakota epistemology *mitakuye oyasin* is a reminder of the interconnectedness of life and the beauty of nature, which most people can appreciate—regardless of their economic status or even if they are incarcerated. The young woman indicates that knowledge about one's culture does not guarantee young people will not "[do] bad things [or] . . . give into peer pressure," but can provide a healthful alternative to drinking and drugs, bring people joy, and help them during difficult circumstances. In other words, while cultural knowledge does not lessen the pressures of social confinement, it does offer positive ways for individuals to cope, which are seemingly less likely to lead to their imprisonment. However, as Petlier's *Prison Writings* shows, the social construction of Native peoples and practices as deviant may still result in incarceration.

A Lakota language instructor at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* agreed with the young woman's assessment. She stated:

> What we see with the youth that we have is pretty much a lack of cultural knowledge, and that is probably related to some identity issues, because they're adopting a subculture of gangs and kind of urban culture. And I guess the best antidote to that mentality is, *is* the culture, because all the elders who come to talk to our students, everyone who teaches the culture, you know, all the good things about the culture are taught. . . . I think that's probably why the number one focus is on the culture. Because I think the more a young person understands about the culture the better off that they're going to have it at avoiding behaviors that get them placed back in the facility (Lakota language teacher's interview with author).

According to the educator, a lack of Indigenous cultural knowledge causes Native young people to "[adopt] a subculture of gangs and kind of urban culture."[68] The educator believes, however, that Lakota culture can fill Native youths' identity void, which has been created through colonization and assimilative institutions, such as St. Francis.

The Lakota language teacher also understood culturally relevant curriculum as a way to combat the lateral oppression that Native youth inflicted upon one another:

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[68] Elders I spoke with frequently cited television and mainstream—as opposed to Lakota—hip hop as adverse influences on Native youth's behavior (Elders' interviews with author). One elder referred to Native young people's performance of dominant discourses as "acting Black" (Elder's interview with author). Yet when I asked one young man at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* what he thought about this critique, he countered that because many elders enjoyed listening to country music, they could be considered "acting White" (Youth's interview with author). Of course, as I explicate throughout the dissertation, Native cultures are dynamic, and intercultural exchange is not unilateral.

> That's one of the things that I talk to them about. That they're Lakota, and they're allies with all other Lakota and the Dakota and the Nakota. They didn't ever consider them enemies. So if they belong in a gang, they are going against their brothers, their allies that fought with their grandparents. . . . I guess even the parents aren't aware of things like that, right now, this generation. So somehow it's getting worse. I mean because they don't know that they are supposed to be allies with other Lakota, Dakota. It's just like anybody who is in a different gang is the enemy (Lakota language teacher's interview with author).

In this passage, the educator identifies the ways that colonization has deprived young people's parents of important cultural knowledge, which they are then unable to pass onto their children. She believed that youth would be less likely to feud with one another if they were familiar with these histories.

Thinking beyond the importance of cultural and Native studies curricula for Indigenous youth, the young woman also discussed the importance of Lakota programming for non-native individuals. She believed that learning about Native peoples and cultures could help deconstruct typecasts, in part through revealing the value of Indigenous knowledges. She said,

> There's a lot of non-native teens that think, 'Oh look, it's a Native, you should be scared.' They're scared of us. I went up to Oregon, and they seen me, they seen the color of my skin, and they just, they didn't want to talk to me and every time I sat down at the lunch table, you know, to engage in a conversation, they were like, "Oh my God. It's a Native." . . . I was only there for a week because I couldn't stand the way they were looking at me and talking about me behind my back. It was like . . . I wanted them to . . . "Hey, listen to me talk about my culture." My culture teaches the virtues of respect, compassion, and they don't like that. I think that non-native people can take a lot from learning our culture because it shows that you can have respect, compassion, honor, generosity, bravery, courage, everything. But there's a lot of people out there that just think we're devil worshipers or "Oh their ceremonies are dangerous." Or they're dangerous people or they're scary because they're brown, and they come from the reservation. That's stereotypes basically is what I'm saying (Youth's interview with author).

The young woman's statement "look, it's a Native" perfectly echoes Frantz Fanon's "Look, a Negro," from his seminal *Black Skin, White Masks*, which highlights the construction of blackness through whiteness and the irrational fear of Black people (Fanon 91). Likewise, the centering of whiteness as normative marginalizes Native peoples and practices as subordinate and even criminal, striking fear in non-natives. In this excerpt, the young woman longs to share Lakota culture with others as a means to illustrate her humanity and Native peoples' dignity. Her description of Native peoples as "devil worshippers" references a recent argument at the time of our interview that she had been involved in with a Jehovah's Witness at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*.[69] In

[69] The young woman told me, "Last night I sat and talked with this Jehovah's Witness for an hour and a half and argued with her over religion. I didn't go there to argue with her, because I try to keep my mind open to other views and religions. But she kept telling me that Native people—our ceremonies—are devil worshippers and stuff. They bring bad spirits with the ceremonies. That kind of offended me, because I grew up in that environment. And I back it up 100%—if you want your prayers answered, pray the traditional way."

the interaction, the Jehovah's Witness—a non-tribal member and outsider to the community—represented Lakota people as "devil worshipers," illuminating the persistence of stereotypes about Native peoples and practices into the present day. As a result of the politics of carceral liberation, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* frequently lacks funding for its programming. The administrators therefore often allow organizations and individuals (myself included) to offer services at the facility (Administrator's interview with author)—although as the incident with the Jehovah's Witness shows, some volunteers may severely lack cultural competence.

Like the young woman, some of the young men I spoke with also believed that non-native youth should learn about their culture, but for different reasons (Youths' interview with author). A couple of the youth emphasized fairness (Youths' interview with author). For instance, one young man said, "We've got to learn about [European American] history. [European Americans] should learn about ours" (Youth's interview with author). Indeed, as studies have shown, youth can recognize and discuss the ways that mainstream curricula centers European American viewpoints, which can cause them to withdraw from academics (Wiggan 339). Given histories of colonization and cultural appropriation, some Native discourses discuss the importance of guarding cultural knowledge (Simpson 73). However, when I asked one young man his thoughts about this, he replied, "That sounds a little selfish. It's like, 'No, you can't learn my culture.' It might have came from some specific people, but I don't think anybody really owns it" (Youth's interview with author). Youth also emphasized the importance of choice in regard to Native cultural curricula (Youths' interview with author). One young man said, "I care about [the culture]. But if other people don't, I don't care. It's their choice" (Youth's interview with author). Another young man stated that non-native youth should learn about Lakota culture and histories "if they want" (Youth's interview with author). These views seemed to reflect the Native youths' own experiences with culturally relevant curricula, which—unlike other activities at the facility—were often required. This caused some of the youth to view culturally relevant programming as oppressive. As one young man said, "It's kind of unfair because if we would have had Bible study, we would have had the choice to stay in the pod or go." Another young man told me, "I just don't like it being forced on us. If they said I could go do it by myself, I would go do it. But I don't like to be told to do anything" (Youth's interview with author). On the other hand, a couple of youth also asserted that they "weren't forced to learn the [English] language. [They] just naturally grew up in it" (Youths' interview with author). Yet as Stuart Hall writes, it is important to question what seems "'natural'"—particularly when a code is "so widely distributed in a particular language community or culture, and . . . learned at so early an age" (95). The youths' interviews illustrate the ways that the intergenerational impacts of settler colonialism have shifted Native young people's perceptions of force and oppression, so that they exert their own fixing of the detention center's programing. Further, the young peoples' understanding contrasted with conversations that I had with elder-educators who told me that they liked to remind Lakota youth, "English *is* our second language" (Elders' interviews with author). The discrepancy between the elders' and youths' viewpoints highlights the ways that colonization as an intergenerational project reshapes peoples' and/or their descendants' understanding of codes over time, therefore adding nuance to Hall's theorization.

Carceral Liberation: "It Really Does Hurt"

A central paradox of carceral liberation is that young people often have greater access to culturally relevant and recreational activities while incarcerated than they do outside of the tribal detention center—although this varied somewhat according to what school the youth attended.

One young man, who attended St. Francis Indian School—which is funded by the Bureau of Indian Education and operated by the tribe—stated that the institution offered 11 different Lakota courses, including: beading, culture, history, language, quilting, and woodwork (Youth's interview with author). However, at Todd County High School—which receives federal, state, and local funding and is not tribally run—youth indicated that only two Lakota classes were available: history and language (Youths' interview with author.)[70] The youth I spoke with at times highlighted the differences in the schools in terms of funding and management and how that affected their commitments to implementing culturally relevant curricula (Youths' interviews with author). For example, one young man who had attended Todd County High School—which had considerably less focus on Lakota culture and history—told me, "It's a White school" (Youth's interview with author). Additionally, given that many of the youth incarcerated at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* did not regularly attend school, it is difficult to assess how they might have reacted to culturally relevant curricula there.

In comparing the curricula at their school with that at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*, youth overwhelmingly responded that the detention center emphasized culturally relevant programming more (Youths' interviews with author). Interestingly, due to the unreliability of programming that carceral liberation causes, youths' experiences may also vary widely because of the curricula's inconsistency. For instance, the young woman confirmed *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*'s commitment to cultural programming by stating, "[The employees] take the time to let you guys [my husband, Dr. Makha Blu Wakpa and myself] come in and talk to us about culture" (Youth's interview with author). And yet, although my husband and I would like to continue to offer Native studies workshops for the youth at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* while I conduct research there or we visit family and friends in the area, we are not able to regularly provide this programming throughout the year, because we live off the reservation, outside of South Dakota. Further, one young man's response suggested that when the facility does not meet youths' expectations in a particular way, they might dismiss the strength of the entire curricula. For example, when I asked him if *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* seemed committed to implementing culturally relevant curricula, he stated, "They haven't done sweats with me since I've been here" (Youth's interview with author). In contrast, one young man stated that along with providing the curricula, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* administrators and staff "encouraged [them] to learn about it" (Youth's interview with author).

Reinforcing the value of culturally relevant curricula is significant because of the ways that both assimilative and contemporary educational institutions have devalued Native knowledges, constructing them as deviant and subordinate to European American epistemologies. In our interview, the young man who attended St. Francis Indian School described this phenomenon. He initially stated that the other teachers at his school who did not

[70] The discrepancy between the amounts of cultural classes that Todd County School District and *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* offer may shift, however; in 2016 the South Dakota Department of Education awarded Todd County Cultural Elementary School and Todd County Middle School grants to improve Native American student performance through culturally relevant education ("South Dakota Reservation Schools"). Yet as previously discussed, grants do not offer sustained support, which causes challenges when the funding expires. Further, without continued, institutional commitments to culturally relevant curricula at the high school level, students may not maintain the knowledge that they gained in elementary and middle school. Of course there are other factors to consider beyond the number of classes that an institution offers, such as quality of education and student attendance. Future research might examine how Lakota students respond to this programming.

teach Lakota classes regarded the subject as "odd" (Youth's interview with author). However, he then reconsidered his answer. "Not odd—odd is kind of an off word, but not normal. Not normal to everybody else—like teaching English [is]—just different" (Youth's interview with author). This excerpt underscores the continued centering of European American culture as normative and the marginalizing of the Lakota culture as deviant, which again the youth evidently perceive.

Another young man who had attended Todd County High School indicated that students preferred to take Spanish classes rather than Lakota language courses. He said, "If you go to the Lakota class, there's only a few people. [But] if you go to Spanish class, the whole class is filled" (Youth's interview with author). When I asked him why he thought that might be, he replied, "I really don't know. That's just the way it is" (Youth's interview with author). Many factors may influence a course's popularity beyond the subject matter (such as a teacher's likability or even the time that a particular course is offered). Yet if considered in the context of youths' ideas about Lakota culture being somewhat irrelevant in the present day, it is possible that young people view Lakota language classes as less suited to their lives and future careers than Spanish. Further, the Lakota language teacher I spoke with also identified "cultural shame" as a factor that creates additional challenges for Lakota people learning their language. She said, "A lot of times, I found out that there was a lot of cultural shame. . . . You know they never wanted to speak their language at home because of that. [Lakota people] are afraid people will make fun of them or something like that" (Lakota language teacher's interview with author). This again points to the importance of authority figures encouraging young people to engage with culturally relevant curricula and even suggests the usefulness of critical Native studies being offered alongside this programming as a way to deconstruct dominant discourses by highlighting the value of the Lakota language and worldviews. As I discuss in Chapter Two, assimilative institutions, such as St. Francis, have sought to fix typecasts about Native peoples—for example the view that Indigenous practices are subordinate and/or extinct—even among Lakota people themselves.

The young woman I interviewed indicated that while *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* did foreground Lakota cultural practices more than the educational institutions that she had attended, the schools' focuses on discipline also seemed to overshadow their commitments to culturally relevancy.

> Here [there is more focus on cultural programming]. Because you don't have people in school, "Hey, you want to come to a sweat?" Or "Hey, do you know this and that about your culture?" Like nobody asks you that. They're more interested in, "Oh why didn't you come to school?" . . . A lot of people come here because of truancy. And that's where they get introduced into cultural things (Youth's interview with author).

In this excerpt, the young woman points to the school's punitive approach, which eclipses its commitment to Lakota cultural curricula. She also perfectly described a key facet of carceral liberation: the connection between confinement and cultural programming. When I asked her how she felt about the greater availability of cultural curricula at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* than in the schools she had attended, she said,

> That hurts. Because you should be interested in your cultural activities out there. You should be experiencing it instead of sitting in here, in jail, talking about it. I've even met so many kids who are like, "What's a sweat? Or what happens at a Sun Dance?" They don't know. And it brings this pain in my heart to see all the kids in my generation not knowing about these things and the feelings that come

> along with it and the blessing that it develops. And actually, it does. It really does hurt (Youth's interview with author).

The young woman's poignant and powerful words express Lakota young people's longing for cultural knowledge, which they are often denied until they are imprisoned. At that point, cultural engagement—as the youth I interviewed discussed—can become a chore rather than a choice.

Conclusion: Carceral Liberation Beyond *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*

In centering the insights of imprisoned Native youth, this chapter expands two, interlocking frameworks that I have previously proposed: social confinement and carceral liberation. In the Native context, social confinement underscores that systemic structures construct Indigenous peoples and practices as deviant and produce consequences that severely infringe on the individual's agency and lead to incarceration. I show that while *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* staff members recognize the intersectional injustices that social confinement produces, the facility still relies on an individual choice paradigm to rehabilitate youth, which at least in part reflects the immense difficulty of holding the system accountable. In contrast, the young people I spoke with overwhelmingly did not critique colonization—both historical and ongoing—and other social structures, but conceptualized crime as an individual offense. However, another way for youth to learn is through acquiring a critical lens that helps them to understand reasons for the high rates of imprisonment and recidivism among Native peoples. Rendering oppression visible can help promote empathy for oneself and others, and in so doing, improve relationships among families and communities.

Imprisonment—as I have shown, the result of social confinement—creates the circumstances for carceral liberation. While confined, Native young people have greater access to culturally relevant curricula and recreational activities. The highly regulated environment of the detention center shifts the conditions of social confinement, which as Peltier proposes are—at least for some Native peoples living on reservations—often centered on survival. Indeed, in our interview, a *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* administrator underscored that due to the material conditions that affect Native peoples outside of the detention center, they are frequently unable to engage with cultural practices. He stated, "There is a lot of need out there. People don't have the right resources, and so yeah, I think because of that people are kind of entrenched in that environment of survival and that actual cultural aspect or cultural component that can be good is kind of set on the back burner" (Administrator's interview with author). The Lakota language teacher I spoke with responded similarly, saying, "[Youths'] parents are too busy trying to put food on the table to worry about teaching them about anything spiritual or their own language" (Lakota language teacher's interview with author). Interestingly, while many young people did not conceptualize their imprisonment as a punishment, they did feel that the culturally relevant curricula that *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* required was oppressive in a way that non-native, optional programming was not. Thus, the intergenerational project of fixing and eclipsing has shifted Lakota youths' understanding of force. Again, teaching critical Native studies alongside Lakota culture and language classes could be useful—in this case to illuminate settler colonial histories and the ways that the system works to pit Indigenous peoples against one another.

Youth at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* often expressed a wide variety of opinions about their experiences there, which is also a finding in critical scholarship regarding the perspectives of former students who attended Native boarding schools (Youths' interview with authors, Lomawaima xii-xv). Further, youths' views about *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* also may shift over time.

An administrator described a letter that he received from a young man who was previously incarcerated at the facility:

> There was a kid that got in trouble, went to federal, and he did some time. . . . [This] formal juvenile . . . wrote a letter. He thanked us for what we've done. He said he really understands what we're trying to do. He said he's now engaged and learning more about his culture, because he really learned a lot about it at the federal prison that he was at. And we see that a lot with federal prisoners. It seems like that is when they start to get engaged in who they are and what their beliefs are and those kind of things. We want to try to do that before they have to go to federal prison to learn that. And that's kind of what we're trying to do (Administrator's interview with author).

Although this is a site-specific study, this excerpt indicates how carceral liberation also occurs in federal institutions. While the administrator expresses that he wants to help young people to connect with their culture prior to federal prison, these interventions nevertheless occur in a detention facility.

And yet, despite their imprisonment, Lakota youth still employ tactics of carceral liberation to help their people—a core value of Lakota culture ("Four Lakota Values")—maintain their freedom and improve their quality of life. In concluding, I return to the voice of the young woman who so generously shared her time and wisdom with me. In our interview, she described her plans for after she was released from *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*:

> What I want to do is I want to go around to schools and tell my story. . . . I think it takes at least one person to listen to your story and think I can change my life. So I just want to help people. And I want to seek higher education. I want to be better for myself and my people. Because I see people around here. They're my relatives. They're my friends. They don't even have to be related to me for me to see the pain that they're going through because of the struggle. And I just want to help them. That's all. All it takes is one person to help them (Youth's interview with author).

In this excerpt, the young woman identifies injustices inherent in social confinement and envisions helping Lakota young people before they are imprisoned. Moved by her words and wanting to encourage her, I said, "You can do it," to which she replied:

> The girl that was in here with me when I first came in, I talked to her about it every day. I called my house, and she was there. I was like, "How did you find my house?" And she was like, "I remembered where you told me to go." And I was like, "Oh yeah." And she's like, "I've been thinking about it, and me and your mom are actually organizing some stuff to do for the summer for these kids here in the Village [a housing area near the Rosebud Casino]." I was like, "Are you serious?" And she's like, "Yeah, we got the volleyball net set up. We're digging for mud volleyball." [It's] something for the youth to do, because the Plaza is right there, and they sell alcohol (Youth's interview with author).

The young woman's words are instructive. Not only can Lakota youth do it, but they are doing it. Like the chokecherry tree growing miraculously between the fence in the *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* garden, Lakota prodigies—even while imprisoned—are finding ways to organize and promote others' freedom and wellbeing despite the barriers of carceral liberation.

Conclusion: **The Indigenous Body Amid Lakota and U.S. Body Politics**

This dissertation reveals the young, Indigenous body and embodied practices as central to the settler colonial project. Since scholarship about Native boarding schools has frequently overlooked the importance of these practices, in particular athletic and artistic activities, this dissertation makes an important intervention as it reconsiders frameworks used to analyze identity formations. Dominant frameworks frequently omit the realm of extracurricular activities—to which colonial and contemporary educational institutions have often relegated bodily practices—as serious and fruitful areas of inquiry. Not only do I examine how basketball and theatrical productions reinforced colonial projects, I bring attention to the Indigenous body's ways of recalling, knowing, and articulating. These dynamic systems of communicating knowledge are frequently dismissed by educators who pursue a Cartesian dualism, as evident in St. Francis Mission School's curricula. However, colonial educators' attentiveness to the body and embodied modes reveals that despite the binaries and hierarchies they sought to impose, they still recognized these realms as meaningful and therefore potentially threatening to institutional objectives.

St. Francis officials imbued athletics, arts, and their representations with conceptions of Indigenous otherness, deviance, inferiority, and childishness, which they contrasted with ideas about European American supremacy. In doing so, officials employed embodied practices as an attempt to justify colonization and colonial education. In contrast, some Lakota people used the fluidity of the embodied realms to revise and subvert assimilative aims. By delineating the ways that colonial educators expanded classroom ideologies into the extracurricular spaces that many Lakota students associated with enjoyment and entertainment, I highlight how play is not devoid of politics, but is heavily nationalized, racialized, and gendered for hegemonic aims.

Theoretical Frameworks: Fixing and Eclipsing

For colonial officials, Indigenous bodies and embodied practices offered yet another terrain to claim and control, and contrarily, for Native peoples to contest such oppressions and (re)assert their sovereignty. I propose the framework of "fixing" to simultaneously describe both officials' implementation of the colonial project through governing, improving, and sterilizing, and in contrast, Indigenous peoples' processes of counter negotiating and (re)indigenizing. The concept of "fixing" therefore underscores the interlocking nature of colonial authorities' strategies and Native peoples' tactics of resistance.

Historically and contemporarily, writing has served as a way to not only fix the meanings of Indigenous bodies and practices, but also situate them amid Lakota and U.S. body politics. Scholars have identified that Native studies tend to foreground Indigenous lands whereas African American studies often center black bodies (Tuck). Yet, Indigenous lands, bodies, and practices are inextricably connected. The continued and active presence of Native peoples on Native lands, engaging in practices that assert Indigenous identity, underpin claims to sovereignty. By representing Indigeneity and embodied practices as culturally *themed*, but notably not culturally *relevant*, educators tried to separate Native peoples and practices from their legitimacies and sovereignties. As I delineate, "eclipsing" is an intergenerational project of omission aimed at erasing Indigenous peoples from mainstream discourses and assimilating them for the purposes of strengthening U.S. supremacy. Yet, like "fixing," the framework of "eclipsing" also accounts for Lakota people's reworking of settler colonial projects. For example, Lakota people strategically omitted information from colonial authorities, including surreptitiously conducted

ceremonies and/or dances. The terms "fixing" and "eclipsing" therefore highlight that dominant and subordinate groups may employ similar methods to achieve disparate goals.

Although scholarship tends to portray Native boarding schools as assimilative environments that excluded references to Indiannness, this dissertation demonstrates that the reality is far more complex (Troutman 7). Through eclipsing and often for the purposes of fixing, educators selectively incorporated Indigenous practices and made students' bodies visible as Indigenous when such a maneuver served institutional aims. Eclipsing also illuminates the ways that social constructions and intersectionality function to eclipse non-dominant groups—such as Indigenous peoples, people of color, girls and women—from mainstream narratives.

The stakes of eclipsing are particularly high in the Indigenous context as many Native peoples are dual citizens of the U.S. and their tribal nation. For example, the widespread omission of Native sovereignty from dominant discourses through eclipsing empowers the U.S. nation state while suppressing Native nations' authority. St. Francis officials capitalized upon the public's enthrallment with Indigeneity by showcasing Lakota students through Catholic Indian publications, basketball tournaments, and theatrical productions. The mediated representations of basketball that appeared in *The Sioux Chieftain* attempted to teach Lakota students how to understand themselves according to dominant race and gender norms. These narratives do not eclipse histories of conflict between the U.S. government and the Lakota, but rather highlight them in an attempt to convey European American dominance, articulated through linear ideas about purported progress.

Race, Gender, and Basketball

At St. Francis, officials primarily associated basketball with male students. However, as previous literature identifies, other Native boarding schools gained acclaim because of the success of their girls' basketball team (Peavy and Smith). These differences illustrate the socially constructed and fluid way that colonial actors attached ideas about race and gender with embodied practices and the problems with generalizing findings about boarding school activities. Future research might meditate on the continuities and contradictions in mainstream depictions of Native young men and women's embodied performances.

As previously discussed, mainstream narratives construct Native men as figures of resistance (Huhndorf, *Mapping the Americas* 108), which may indicate why mainstream sportswriters touted U.S. atrocities committed against Native peoples in their articles about the St. Francis boys' basketball team. Sportswriters inflicting this treatment on the team despite or perhaps because of players' success and sportsmanship—which threatened the notion of European American supremacy—highlights the immense difficulty of Indigenous young men effectively assimilating into mainstream culture. That is, while St. Francis officials focused on fixing the individual through embodied and other educational curricula, societal structures and their material consequences significantly limited the scope of this project.

St. Francis students reacted to fixing in a wide range of ways: acceptance, acquiescence, adaptation, rewriting, and reconfiguring to achieve Indigenous desires and goals. Notably, in the present day, Lakota people continue to employ basketball to socialize Lakota youth, but for different purposes, encouraging them to pursue higher education while maintaining ties to their community and culture. The Lakota people with whom I spoke often conceived of basketball as related to—rather than a departure from—their pre-colonial practices. Unfortunately, because racialized logics persist into the present day, Lakota young people playing basketball continue to experience differential and dehumanizing treatment from outsiders.

Performing Theatrical Tropes

The theatrical productions differed from basketball at St. Francis in that these performances were heavily scripted. The predetermined movements, sets, and lines helped to fix the meanings of these performances for student actors and audience members alike. The plays that St. Francis orchestrated provided the opportunity for students to literally embody the narratives and ideologies that the institution promoted. Enacting these plays in the present, Lakota students performed past tribal consent to St. Francis's project of fixing, while the context of the productions eclipsed the coercive nature of colonialism and the contradictions inherent in the settler state project. These theatrical productions also suggested that Indigenous peoples could not escape conversion to Catholicism and/or death. However, although these plays may have been more determinate in meaning than athletics, this does not necessarily imply that Lakota people's interpretations of these plays were more limited. Lakota people could select and disregard the information presented to them. In addition, theater as a realm of not only education, but also entertainment, may have encouraged Lakota people to generously and lightheartedly approach the plays, which in many cases may have featured their young relatives.

Although boys and girls participated in theatrical productions and dance at St. Francis, this dissertation foregrounds Native women's considerations and contributions. I center Native girls in part to complement and complicate this dissertation's discussion of basketball, but also because the plays focused on Native women to promote St. Francis's project of assimilation and conversion. These productions emphasized gender binaries and age differentials among the students and linked these hierarchies to embodied practices. For instance, in enlisting children to perform Lakota dances, St. Francis officials sought to portray theses practices as juvenile. Yet again, Lakota students and community members may have fixed these depictions to suit their own purposes. Children performing Lakota dances indicated that the boarding school was playing a part in disseminating cultural knowledge to future generations. Lakota worldviews recognize young people as sacred, and as with many cultures, Lakota people cherish their children. As these performances opened themselves up to a spectrum of audience interpretations, it is possible that Lakota people took no offense to ideas about Native cultural inferiority. Nevertheless, it is important to consider the ideologies that may have both generated and informed these productions.

The play that I describe about Kateri Tekakwitha allows a unique glimpse of St. Francis students' bodies in motion; this film highlights tropes that portray Indigenous men as savages who brutally oppress Indigenous women, and conversely, European American men as Native women's saviors. As Lakota students at St. Francis interacted with one another and remained in contact with their communities, these representations probably did not persuade them that Indigenous men were violent. And yet, recent scholarship has shown that stereotypical depictions of Native Americans do cause young people harm (American Psychological Association). Students at St. Francis likely had more limited contact with African Americans than with Native peoples, and therefore, they did not have as much of a context to critique the derogatory jokes that appeared in *The Sioux Chieftain* or minstrel plays in which they performed.[71]

[71] Although as the interview I conducted with an elder-educator (cited in Chapter Two) reveals, in some cases, African American people became relatives to the Lakota.

Implications and Critical Futurities

Throughout the dissertation, I draw on Native cultural productions to think beyond the structural and institutional limitations of the current system. In creating a constellation that incorporates historical archival documents about theatrical productions and dance from St. Francis alongside a contemporary performance of a fancy shawl dance at Dartmouth College, I offer a methodology for meditating on archival omissions—particularly, the eclipsing of Indigenous dance and Indigenous bodies dancing. Indigenous cultural revitalization work requires building on previous knowledge and at times utilizing creative approaches to access the information that colonization has sought to eclipse and ultimately erase. Scholars likewise might employ interdisciplinary and imaginative methodologies to contemplate these absences and engage in cultural recovery and revitalization when appropriate.

Given the long and well-documented history of academic violence towards Native peoples, creative scholarship must also be coupled with accountability to Indigenous communities. For many reasons—including that responsible research practices are not a predetermined path and Indigenous peoples, even those from the same community, are not a monolithic group—conducting responsible scholarly work can still be complex and contested. Because of the ongoing misrepresentation of Indigenous peoples and practices, including them in the dialog is crucial, so as not to replicate previous injustices. Native peoples' input can be very important in deconstructing misconceptions that might arise from reading their actions through a non-native or tribally unspecific lens.[72] Of course for Indigenous peoples to provide a response requires work that the academy typically does not compensate. Therefore, scholars, such as myself, must commit themselves not only to rethinking what might constitute creative and ethical methodologies, but also to altering structures to provide support for Native peoples engaged in collaborative work with the academy.

Although an alternate constellation for this dissertation might have discussed the connections and contradictions between St. Francis Mission School and its successor St. Francis Indian School, I chose to foreground the ways that *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* perpetuates and departs from the colonial logics illuminated in the first two chapters. In doing so, I make clear the historical and contemporary linkages and departures among education and incarceration for Native young people. Like St. Francis Mission School, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* operates as a "total institution" (Goffman), socializing Native youth to contribute to national aims. Underscoring the important work that *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* administrators and educators undertake also allows for highlighting the ongoing limitations that the U.S. government places on Native sovereignty as well as its material consequences.

One way that the U.S. continues to limit Lakota sovereignty is through "carceral liberation." I develop this framework to describe how as a tribal institution *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* both moves beyond individual and communal acts of fixing and eclipsing and yet still remains limited by the current system. This concept also captures the paradox that, historically and contemporarily, Native peoples have often had unparalleled access to culturally relevant practices and ceremonies while incarcerated.[73] Based on Lakota epistemologies, carceral

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[72] For these reasons, I have circulated chapters of my dissertation among my interviewees for their feedback.

[73] In my next project, I delineate another contradictory facet of carceral liberation; although prisoners notoriously receive inadequate health care while incarcerated, I posit that as a result of social confinement, many actually receive greater access to medical treatment—including mental-health care—than they do prior to or after their release. According to Nathaniel Penn, "Due to a lack of funding for

liberation makes an intervention into the human centric-approach of critical prison studies and prison abolitionism by foregrounding the inextricable interconnections among humans, "animals, earth, and water" (Tuck and Yang 20). Such epistemologies not only offer an important critique of previous scholarship, but also are necessary for protecting our collective futurities. The Dakota Access Pipeline, which was constructed and completed as I finalized this dissertation—despite large-scale protests from Indigenous people and their allies—has already sprung three leaks in less than two months, spilling approximately 188 gallons of oil in North and South Dakota ("2 more leaks found"). This evidences a significant threat to the environment—which of course affects the health of animals, plants, and humans—for which corporations and U.S. officials must be held accountable.

Unlike the Canadian government, the U.S. has offered no apology for the colonial violence and enduring trauma that the boarding schools, institutions of colonial confinement, have caused. In not taking accountability for these historical injustices, the settler state can scapegoat Native nations for the structural injustices that contribute to the overrepresentation of Indigenous peoples in carceral facilities and maintain European American dominance through the imprisonment of Native peoples and people of color. This explains why, at a time when the U.S. government and mainstream media are rethinking mass incarceration, the U.S. government is allotting millions of dollars to construct permanent, carceral facilities in Indian country.

Today, Native nations collaborate with the U.S. government to incarcerate tribal members—albeit in a culturally sensitive manner. And yet, as I delineate, tribal carceral institutions afford benefits to Native peoples that are not available in state facilities, which should not be discounted. State and federal carceral facilities often transfer adult prisoners, who are predominantly impoverished people of color, out of their neighborhoods and into institutions, located in rural areas, demographically dominated by European Americans (Wagner and Kopf). One advantage of *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* is the ability for Native youth to remain in their communities or at least under the care of Native peoples. Here, we see the convergence in settler colonial and Indigenous logics, which recognize the injustices of removing young people from their communities. Not only might we reconsider the ethics of such displacement for adult, non-native prisoners, but also, as people who are imprisoned do not exist in isolation, it is important to reflect on how their relocation may detrimentally affect their families, including children and young people. In other words, we should consider the impacts of removal not only for prisoners, but also their relatives.

As I unfortunately uncover, in the present day, the U.S. government continues to privilege the imprisonment of Native peoples over their wellness by providing funding for constructing carceral facilities, but limiting and/or denying support for sustained programming. Yet working within the confines of carceral liberation, *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* administrators and educators rely on what I term "decolonial tactics," creative methods to counter and refute colonial logics of Native dehumanization and displacement and assert Native peoples and nations' interests.[74] A powerful imagining beyond the current system, Frank Waln's music video

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treatment facilities for the mentally ill, the Department of Corrections in any given state in America is also de facto that state's largest mental-health provider." Given the historical trauma that colonization has caused, providing access to mental-health care for Native peoples is a dire need.

[74] Mainstream society often expects Native peoples to offer their knowledge and time without payment, what I call "culturally uncompensated," which is why—as I posit earlier—it is important to rethink academic practices that request Indigenous involvement without reimbursement. Although for Lakota and other Native peoples, generosity without compensation is a paramount cultural value, this should not be

"Oil 4 Blood," asks its viewers to envision prison abolitionism and tribal sovereignty that is not dependent on the U.S. Similarly, the articulate, insightful, and generous voices of Native youth incarcerated at *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi* combat mainstream representations of people who are imprisoned. These youth challenge "social confinement"—the multiple and persuasive oppressions that lead to Native peoples' overrepresentation in detention facilities—by organizing for their peers' freedom while incarcerated and reframe the carceral conversation by focusing our attention on the structural factors that severely infringe on an individual's ability to make "good" or legal choices. Some of the youth with whom I spoke preferred incarceration to house arrest, because they did not believe that they could avoid engaging in illegal behaviors outside of the facility. By shifting the conditions of social confinement, carceral facilities, such as *Wanbli Wiconi Tipi*, can position young people for success. However, we must also build beyond the imaginings of the current system, which continue to link Indigeneity with deviance and confine Native peoples and practices.

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Figure 50. Marquette University Archives, Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Records, ID 09-1 51-08 1950s 05.

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invoked as an excuse to exploit Indigenous peoples. Identifying and naming "culturally uncompensated" as a phenomenon underscores this injustice and in doing so provides an entryway to discussing and alleviating this problem.

I opened this dissertation by discussing a photo of an unnamed student at St. Francis, a shirtless boy, wearing a faux-fur loincloth and culturally themed war paint, posed behind a Native American-style drum and before a U.S. flag. (See figure 1.) To be clear, the archives render him as unidentified, a lone individual, conquered property and project of the U.S. Yet there is another story to tell: one in which the boy is sacred, loved by his community, claimed by his nation; he, and all of his unborn descendants are Lakota, inextricably bound to Lakota lands, which extend far beyond Lakota reservation boundaries.

In the archives, there exists yet another photo of this student holding a bow, his torso still painted with the letters "U-S-A"; the U.S. flag still serves as the backdrop. (See figure 50.) Yet this time, the boy draws back upon the bow with an arrow. His gaze focuses upward, beyond the stars on the U.S. flag—perhaps towards the stars themselves, the constellations, about which, as I have underscored, Lakota people had advanced scientific knowledge prior to colonization. The image—which the photographer captured horizontally rather than vertically—excludes the letter "A," so that the writing on the boy's chest may be read as "U-S," or simply and tellingly, "us."

Yet the boy's fist, drawing back on the arrow, also obfuscates the letter "U" on his chest, showcasing the "S." In the black and white photo, the "S" bears an uncanny resemblance to a black snake. Some Lakota have linked a prophecy of a black snake—which foretells of a threat to Lakota life and land taking that shape—to the Dakota Access Pipeline (Wiles). In February 2017, Lakota tribes cited this prophecy in court documents filed against the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and Dakota Access, L.L.P. as an argument against the Pipeline, which violates their rights to religious freedom by "unbalanc[ing] and desecrat[ing] the water and render[ing] it impossible for the Lakota to use that water in their Inipi ceremony" (Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe v. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and Dakota Access, L.L.P. 3). U.S. and capitalist logics continue to provide the rationale for colonizing and exploiting Indigenous bodies and lands while Indigenous peoples rely on their worldviews—sometimes articulated in rhetoric legible to the settler state *and sometimes not*—to combat these threats.

This photo then provides the perfect metaphor for colonial officials and Indigenous peoples' fixing and eclipsing, which center on the meanings of Indigenous bodies and embodied practices, but are also connected to land, nationalisms, and sovereignties. The image also proposes—although in no way promises—Indigenous liberation. Despite the controlled signifiers in the photograph, in eclipsing the letter "A," the image portrays the contradictions and incompleteness inherent in the colonial project. In doing so, it allows for alternative meanings, entryways, and trajectories, which Native ancestors—and now their descendants—attempt to fix, despite nearly insurmountable odds, in a "good way" for Indigenous futurities. This is the ongoing, dynamic, and interlocking game, dance, performance, and work for Indigenous liberation, and the stakes are our collective survival.

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