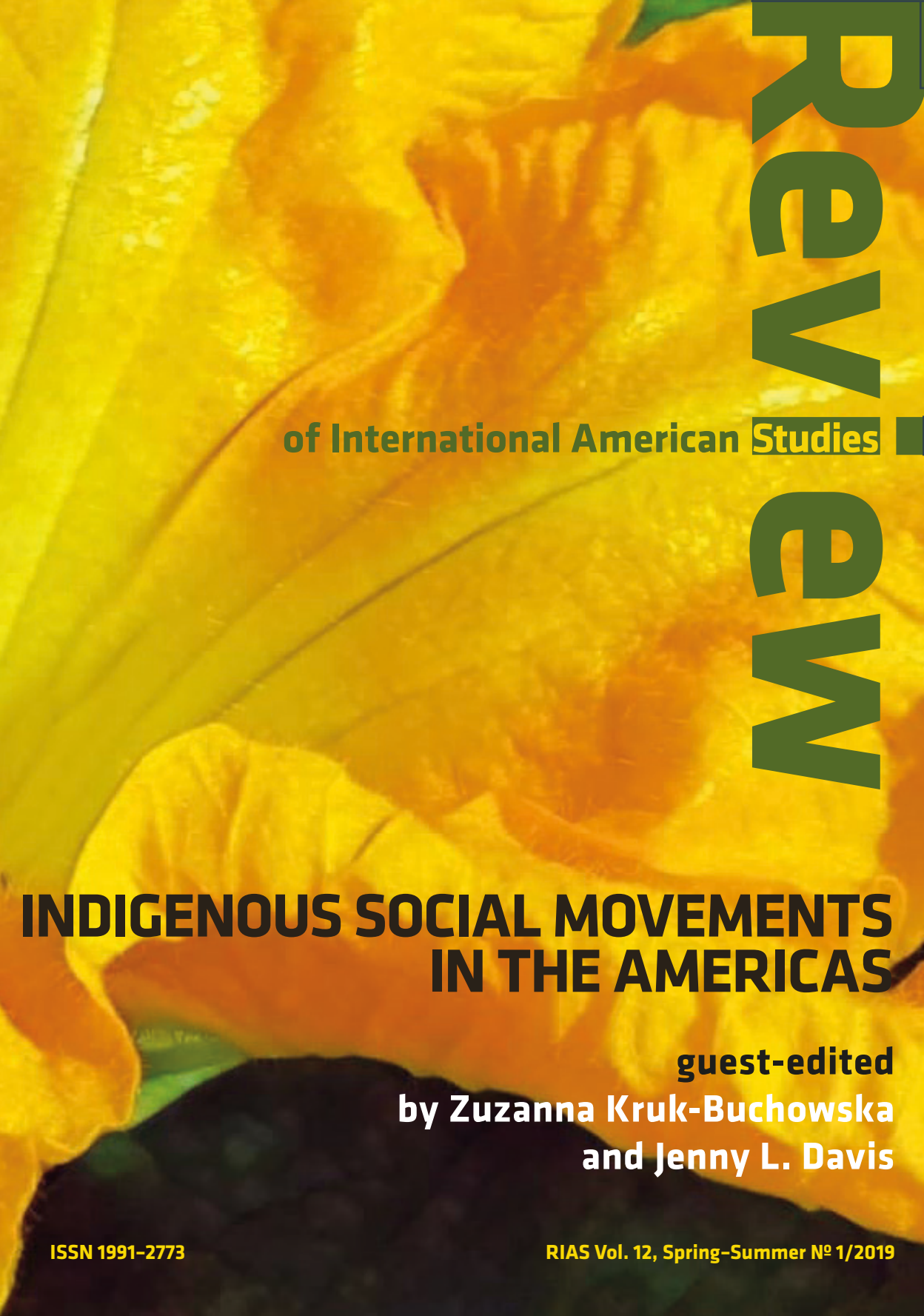

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INDIGENOUS SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE AMERICAS

guest-edited
by Zuzanna Kruk-Buchowska
and Jenny L. Davis

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THE SQUASH BLOSSOM

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The squash blossom: the epitome of life, a symbol of rejuvenation, a mini-sun, radiating the same warmth that called it into existence back into the world. One could hardly think of a better choice for the cover of an issue that marks perhaps the most significant moment in the evolution of our journal: the threshhold of international recognition. Countless hours of our work of love, hundreds of telephone conversations, skype connections, e-mail exchanges, visits to the offices of the ever-helpful typesetters, managers and production editors at the University of Silesia Press in Katowice, nights after nights spent online with IT specialists (who would never refuse to put in plenty of extra time to make sure that we implement the new Open Journal System in time for the ministerial assessments of *RIAS* in Italy and Poland)—all that (and much much more) allowed the *Review of International American Studies* to flourish like it never has before.

Thanks to the unswerving dedication of a small, but enthusiastic group of people, today the *Review of International American Studies* is indexed in the prestigious Elsevier Scopus database and features in the European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences (ERIH+); it has its own profile in the Index Copernicus Journal Master List with the Index Copernicus Value (ICV) for 2017 of 77.29 (out of 100!). But there is more: recently the *RIAS* received an "A" class category in the parametric evaluation of the Italian Ministry of Science and was granted as many as 20 parametric points in the most recent evaluation of the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education.

Our distribution is flourishing as well: electronic copies of our journal (both full issues and individual articles) are now available to the readers in hundreds of libraries world-wide via the Central

and Eastern European Online Library, an important German content and metadata aggregator run by Wolfgang and Bea Klotz and operating from Frankfurt am Main. Likewise, owing to the steadfast loyalty of Beata Klyta, the indefatigable director of the University of Silesia Press and a major champion of our cause, *RIAS* is now available in such renowned repositories as CEJSH, BAZHUM or POLINDEX, which institutions render our texts visible to the reading public world-wide.

That, of course, is not all. Our OJS has been thoroughly upgraded—it connects our citations to a number of systems, whose algorithms translate them into parameters impacting the standing of our journal and the visibility of our contributions. Our new user interface is now visually pleasing and easy to operate, and our pdf files now include active hyperlinks to quoted online material, ORCID identifiers and DOI servers. See for yourselves: click here!

The organizational and technological improvements, the increase of our visibility and the institutional recognition of the *Review of International American Studies* go hand in hand with the expansion of our Editorial Team: we are delighted to welcome on board Manlio Della Marca (Amerika-Institut, LMU München), the new Book Review Editor, as well as Mark Olival-Bartley (Amerika-Institut, LMU München) and Emily Metzner (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), our new Senior Copyeditors. And, naturally, we shall be delighted if other Colleagues should wish to join us: we constantly need specialists in fundraising, in PR, in international promotion, we could certainly use the skills of experienced copyeditors, or the acute insight of book reviewers. We will always need peer-referees, graphic designers and website administrators... there is enough of (disarmingly unpaid) work for ten more people at *RIAS.* Game?

On behalf of the whole *RIAS* Editorial Team, I wish to express our most sincere thanks to a legion of people who remain invisible, but without whom of journal would never soar as high as it does today: our editors, our typesetters, our IT specialists, the whole wonderful team of the University of Silesia Press, the *IASA* management and the *IASA* Executive Board. Thanks to you, as a source of knowledge and as an agora of cutting-edge intellectual exchange, *RIAS* serves the purpose of making the world a better place.

Paweł Jędrzejko
RIAS Managing Editor

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INDIGENOUS SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE AMERICAS

Introduction

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The present issue of the *Review of International American Studies* explores selected cases of Indigenous resistance to oppressive forms of environmental, socio-economic, linguistic, and cultural colonialism. Looking at both multi-tribal and single-tribal contexts, the authors look at the Dakota Access Pipeline protests, the novels of Lakota/Anishinaabe writer Frances Washburn, the Two Spirit movement in the U.S., and the Indigenous food sovereignty movement in the U.S. and Peru as sites of creative forms of decolonizing resistance, and analyze the material, discursive, and cultural strategies employed by the Indigenous activists, writers, and farmers involved.

In the first article of the issue, "'Fires were lit inside them': The Pyropolitics of Water Protector Camps at Standing Rock", Elizabeth Hoover utilizes Michael Marder's concept of *pyropolitics* to analyze the literal and metaphorical uses of fire to protect water from industrial capitalism during the Dakota Access Pipeline protests at Standing Rock. Following a discussion of the numerous ways in which fire has been used at the camps (for instance, as cooking fire and ceremonial fire), the author describes how the "sparks ignited at Standing Rock" have been taken home by the activists to other struggles against the building of pipelines, the contamination of water, and the appropriation of Indigenous land. The article is based on ethnographic research conducted by the author during her visits to Standing Rock during the protests.

In "'Bringing Things Together': Tribalography, Lakota Language, and Communal Healing in Frances Washburn's *Elsie's Business* and *The Sacred White Turkey*", Joanna Ziarkowska applies LeAnne Howe's concept of tribalography to look at how Indigenous communities presented in the two novels engage in practices of cultural revival, such as storytelling, speaking Lakota language, and observing Lakota ceremonies in a colonial context. However, preserving Indigenous culture is seen as more than just an act of resistance: it is an act of healing and restoring of harmony in troubled communities.

Next, Jenny Davis offers an analysis of the discursive strategies within Two Spirit events and groups that emphasize the definition of 'Two Spirit' as an Indigenous identity. In the article "Refusing (Mis)Recognition: Navigating Multiple Marginalization in the U.S. Two Spirit Movement", she points to the fact that the necessity to negotiate between unifying Native American terms as well as culturally- and community-specific terms burdens members of the already multiply marginalized community. By referring to Audra Simpson's concept of the politics of refusal, she argues that Two Spirit Individuals refuse such categorizations and the dichotomies implied in them.

The last two articles in the issue deal with Indigenous food sovereignty. In her article, "Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Indigenous Foodways in the Andes of Peru", Mariaelena Huambachano offers a comparison of the traditional foodways of the Choquecancha and Rosaspata Quechua communities in the Peruvian Andes, where she has conducted ethnographic research. In applying the lens of Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), she seeks to address its diversity and complexity in the context of Quechua sustainable food systems, and she proposes an Indigenous-based theoretical model of food sovereignty based on these communities' TEKs. At the same time, she considers the impact of Indigenous peoples' knowledge for global food security.

Last, Zuzanna Kruk-Buchowska looks at the role of the traditional foodways of the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin in their contemporary food sovereignty efforts. In her article titled "Food Sovereignty Practices at the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin Tsyu-

nhehkw^ farm: The Three Sisters, Ceremony and Community", she looks at the work of the tribe's organic farm, Tsyunhehkw^ (joon-hen-kwa), which serves important cultural, economic, and educational purposes for the community and provides it with traditional crops, such as white corn and tobacco, which are used in Oneida ceremonies. Based on interviews conducted with the farm's employees, she considers their understandings of the continuity of food and agricultural traditions, such as the Three Sisters (corn, beans and squash) in the community.

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"FIRES WERE LIT INSIDE THEM:"

The Pyropolitics of Water Protector Camps at Standing Rock

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> *"It's a survival thing. Without fire there wouldn't be life. Existence would be impossible for human beings. We cook over the fire. We warm our cold bodies after a hard day's work over the fire. We sleep with the fire. We gather as a community around the fire. We pray around the fire. We cry around the fire. We smile around the fire. On a day-to-day basis fire is essential for our survival and even our mental and emotional wellbeing. There's nothing like warmth."*
>
> Dustin, Pueblo camp resident

> *"The symbolic fires were put out and that shocked us all. But we need to ask did the fire really go out? No it didn't, as it lit the fire within us all. It ignited like a brush fire and all Indigenous nations' fires were lit inside them. Now the world has been awakened by our Mother Earth and mni wiconi. So take what you have learned and go to your respected nations to light the fire brighter to awaken our own nations."*
>
> Lewis Grassrope, Lakota camp resident and Horn headsman

Fire has been instrumental in the development of human beings as a species, and has broadly shaped the development of different human societies. Around the world, fire has played an important role in religious rituals and social rites (Macauley), and historic fires have shaped civilizations (Pyne *World Fire*). Changing social, political, and environmental conditions brought on by colonization have led to the types of wildfires currently blazing across the American west (Pyne *Fire in America*), and the slash-and-burn fires blazing through rainforests seen as threatening the natural environment and the temperature of the planet as a whole (Clark; Clark and Yusoff). In the 'develo-

ped world,' people's relationship to fire has changed dramatically since industrialization. Hidden combustion has replaced open burning– lightbulbs replaced candles, gas heaters or furnaces for fireplaces, electric range stoves for cooking fires. Many people have become removed from fire, occasionally flicking a lighter or striking a match to light a cigarette or a festive candle.

As the fire régimes of colonial nations have changed, largely eliminating open fires, those nations have then encouraged or coerced cultures that had utilized open outdoor fires to curtail those practices. "The open flame–fluttering in the wind – remains, for modern economics and environmentalism, symbol of defiant primitivism, and only by quenching it can a people cross the threshold to modernity" (Pyne, *Fire: A Brief History* 154.) While Pyne is describing the problem of temperate European or settler colonial countries like those in North America that are trying to control forest ecologies in places that still practice controlled burns, this philosophy also applies to the ways in which settler governments and pipeline supporters viewed the #NoDAPL anti--pipeline movement, and the lifestyle of residents of the camps that formed in support of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, who suddenly found themselves living in close proximity to a variety of open flames. Camp residents used fire in a number of material ways–from the ceremonial fire that served as the heart of camp, to the secular social fires that brought people together at night, the home and hearth fires that kept people alive as the temperatures dropped well below freezing (and nearly killed people when they got out of control and burned down structures), and the cooking fires–burning wood or consuming propane–which kept camp residents fed. Lighters kept in pockets were imperative for the smoking habit taken up by many, or to light sage bundles for smudging. Fire was also used for protection and to express anger, as barricades and construction equipment were set alight to drive back authorities.

But the language of fire has also been used in illustrative ways to describe how social movements spark, flare, and sometimes sputter out. A spark of an idea will spread like wildfire among believers, until people, coming up against too many barriers and too few victories, become burned out. Bridging these notions,

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pyropolitics is a term described by philosopher Michael Marder (2015) as the literal and metaphorical mentions and uses of fires, flames, sparks, immolations, incinerations, and burning in political theory and practices. Building on recent scholarship about protest camps, as well as borrowing language from environmental historian Stephen Pyne about fire behavior, this article draws from ethnographic research to describe the pyropolitics of the Indigenous-led anti-pipeline movement at Standing Rock—examining how fire was used as analogy and in material ways to support and drive the movement to protect water from industrial capitalism. Describing ceremonial fires, social fires, home fires, cooking fires, and fires lit in protest on the front line, this article details how fire was put to work in myriad ways to support the movement against the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL), and ensure social order and physical survival at the camps built to house supporters of the movement. This article concludes with descriptions of how the sparks ignited at Standing Rock followed activists home to their own communities, to other struggles that have been taken up to resist pipelines, the contamination of water, and the appropriation of Indigenous land.

FIRE ANALOGIES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

People in protest often move like fire, and use fire as a tool for conveying their message. Sociologist Michael Biggs notes that historians have persistently likened strike waves to wildfires, and was thus inspirited to develop the "forest fire model" to analyze the outbreaks of class conflict in Chicago in the late nineteenth century (Biggs, "Strikes as Forest Fires" 1705–1706). Analogies of wildfire and fever were used in early accounts of the sit-ins that kicked off the Civil Rights Movement in the United States in the 1960s. Martin Oppenheimer (cited in Polletta 137) described how "the sit-ins caught on in the manner of a grass fire, moving from the center outward," spreading to fifty-four cities in nine states in a matter of a few months. Descriptions of the student protests "burst[ing]," "exploding," "sweeping," "surging," "unleashed," "rip[ping] through the city like an epidemic," of students "fired" by the "spark of the sit-ins," were common and suggested an unstoppable moral impetus (Poletta 150). Some activists

in the 1960s also used fire in extreme sacrifice to publicly deliver messages against oppression, through self-immolation "using their bodies like a lamp for help" as Buddhist monk Thích Thiên-Ân described the famous self-immolation of Thich Quang Duc in 1963 in Saigon in protest of dictatorship in Vietnam, and others who followed suit (Biggs, "Dying Without Killing" 178). Because this act received wide media coverage, with a few years self-immolation entered the global repertoire of protest, and Christians in America were setting fire to themselves in protest against American foreign policy in 1965, and Czech student Jan Palach in 1969 to protest Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia (181). This trend has continued around the world as an extreme way to protest government policies in France, Vietnam, India, South Korea and China, among the most documented cases (Biggs "Dying Without Killing").

On a slightly larger scale, full-blown revolutions have utilized both analogies of fire and lighting physical fires as a means to an end. Journalist and foreign policy analyst Mark Perry (28) states that "fire is both the symbol of revolution and its most powerful weapon," noting how the American, French, German, and Iranian Revolutions all began with fires. He quotes 1812 revolutionary Claude Francois de Malet "with a match one has no need of a lever. One does not lift up the world, one burns it" (29). Similarly, the Arab Spring began with fire, as a Tunisian street vendor set himself on fire in December 2010. Revolutions "begin with a spark, become a fire, and end with a conflagration," fueled especially by disaffected youth (30). Speaking about the Arab Spring, Perry (33) describes how "the violence that sparked this fire will grow and spread … consuming fires of this size are not often contained, but spread. These rulers are worried because they should be." Thus, "for onlookers, the best policy is not to interfere, but to let the fire burn" (27). He concludes that "In truth, our best policy is to do what firefighters do when faced with an overwhelming conflagration: they let it burn. For, in truth, the fire that we are witnessing cannot be extinguished: it is not in Tunis or Cairo or Sanaa or Damascus– it is in the minds of Arabs" (33).

But while Perry describes the fires of the literal and figurative form that have accompanied the world's major revolutions,

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Seneca scholar John Mohawk also notes that lighting these fires is not generally easy:

> Lightning strikes the earth hundreds of times every day but produces fire only rarely, and those fires seldom burn very far from the point of impact. Over the centuries, however, some fires can be expected to be significant. When conditions are right, fires can burn huge areas and conceivably change the world they touch forever. Revitalization movements—movements to create conscious change in the culture inspired by visions, revelations, or challenging circumstances—have appeared among human populations in history in a manner resembling lighting fires. A few such movements—especially those originally inspired by utopian beliefs or the pursuit of the ideal—continue to shape today's world (261).

Or, speaking literally on the matter, Pyne noted, "It can be as tricky to start a fire as to stop one" (*Fire: Nature and Culture,* 24).

But while analogies of fire have often been applied to social justice movements, what has been less explored are the connections between these analogies and material uses of fire as part of the ceremonial and domestic life of a movement.

PROTEST CAMP SCHOLARSHIP

While the movement to resist the Dakota Access Pipeline included actions in communities and major cities across the U.S., this paper explores the #NoDAPL movement within the very specific space of the camps that formed at Standing Rock. Frenzel, Feigenbaum & McCurdy note that "despite protest camps' increasing role as an organizational form of protest, research on camps is limited" (457).[1] But, they argue, the establishing of camps was not just a passing tactic: "they can be the focal point of a movement both organizationally and symbolically," and thus there should be a more focused analysis of "the protest camp as both a contemporary and a historical movement practice (458.) They note that spatiality is at the heart of all protest camps, as they

1. I want to note that participants of the #NoDAPL movement rejected the term "protester" in favor of "water protectors," commonly employing the slogan "we are protectors not protestors" made popular by, among others, the Indigenous-led organization Honor The Earth during their campaign against pipelines in Minnesota.

are often defined by their physical location, and from this location serve a symbolic role to mobilize campers. As will be described below, the location of the camps themselves, along the path of a pipeline that was seen to threaten the adjacent Standing Rock Sioux Reservation, was a key aspect in mobilizing support and validating the cause. But in addition, the different types of fires within the camp also served to create specific types of spaces, determining which types of behaviors should be conducted where.

While there is not necessarily a corpus of scholarship specific to Indigenous protest camps, the American Indian civil rights movement has relied on the physical occupation of unusual places with Native bodies as a form of protest against American policy since at least the 1960s. As Native scholars Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior (1996) describe in their seminal work on this movement, the occupation of Alcatraz from 1969–1971 by Indians of All Tribes represented one of the first political pan-Indian movements in the country, working towards the ownership of the island, and the establishment of educational and community center facilities for urban Indians in the Bay Area. While the 19-month habitation of the constructed community on the island did not accomplish these goals, it did garner worldwide attention to the plight of American Indian people. Subsequent to this occupation, members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) also used their bodies in place to briefly inhabit the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in Washington in 1972, and then the town of Wounded Knee for 71 days in 1973, in protest of federal government policies and corrupt federal-government-backed tribal governments (Smith and Warrior). While scholars who have theorized the history and functioning of protest camps have not focused on this particular history, it was salient in the minds of some of the Indigenous activists who took part in resisting the Keystone XL pipeline, the #NoDAPL movement that will be described below, and subsequent protest camps that have developed against other pipeline projects (Estes).

Within protest camps, the study of affect can be used to explain social interactions and experiences, including "affect as the ways that sensations can move and circulate through physical and virtual spaces" (Feigenbaum, Frenzel & McCurdy 23). Citing the work

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of Anna Gibbs around the role of media and 'affect contagion', Feigenbaum, Frenzel & McCurdy describe how media acts as amplifiers of affect, increasing the rapidity of communication and extending its reach almost globally (23). A perfect example of this occurred when in late October of 2016, people around the globe began "checking in" on Facebook at the site of the Oceti Sakowin camp at Standing Rock, even though they were not there at the site in person, in an effort to help protestors avoid detection by police. As a *Time* article described at the time, "the Facebook activists are following the instructions of a viral post encouraging people to check in at the site to confuse the Morton County Sheriff's Department [...] The initiative spread like wildfire online Monday, with more than 100,000 Facebook check ins at the Standing Rock Indian Reservation. The reservation has a population of less than 10,000" (Worland). In the end, more than 1.5 million people checked in as part of this remote action, as people used virtual space in defense of a physical one (Kennedy).

STANDING ROCK AND #NODAPL

The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe (SRST) is a sovereign tribal nation located on the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation, comprised of 2.3 million acres that shares a border with both North Dakota and South Dakota. Even though a series of treaties, like the 1851 and the 1868 Ft Laramie Treaties, delineated a Great Sioux Reservation, subsequent acts of Congress as well as illegal actions by federal and state governments and encroaching settlers diminished their tribal land base. By the 1930s most of Standing Rock's Native families lived on the eastern part of the reservation along the Missouri River and its tributaries. In 1944 Congress authorized the construction of five major dams along the Missouri River, each located just downstream from Indian reservations, in order to help with flood control and irrigation for white farmers. Despite protest from the Standing Rock Tribal government, the Army Corps of Engineers (ACOE) completed the Oahe Dam in 1959, which inundated 55,993 acres of reservation land and forced the relocation of hundreds of families (Ruelle; Lawson).

The tribe has continued to fight to protect what land and resources they have left. In 2012 this included passing a resolution

opposing all pipelines. In 2014, when it came to light that Energy Transfer Partners (ETP) planned to reroute the proposed Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) from its original path north of the town of Bismarck, North Dakota to instead cross the river just north of the reservation, the SRST expressed complete opposition to the plan and warned of resistance on the ground if the reroute proceeded. In early 2016 community meetings were held with elders on Standing Rock, and in March the "Run For Water" was organized by Bobbi Jean Three Legs. On April 1, 2016, Ladonna Brave Bull Allard and youth organizers opened the Sacred Stone Camp on Allard's property, inspired by the Keystone XL Spirit Camp on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation. The "Run For Your Life" from Cannon Ball, North Dakota to the Army Corp of Engineers Region 8 Headquarters in Omaha, Nebraska 532 miles away took place from April 24–May 2. In May, the rezpectourwater.com youth website was launched, and the SRST Council voted to support the youth and opposition to DAPL. In June, a Change.org online petition was launched, and Sacred Stone camp hosted 5–7 residents. A month later, on July 15 the youth organized a spirit run to the ACOE office in Washington, DC, to deliver a petition with 160,000 signatures. Regardless, in late July, ACOE announced its intent to approve the final DAPL permits to bore under the Missouri River.

By the end of August, Sacred Stone camp had grown to 300–500 water protectors. During the third week in August, an overflow site, named Oceti Sakowin Camp (meaning Seven Council Fires) was established on land taken from the tribe by ACOE as part of the creation of Lake Oahe. Red Warrior Camp was set up just north of Oceti Sakowin, and Rosebud Camp directly on the banks of the Cannon Ball River, across the river from Oceti, and near Sacred Stone. Also in August, DAPL survey and construction crews arrived, along with the Morton County Sheriff's Department, and the North Dakota governor declared a state of emergency in response to the increased peaceful resistance. In September, DAPL crews armed with security dogs and mace attacked water protectors who were trying to protect sacred sites from being bulldozed. In October, law enforcement attacked the 1851 Treaty Camp that had been set

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up along the pipeline route, using Humvees, helicopters, a LRAD sound weapon, impact munitions, and chemical agents. They were met with peaceful protest, but also flaming barricades as water protectors worked to keep authorities from overrunning the other camps. On November 20, confrontations on Backwater Bridge resulted in injuries to water protectors as officers fired water cannons, chemical agents, tear gas grenades, and impact munitions into the crowd at freezing temperatures. Rather than discouraging camp participation, this brought in more—during the Thanksgiving weekend there were estimates of up to 15,000 people staying in the camps, making it the 9th largest city in North Dakota at the time. In early December, the camp was joined by thousands of veterans of U.S. wars.

On December 4, 2016 the ACOE denied the easement that would allow the DAPL to cross under Lake Oahe, and many at camp celebrated what seemed to be a victory. But immediately upon taking office, President Trump signed an executive order to build the final section of pipeline. The ACOE subsequently withdrew its call for an environmental study, and then on February 7, 2017 approved the easement. On February 22–23, police rounded up or drove out the last remaining residents at Oceti Sakowin camp (at that point known as Oceti Oyate), and on February 28–March 2 conducted a raid of Sacred Stone camp, removing the last of its residents.

RESEARCH METHODS

I visited the Oceti Sakowin camp on November 17–28, 2016, and then again on January 9–19, 2017, primarily as a participant, in order to support the #NoDAPL movement, to take part in the largest Indigenous social movement so far in my lifetime, as well as to work in the kitchens so that I could make sure people were fed. As part of my involvement in this movement, I became interested in the myriad ways that fire was used both in material ways and as analogy at camp and online. As part of exploring this topic, I kept extensive notes while I was at camp, and in addition conducted 9 interviews with Indigenous people who had spent time at the Oceti Sakowi and Red Warrior camps. Five interviews were conducted in person at the camp in January

2017; one in February 2017 at the Indigenous Farming Conference on the White Earth Reservation; one at the Great Lakes Intertribal Food Summit at Jijak on the Gun Lake Potawatomi Reservation in April 2017, one on the Akwesasne Mohawk reservation in May 2017, and one by phone in May 2017. Participants represented Lakota, Pueblo, Mohawk, Tlingit, Anishinaabe, and Diné (Navajo) communities. Where they have agreed to have their identities disclosed, interviewees are identified by their first name and tribal affiliation, or in cases where they preferred not to be identified by name, just by affiliation. I also collected 20 social media posts, uploaded to Facebook between December 11, 2016–April 4, 2017 that also illustrated issues around fire. All quotes below are taken either from these interviews or social media posts. While I recognize the important contribution of non-Native allies in the #NoDAPL movement, I chose to only focus on Native camp participants because I was interested in the ways in which participants' Indigenous cultural backgrounds informed their perceptions of fire and the movement.

SACRED FIRES AT CAMP

THE CENTRAL CEREMONIAL FIRE

When the Sacred Stone Camp was started, a ceremonial fire was lit with the prayer that more people would come, and that the easement for the pipeline to pass under the river would be denied. As Lakota tribal member Aldo Seoane described in a Facebook live feed,[2] "the fire that was lit, the ember that lit that fire, actually came from the Youth. And the prayers the Youth created" (Seoane). When the overflow camps were started, coals were carried from the Sacred Stone fire to light the new central fires. As Waniya, who is Lakota, described, "when we got relocated over there, they dug a pit and they said the exact same prayers. That when people would come, they'll be fed, they'll be warm, they'll be taken care of, and that they'll feel loved. And then that fire was lit for a second time" (Waniya).

2. On December 5, 2016 Aldo Seone left camp and recorded a 20 minute live speech in order to try to explain the cultural context of the different fires at camp, for the benefit of all of the people who were expressing upset about the extinguish of the main fire at Oceti Sakowin.

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This sacred fire at Oceti Sakowin, visible almost as soon as people entered the north gate, became a central meeting place. As new people came into camp, many reported to the central fire to introduce themselves, deliver messages from their home tribal communities, and to receive announcements (although an emcee with a microphone and sound system that was continuously set up there made announcements audible through most of camp). According to Waniya, "There's 748 tribes that came in to Standing Rock, and at one time every single group has stood around that fire. So it was definitely to bring unity, and it was also to signify that we're all here together" (Waniya).

In addition to serving this social and administrative function, the space around this sacred fire was replete with protocols and proscribed behaviors. People were instructed to approach the fire in prayer; people were not supposed to take photos in this space, and women were expected to wear skirts. This fire was tended constantly and had to remain continuously lit. People met, prayed, sang, and danced around that fire. As individual tribal camps formed within Oceti Sakowin, some of them chose to start their own sacred fires (as distinct from social fires and cooking fires) using the coals from the central sacred fire.

HORN FIRE

For the first time since 1845, all seven nations that comprise the original Oceti Sakowin seven council fires came together at the camp, in one place for a common goal. To commemorate this, on November 5, 2016, they set up seven tipis in the shape of a buffalo with its horns down, and each of the seven nations put forth a headman to represent them. A ceremony was conducted by Lakota elders Arvol Looking Horse and John Eagle, and a ceremonial fire was lit, using coals from the central fire. As Aldo Seoane described it:

> It was that fire lit that was us reaching back through our minds, through our understandings, back to 1845 and bringing that energy forward, so that there was a road for them to come and start to work on our minds start to work on our understandings to helping us in how we're going to govern this new direction that we're going and how we can support one another in a harmonious way (Seoane).

In this way, the Horn fire was not just another fire at the camp, but one that specifically had historic roots and connections for citizens of the member nations of the Oceti Sakowin.

OCETI OYATE

In December, when the ACOE denied DAPL the easement to pass under the river, the camps celebrated, and the main central ceremonial fire at Oceti Sakowin was put out. This was upsetting for some people who had become very attached to the fire and had expectations that it would remain lit. As Beatrice (Tlingit/Anishinaabe) expressed it:

> The fire was meant to be lit the whole time at Standing Rock. We were invited to be there, we were asked to be there, we came from many nations all over the world to come there to be peaceful water protectors. And the fire was very much a part, when you came into that gate, and you look over to your right and there would be the sacred fire, and we'd go there and hold meetings there and have our songs, it's where the women went to do their tobacco pipe ceremonies and our water ceremonies. So the fire watched over the people [...] when we were asked to leave Standing Rock I heard they put out the fire, because they said what they wanted to do was to stop that pipeline, and everything was agreed that it was supposed to stop. So they put out that fire. And sent people home. But I think they also wanted the people to leave. And if you had no sacred fire, then what are you going to do? (Beatrice)

But as Waniya described it:

> One of the first prayers was to have the easement be denied, which our prayer was fulfilled and we had a *wopila* for it and therefore we had to put out the first fire. People didn't understand that because they're not Lakota or Dakota and they couldn't comprehend that, the first prayer was answered, there still many more prayers that need to be answered and there's still a long battle ahead of us. But we had to put out that fire because that was an acknowledgment to the spirits for helping us deny the easement. It wasn't like, we're trying to send people home. We just had to acknowledge that the first prayer was answered. But there was a long line of prayers that came after (Waniya).

A new fire was then started, relit with new prayers, and the camp was redubbed Oceti Oyate, under the leadership of Chase Iron

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Eyes.[3] In a live feed posted on Facebook on December 11, 2016, Chase explained: "Today one of the sacred fires was extinguished by those who started that fire, but whenever something like that happens, an end always signals a new beginning and a new day is dawning here at All Nations camp" (Iron Eyes).

INDIVIDUAL CAMP SACRED FIRES

Within the larger Oceti Sakowin camp, smaller sub-camps developed, often centered around a tribe or region. Many of these smaller camps lit sacred fires of their own, using coals from the central fire. These ceremonial fires were treated differently from cooking fires or social fires, and people were expected to show them the same level of respect as the main sacred fire. One interviewee from Pueblo camp described how he felt it was the ceremonial fire in his camp that brought people from all over the world to visit them; they were drawn to its spirit. But then their fire went out for a bit, in part because as it got cold and people tended it less and wanted to use the wood instead for their home structures, and in part also due to strife in their camp. After they had a meeting addressing these issues, they decide it was "time to put that fire up again and unite everybody again" (Pueblo Man). The relighting of this camp's fire as a sacred fire, rather than a social or cooking fire, caused some confusion for people who had been gone for a few days, and upon returning were taken to task for throwing paper into the fire, an act that would have been acceptable when the fire was classified differently. A Mohawk interviewee, who had considered himself fairly spiritual, also expressed confusion about the classification of fires, remembering being yelled at "'hey you can't put that stick in the fire, it's sacred [...] oh, you can't cook in that, it's sacred.' Huh. That was kind of strange for me" (Shatekaronhiase**)**. In a camp that brought together people from hundreds of different tribal nations (as well as non-Indigenous backgrounds), establishing ceremonial protocol for everyone to follow could be challenging, even as the goal was to unite everyone.

3. Although, one Lakota speaker and long time camp participant complained to me that "Oceti Oyate" translated to "Fire people," which she expressed "isn't even grammatically correct in Lakota language," and so she felt it was not an appropriate new name for the camp.

While the ceremonial fires served their spiritual purposes, at night the camp was also dotted with over a dozen social fires, campfires that people gathered around for warmth and socializing, and singing with hand drums. These fires served to bring people together and form social bonds. It was these moments, wandering from one campfire to the next, from 49 songs[4] to stick games, that the camp felt to some, like me, like a sort of Indigenous social utopia. Vanessa, an Indigenous medic who spent several months in camp, described how during her first night:

> It was a little cold at night but not too bad, and I stood around the fire and talked. I went to bed in my tent, but I could see the glow of the fire and it was mellow and calming. Our people playing hand drums, sitting around their campfire and their camp. I heard people drumming and having just good songs going. I heard horses neighing outside of my tent. Just the glow of the fire, the way everything was, I said, you know this is perfect! This is the way life is supposed to be, and this is the way it used to be. Just hearing those low conversations around the fire. And everywhere you went there were people sitting at a fire, just sharing and talking and laughing and living. I think for the first time in a very long time, a lot of people were out of their homes. They were living communally. People would wander from campfire to campfire and just sit and talk. And good conversations were had. And talking about important issues, and not lying. There was a real connection there, a real community spirit. So fire did play an important part in very real ways (Vanessa).

As Beatrice asserted, "that's really the essence of fire, is the bringing of people together" (Beatrice).

Also around these social fires, many people took up smoking cigarettes. Several people reported to me that they had never smoked before coming to camp. The new, or accelerated, smoking habit that people picked up, combined with the tear gas shot by authorities, the dust kicked up by cars driving over makeshift dirt roads around camp, smoke from fires in every corner of camp, and some would assert toxicants being dropped from DAPL-hired

4. 49 songs are contemporary social dance songs, sung to a round dance beat. The lyrics often include message in English, and address relationships, sometimes in serious, sometimes in humorous ways. There were songs that people brought from their home tribal communities, and others that were written specifically about the #NoDAPL movement.

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planes, led to what came to be known as "the DAPL cough"—a lung rattling cough that persisted for many for months after returning from camp.

HOME FIRES

As Marder notes, "there is no dwelling without an inner fire, around which the house is constructed and its inhabitants gather for nourishment and warmth" (129). For people at camp, this worked on multiple levels: fire forms and symbolizes kinship, in addition to keeping people alive through warmth, and serving as a locus around which people had to negotiate their domestic living situations.

Cynthia Fowler uses the term "pyrosphere" to describe the interpersonal interactions between people who participate in the ignition and management of intentionally lit fires (Fowler). For two of the camp residents I spoke with, in their tribal communities, families comprise these pyrospheres, and conversely, fire defines family. In reflecting on the meaning of fire for her people, Waniya described how in Lakota, the words for family represent relationships around fire, and one's relationship to members of a household dictated how one approached and where one sat around a fire inside a lodge. How one took care of their home fire was a reflection on that family. She went on:

> [Fire] symbolizes a lot: It symbolizes warmth, it symbolizes home, it symbolizes food. Fire represents a lot of different things. What it means to Lakota people is it's definitely a homestead and we're *thiwahe* we›re a family. And then we're *thiyospaye* that's extended family […]. This is all based around the fire, and so any time we enter a lodge the first thing you see is their fire. That takes work to maintain, so you got to have good work ethics, so you got to be able to project and foresee. I have this X amount of wood and it's going to last me this many days. So you just got to really project how long your fire will run. And then how hot your fire will run, and that has some science in it to. So like, are you going to use it to cook with? Are you going to make coffee out of it? Are you going to use it to keep warm? How are you going to utilize this fire? There's some science that's applied to it. And that's something that's really great about Lakota structures is that we were definitely far more advanced than western civilization in recognizing how all these elements work together, on a chemistry level, on an organic chemistry level, and then on an astrological level (Waniya).

Stephen (Mohawk) reflected similarly on how "in Mohawk, family and fire mean the same thing. What the longhouse taught me was that fire is in all of us" (Stephen). Akhwá:tsire (or Kahwa:tsire in some communities) is a Kanien'keha:ka (Mohawk) word that means both "family" and "all our fires are connected."

At camp, as the weather turned colder, people had to gather closer together, many in structures called "tarpees"—a low budget contemporary tipi made from heavy duty polyethylene tarp and 16 foot long two-by-four boards, invented and brought to camp by two Native men from the Pacific Northwest, along with a team of volunteers who raised funds and joined their efforts (Pacheco). Each tarpee was outfitted with a barrel wood stove, around which residents arranged their beds, and the feeding of which required a constant series of negotiations. Who would get up in the middle of the night to feed the fire before it went out sometimes became a standoff among tarpee-mates. Alternatively, tempers occasionally flared in the tarpee where I was staying when one resident would add too many logs, resulting in searing indoor temperatures that sent people out into the snow, or to press their faces against the cooler wall of the tarpee to cool off. Having to gather together around the fire that kept people alive every night not only created a family-like setting, but forced domestic negotiations. As a Diné woman noted, "right now [winter] is the time for the home fire. It's good, it's going to bring people closer together, it's going to bring that real community" (Diné woman).

While scholars often draw a dichotomy between the sacred and the domestic, some people at camp did not see sharp distinctions between these types of fires, assuming a level of sacrosanctity to all of them. A young Diné woman described that she preferred putting her prayers into the home fire that she had been taking care of in her camp, because "I know that it's taken care of in a certain way. It's being treated in a certain way, it's being respected," as opposed to the main ceremonial fire which she saw as having been overrun and misused by the influx of non-Native camp visitors (Diné woman). Similarly, Vanessa described, "Even the little fires that were in people's homes, in their tipis, in their woodstoves, those were sacred things" (Vanessa).

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Fire was necessary to sustain life and maintain homes, but could also turn dangerous, and a number of tipis and tarpees burned down as a result of open fires that were not tended to properly, from propane "buddy" heaters that exploded, from malfunctioning woodstoves, and from arson. One woman described to me losing everything when her tipi was burned down "by infiltrators," an experience that she recounts as traumatic, but also cleansing.[5] Vanessa, who worked as a medic described how "we did treat a lot of burns. From woodstoves and campfires and buddy heaters, we treated a lot of injuries from people cooking over these fires, like real serious burns" (Vanessa).

Eventually every tipi and tarpee in camp was provided with fire extinguishers and carbon monoxide detectors. These detectors proved lifesaving—one evening when his family in Pueblo camp didn't wake up to the detector beeping, Rambo the dog grabbed the device and ran through camp with it until a fellow resident followed him back to a smoke-filled tarpee filled with sleeping people who would have been asphyxiated due to their malfunctioning wood stove.

COOKING FIRES

Anthropologists have theorized that the use of fire for cooking shaped humans' diet and evolution. According to Wrangham (2), "the transformative moment that gave rise to the genus Homo, one of the great transitions in the history of life, stemmed from the control of fire and the advent of cooked meals. Cooking increased the value of our food. It changed our bodies, our brains, our use of time, and our social lives. It made us into consumers of external energy and thereby created an organism with a new relationship to nature, dependent on fuel." Pyne asserts that because of cooked food, "our head can become big and our gut small. We can process ideas rather than herbage [...]. We have become physiologically dependent on cooking" (*Fire in America*: 46).

Tens of thousands of people passed through the camps at Standing Rock over the course of the ten and a half months they were

5. The interviewee gave me permission to cite this information, but asked that they not be identified because of concerns for personal safety.

in operation. Whether they were visiting for a weekend or stayed for months, everyone needed to be fed. What started as cooking over open campfires morphed into a series of distinct kitchens (there were at least 13 when I arrived in November), each representing the food preferences of different sub-communities. Vegans were more likely to find sustenance in the Main Kitchen, a large green army tent that held a gas powered range and shiny metal counter space. Winona's Soup Kitchen, founded out of concern that people weren't getting enough meat at the main kitchen and needed traditional Lakota fare, often had a huge cauldron of soup boiling over an open fire, but later evolved during the colder months to include indoor cooking arrangements. People cooked over woodstoves, campfires, electric stoves run by generators, wood fired smokers, and the refined blue flame sourced from canisters of propane that campers stood in long lines to receive. Many camp residents who had traveled from near and far to protect water from a pipeline recognized the irony of cooking their food using fuel or fracked gas.

MAINTAINING FIRES

A great deal of collective labor went into maintaining the various fires at camp. Acquiring enough wood to feed the constantly burning ceremonial fires as well as the many domestic fires was a constant concern. Because the camp was located on the windswept plains of North Dakota, there were not many trees available from which to harvest firewood. Lakotas noted that the camp was constructed in the path of a pipeline, not where their ancestors would have wintered, and thus not in an ideal camping spot. Even if better located, historic camps would have been burning as much if not more dried buffalo dung than wood, a resource not made available to these campers. Some local residents did not want to sell firewood to water protectors, either because they wanted the camp to go away, or there was concern about whether locals themselves would have enough wood to get through the winter. Many of the sub-camps had wood delivered to them from various parts of the country as supply runs traveled back and forth. The chopping of wood was a constant and ongoing

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activity that served to keep people busy and warm (as the adage goes, wood chopping warms you twice).

But depending on the type of fire, the job of who would actually feed it was often a special role. As Dustin from a Pueblo community describes, "our way, we have designated people to start that fire, to protect that fire to keep the fire going, to let that fire know why we gather around to carry those prayers, to hold those prayers" (Dustin). For the ceremonial fires, these fire keepers were always men, who often had to stay up for shifts that lasted a day or more. As a Diné woman described,

> I have a lot of respect and admiration for the people who take care of those main fires, because that's a lot of responsibility. It takes a toll on you. So shout out to all the fire keepers. I have my little brother at camp, I never met him before this but he's my little brother. He would always make sure that the main fire was going, even in the blizzard, he would make sure that it was going, and his dedication to seeing that fire continue was really beautiful (Diné woman).

Being asked to take on the role of firekeeper, while grueling, was considered an honor. As Diné camp participant Jamarkis posted on his Facebook page on December 25, 2016,

> Yesterday afternoon I was given the opportunity to be fire keeper of the sacred fire. I am a fire keeper, a youth keeper, a caregiver for the camp, for the people. I thought I would never be given the opportunity to be fire keeper. I was relieved of watch 40 minutes ago I began watch at 1:30pm yesterday. I am very tired and blessed (Jamarkis).

Even as the roles were not as recognized, the fires tended to in homes and kitchens also required discipline. A Diné woman described,

> I've been a caretaker of fire in this camp in different forms and manifestations. In one of the camps I was staying in, a wellness space, an Indigenous women's wellness space, and I took care of the fire in that space, and just the discipline that comes with it, of having to get up early and get a fire started, or stay up late watching the fire to keep people warm, making sure that the fire gets fed, that meals are cooked, giving the fire cedar, talking to the fire (Diné woman).

She went on to describe how the home fires,

That's really women's space too, when you think about it. The realm of fire keeper, in like a hogan [traditional Navajo dwelling] for example, that's a lot of the women and the cooking and that's where the small pieces of wood come in because small pieces of wood make the hottest fires (Diné woman).

There is a lot to be untangled about the gendered aspects of fire, both in many traditional cultures and in the enforcement of neo--traditional gender roles as ceremonies are revived and re-created. Anthropologists write about role of men as hunters, and therefore women as the tenders of domestic fires to cook the meat they brought home (see Wrangham). Marder (xviii) describes the "fire of the hearth" as "traditionally imbricated with the politics of sexual difference." Stereotypically, men are often depicted as keepers of the ceremonial, women of the domestic. In reflecting on the teachings about fire that she had received in the Mdewewin lodge, Beatrice described

Time, before time, in the time of total darkness, the time before sound, fire was created by our creator, and made the stars, and the making of our grandfather sun was what led to our creation. Where that fire was put eventually inside of our mother the earth, the core that heats up the earth right now. The fire to us also means that it is the men's work. We have the duality of men and women, we have the women who are water carriers, the mni wiconi, the water is life. And then we have that fire teaching, which shows that the men are the caretakers of the fire. They are not creators like women are, who create life inside of them, they are protectors. And so the fire is what brings the man's teachings together. The men go there and they use their flint and steel, they use their traditional methods that our ancestors always used, and their tobacco and their prayers, and using all those things, all those prayers from the four directions to create a sacred fire, that's what watches over our camp (Beatrice).

Unfortunately, I cannot do justice here to the topic of the gendered differences in which fire was handled, and I did not have the opportunity to interview anyone from the Two Spirit Camp– which embraced camp residents who often operated outside of the conventional gender dyad and "norms,"–to see how fire was handled in their camp. But many people at camp handled fire according to gender-based expectations.

As the dark cold winter descended on the camp, bringing blizzards and temperatures that plunged below -25 Fahrenheit, some camp

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residents began to express skepticism about the time, energy, and wood that was going into feeding sacred fires. One young man I spoke with, reflecting on his cold, exhausted friend who had just been awake for 48 hours tending the Horn fire, wondered out loud if this was the best use of human or firewood resources. Similarly, local Lakota resident Aldo Seone tried to convince camp residents that maintaining costly outdoor fires might not be necessary if people consider the importance of internal flames.

> And then I'm back out to camp, twenty five below. But there's easy like eight cords of wood, up by that center kitchen fire. And people need wood. People need to survive and they need to stay warm. And the funny thing is that people don't acknowledge that the coals that are in that fire they go into the other fires that keep people warm, the ones that are sitting inside your stoves, your woodstoves [...] it's all the same fire. So it never goes out. No matter if that one in that hole goes out. Because we're always carrying it. And actually the fires in my little woodstove are the same coals, you know. And LaDonna's fire's burning bright, the one over in Sicangu, over there, that one is burning bright, so don't worry. Don't worry about them coals going out (Seone).

Regardless, camp residents worked hard until the end to maintain the variety of fires that sustained the camp.

FRONT LINE FIRES

While fire was used in myriad constructive ways throughout the camp to unify people spiritually, provide social connections, and keep people alive and well fed, as Pyne (*Fire: Nature and Culture* 110) notes, "even a nominally tame fire can turn rabid or go feral." As part of expressing anger towards a broader colonizing and oppressive system, as well as protecting the camp from authorities that some participants were concerned were coming to raid the camp, there were occasions, like when barricades and construction vehicles were set ablaze on October 27, 2016, when this generally peaceful movement flared up.

While raging bonfires or a flaming barricade might be construed by authorities as acts of aggression, camp participants described using fire in protective ways, to shield their comrades from danger. As one interviewee described the events of October 27:

We scrambled, we took everything we could find, logs, coals. I remember taking a tub of canned food and throwing it into that barricade. Because there were so many cans of food, and we lit it on fire. And I truly believe if it wasn't for that barricade of fire,that on that day they would have came in and hurt a lot of people. I believe they would have conducted themselves in a manner that was not conducive to any laws, let alone NATO regulations. I think they would have hurt a lot of people. So with that barricade of fire, that fire protected the entire camp (Oceti camp resident).

In recounting the same story, one of his friends included that a local landowner contributed cottonwood logs for the barricades—wood that he had been planning to take it to camp for firewood, but they used it as a barricade instead, to feed alternative fires. Another camp participant described how they set up three barricades on Route 134, and when police started advancing "we lit that sucker on fire… so that way they wouldn't be able to see. Then we dispersed everybody out to the side and threw tires on it. By then the water cannons came and tried putting it out but they couldn't because they ran out of water." This same camp resident described how on November 20, 2016, when people were getting hit with rubber bullets and concussion grenades and water on the bridge, he set "distraction fires" on the hillside, to try to divert some of the water that was being aimed at camp members. In these ways, fires were set to distract authorities, in order to protect Water Protectors (Oceti camp resident).

Similarly, Shatekaronhiase (Mohawk) described how the camp where he was staying at the edge of a peninsula, "where we were was kind of like a snatch and grab area. It wasn't really protected," referring to reports of camp residents being kidnapped at night by DAPL security and police. But, he noted, the police would not come close if there was a bonfire, so they kept one going at night, with the understanding that "whoever's watching the fire's watching over everybody (Shatekaronhiase).

Not all fires on the front lines were lit with protective intentions: some just erupted out of generations of suppressed anger. As one woman emotionally described,

All these fires. From the excavators being on fire, to the vehicles… the first DAPL truck that was on fire, to just the bridge that night. That fire, I remember watching it, the bridge, everything unfolding

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on the bridge that night and just being overcome with these emotions and I cried these tears of joy because this fire was lit and there was no turning back. I knew that this rage from five hundred years of oppression, five hundred years of bullshit was manifesting itself, and it went POOF, you know, that night and it was lit. And it was beautiful to me. For a brief time that bridge was a liberated space and people were happy. People were dancing, people were joyous, and that's when I cried these tears of joy because it was this moment of liberation. It made me so happy, and then the teargas started (laughs) [...]. When that property is owned by entities that are abusive, that are exploitative, like any corporate entity anywhere, I think it's a very powerful symbol to see these machines of destruction lit up and burning, rendered useless. It's a reminder of how vulnerable it actually is. I think it's a spontaneous thing. I don't think it was anything, again I'm speculating because I can only speculate about why people do what they do, but from what I observed it was a very spontaneous in the moment thing. And the way you watch fire, it can start slowly then it can go POOF. That's what I saw happen that day was the fire got lit, there was this moment, there was no going back (Diné woman).

Summarizing this situation, Waniya described, "I think it represented all the anger of the injustice from the past 500 years that these young twenty-year-olds had felt and it just exploded, and that's why the fires had occurred" (Waniya).

Rumors circulated about who had actually set the construction equipment on fire. Some people theorized that it must have been agitators, instigators sent into camp to impersonate water protectors and make them look bad to the outside world. Others suggested that DAPL set their own equipment on fire. But one interviewee described that it was a friend from Six Nations who had just arrived in camp the day of the barricade fires, and who got a little carried away. "And the Lakotas were like 'no don't light it,' and it was already lit, you know. And he was like, 'oh, I'm sorry, it's what we would have done at home,'" bringing west a Haudenosaunee history of protest fires, from Senecas burning tires on the highway in 1992 and 1997 to protest state tax policies (Murphy), to highway and bridge fires set as part of a fight over land in Caldonia Ontario taken from Six Nations people that was slated to be developed in 2006, and a handful of protest fires in between (McCarthy).

While the barricade fires were described as having a protective intent, the act of lighting these fires was criminalized. DAPL had a helicopter in the air with a passenger using a digital camera

to document the events, and authorities used this aerial photography to identify five men they claimed to be involved in setting the fires. In *United States of America v. Michael Markus aka Rattler*, the men were charged with two crimes, including the felony of "knowingly using fire to commit civil disorder." In an Opposition to Government Motion for Detention filed on February 13, 2017, Bruce Nestor contended that the government was legally stretching a statue that was intended to cover crimes in which explosives were used, later amended to include "fire" in order to facilitate the prosecution of arson. Of the five men arrested for that day's events, one is currently serving jail time.

As Stephen Pyne notes, "The history of colonization… is thus a history of eruptive fire" (*Fire: Nature and Culture* 80), as Indigenous fire ecologies are interrupted at the same time as biomass resources are rapidly extracted from the earth for incineration. As Pyne and scholars of Indigenous fire ecologies have noted, when people lived on the land and managed the landscape through a series of small, fire related activities, a balance was maintained. Culturally intact systems prevented most destructive fires. As people have become disconnected from the land and fuel has built up, there are now destructive, debilitating fires. One cannot help but to see similarities in these volatile youth, many of whose communities have been forcefully detached from their cultural systems and cultural practices. Unhealthy fuel loads in the form of intergenerational trauma have accumulated, and once provide with a spark, these fires sometime burn hot and destructive.

Nonetheless, fire suppression is the current bureaucratic goal. Right-wing politicians are viewing protest the same way that departments of forestry have seen fire: as a challenge to their authority and a threat to state-sponsored conservation (Bernhard Fernow, America's first professional forester, famously denounced the American fire scene as one of 'bad habits and lose morals,' conceiving of fire as a problem of social disorder. Pyne, *Fire: Nature and Culture* 104). Since November 2016, dozens of bills and executive orders aimed at restricting high-profile protests have been introduced in at least 31 states and the federal government (Kusnetz).

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Squashing protest, like fire suppression, is seen as a precondition for a smoothly running petro-fueled economy.[6]

OCETI WENT OUT IN FIRE

Just ahead of the deadline to evacuate at 2 pm on February 22, 2017, the last remaining camp residents set fire to many of the structures that remained. The structures which had once provided home, storage, and meeting space were ceremonially burned as the water protectors were forced out, as a means of both taking these structures down on their own terms, seeing the camp off in a ceremonial way, and ensuring that what was left behind was not desecrated by DAPL and Morton County the way that tents and possessions had been when the Treaty Camp was raided. As Indigenous Media Rising described in a Facebook post on February 22, 2017:

> Based on the behavior of the law enforcement in the past, who during raids have broken and thrown away sacred items and who have shown disregard and horrible disrespect to tipis and sacred dwellings, it is best to burn these scared structures instead of having them desecrated by Morton County and North Dakota law enforcement. Lighting our dwellings on fire is a sign of respect for them. It's a sign of respect for the purpose they have served over these past few months. They have been containers for prayer and for bringing people together. By lighting them on fire we send their smoke up like prayers. By lighting them on fire we ensure these structures go out in dignity (Indigenous Media Rising).

I interviewed Vanessa just a few weeks after she had watched the camp burn, and she reflected on the experience with a surprising calm:

> I realized the beauty and the peace of it all, that these were people burning down their structures in a good way of ceremony. It was appropriate, it was right. And I sat and watched them, I sat and watched those fires and I would smile because it was peaceful and people would stand around and sing, or they would be very quiet and watch. It was their way of saying goodbye. It was their way of saying, at least I have control over this place that's been my home. I have place over this hogan, that it's going up in a ceremonial way. I have control of this one thing. So it was

6. Previous drafts included a section on fires started by Morton County, and the way that water protectors came "under fire" from their weapons, for reasons of brevity these sections have been cut out.

beautiful. There was a structure fire that I watched from the top of Facebook hill. And it was an explosion, and it was huge. But the fire! The fire was beautiful. It danced and people really watched them too to make sure that nothing else was going to catch on fire, so it was beautiful. And it was peaceful and people would just stand and look and watch. And I know they all had a little prayer in their heart as these places were going up (Vanessa).

What was left of the camp was bulldozed after the last residents were rounded up, and the landscape has since returned to a grassy river bottom.

SMOKE

The last remaining traces of fire that water protectors took home with them was the smell of smoke. As a result of being in close contact with fires all the time, the smoky scent permeated everything that water protectors had with them at camp, and marked them when they left. As Rebecca Bengal memorably articulated in her article about Standing Rock in *Vogue*, "it was easy enough to tell them apart. In North Dakota you will know the water protectors by the scent of fire" (Bengal). This mark might evoke camaraderie in some, and loathing in others. I was visiting the medic tent in mid January 2017, just as volunteers were calling around Bismarck inquiring about tetanus shots, as several water protectors had gotten cut on the razor wire lining the barricades. One medic sighed in frustration, knowing that clinics would be unlikely to treat people from camp, and would recognize them immediately by the smell of campfire that permeated everyone.

As people left camp, they posted on social media about the sadness they felt when the smell of smoke faded from their clothes. Playfully dubbed "Oceti cologne" or "Oceti perfume," the smell of smoke often evoked visceral reactions in former camp residents. As Marissa posted on Facebook on March 8, 2017, "I find myself crying lately with my face buried in my jacket that smells of Oceti on more nights that I would like. I'll never wash it though" (Marissa). Similarly, during our interview, Vanessa reflected, "I've got a coat that will never not smell like wood smoke. It just has permeated the coat. I keep it close by, it reminds me. It reminds me" (Vanessa). I too kept articles of clothing balled up, in the hopes that they would

retain the smell of camp. The smell of smoke, which remains after the light and heat of fire have faded, continues for many to serve as a sensorial reminder of their participation in the movement, and the sense of home they felt in camp.

CONCLUSION: ASHES AND SPARKS

According to Pyne, "Every fire has its life cycle. Something has to start it into existence; the reaction must then release more heat than it absorbs; and when the advancing front exhausts its fuels, it withers away" (*Fire: Nature and Culture* 27). The same could poignantly be said for some social movements, although many would prefer to look ahead to new life rising from the ashes. But Marder does not agree that this optimism towards perpetual renewal is ultimately productive. In reflecting on 'pyropolitics,' the problem Marder finds with the "Phoenix complex" is that it allows people to move on from destruction with hope, without learning a lesson. This faith in the system to renew itself, he concludes, leads to further environmental destruction. He asserts that we need to understand the finality of some destruction in order to change behavior. Rather that thinking of ashes as facilitators of new life, nourishing renewed growth, Marder (162) asserts grimly:

> There is nothing either measured or orderly about ashes, whose inescapable dispersion supplies deconstruction with one of the most evocative equivalents of dissemination. There is, moreover, no justice for all those and all that served as fuel for the pyre of world history; no satiety or quenching of need after the process of combustion has fizzled out; no bright light flowing from the remains that challenge the power of the spectacle. In the closure of metaphysics, when everything has been consumed, the light of the ashes themselves replaces the shining-forth of phenomena, and the fading afterglow of fire gives way to the obscure trace of its victims.

Some of my comrades from camp reflect this grey description; scattered, discouraged, some resembling the fading smoky smell they clung to—burned out, cold, ethereal, wispy, wafting, seeking a purpose and the sense of family and community they found at Oceti.

But at the same time, not all of the ashes are cold, and camp leaders and participants have insisted that even if the on-the-ground

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fires of the camps at Standing Rock have dispersed, many people left camp with a spark that has spread. Reflecting on the end of camp, Dakota Horn headsman Dallas Goldtooth posted on Facebook on February 22, 2017, "The closing of the Oceti Sakowin / Big Camp / Oceti Oyate Camp is not the end of a movement or fight, it's merely a transition. Come what may, they cannot extinguish the fire that Standing Rock started. It burns within each of us. So let's rise, let's resist, let's thrive." (Goldtooth). Similarly, in our interview, Vanessa reflected, "the real fire that was there was what burned in the hearts of people. They'll never be the same. It'll never be the same again […]. That fire lives within us, it's never going to die. Not in my life, nor anyone else who spent any amount of time there, their life's never going to be the same. They're going to remember it, and I hope that they take that fire within them and go other places. I hope they speak out" (Vanessa). Lastly Stephen (Mohawk) also stated:

> Everyone took a piece of that fire at Standing Rock and brought it to wherever they are, whatever territory they're from or whatever rez or city whatever. That fire that we all felt there, I know you probably felt it there too, that big ball of energy of everyone fighting for the same American dream of clean water and Indigenous rights and all this. But to me I think it's from everyone coming together, all in one… it created that big fire of energy, positive energy (Stephen).

Some people left camp and immediately set themselves to work fighting the same corporate machine in other ways. One of the Lakota Horn headsmen Lewis described the spread of people from Oceti out into the world to fight against corporations as being "like a brush fire […]. That ripple effect went across the world" (Lewis). For some, like Charlie (Ojibway), this was achieved through working to get people to divest from fossil fuel companies. On February 23, 2017 he posted on Facebook: "We continued lighting the fire that has led to a national divestment movement that is now a worldwide movement" (Charlie). Some went to try to start or join camps in other areas with proposed pipelines, for example the L'eau es la Vie Camp fighting the Bayou Bridge pipeline in Louisiana; Camp Turtle Island and Camp Makwa near the proposed route of the Line 3 pipeline in Minnesota; the Wakpa Waste Camp and Winconi Un Tipi Camp in South

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Dakota along the proposed route of the Keystone XL pipeline; the Two Rivers Camp that challenged the Trans Pecos pipeline in Texas; Camp White Pine in Pennsylvania resisting Sunoco's Mariner East 2 Pipeline, and other smaller camps that temporarily popped up in New England to resist the construction of natural gas pipelines, among many others.

Some Oceti camp residents returned to their home communities and started fires there that they maintained as gathering spaces for people who had been to camp, and to bring continued awareness to environmental issues. In the Mohawk community of Akwesasne, Stephen, Jesse, and others who had been to Standing Rock started their own Akwesasne Protectors' Fire in order to create a space where people could communicate and counsel one another, the way they had around fires at Standing Rock, as well as to discuss the environmental problems in their own community. For two months, the fire was kept lit, fueled by wood, and its watchers fueled by Tim Hortons coffee and donuts donated by the community. After the DAPL was constructed, the focus of the fire, which is now relit only when occasion arises, has shifted to bringing awareness to a proposed natural gas pipeline project that will impact Akwesasne.

Reflecting on the wildfires which are becoming increasingly severe in the American west (as I sit and write this paper, California is on fire and the air quality outside of my office is terrible), nature writer Gary Ferguson predicts that "For now, and probably for a great many decades to come, we'll be living in the middle of a thoroughly arresting yet increasingly daunting landscape. A turbulent and often overwhelming land of fire" (192). Between the literal fires ripping through the landscape right now, and as we monitor the progress of proposed pipeline projects and the legislation aimed at suppressing those who would resist those projects, his prediction sounds accurate.

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"BRINGING THINGS TOGETHER":

Tribalography, Lakota Language, and Communal Healing in Frances Washburn's *Elsie's Business* and *The Sacred White Turkey*

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When in the first chapter of *Elsie's Business*, Frances Washburn's 2006 debut novel, George Washington arrives in Jackson, North Dakota, he wants to unravel the mystery of Elsie Roberts, a Native woman murdered in mysterious circumstances. Searching for answers, George approaches Oscar DuCharme, a Lakota elder who is believed to know everything about life in the community. Oscar welcomes the stranger, invites him for a cup of coffee and narrates the story of Ite's attempt to become the wife of Anpetu Wi, the Sun. Hanhepi Wi, the Sun's wife immediately demands punishment for the bold girl for her transgression, and consequently, Anpetu Wi points a finger at Ite, and half of her face becomes ugly. She is therefore called in her community *Anukite*, the Double Faced Woman. Obviously, George is confused: neither did he ask for a traditional story nor does he have the time and patience for Oscar's storytelling performance. What does Elsie have to do with this Double Faced Woman? Indeed, the first chapters of the novel leave George discouraged and disappointed. However, as his search progresses, the parallels between Elsie's and Anukite's lives become evident and an understanding of the mythical story proves instrumental in reconstructing Elsie's life. What soon becomes apparent for the reader, too, is that by interacting with Oscar, listening to his stories interspersed with Lakota terms and concepts, George becomes immersed in the Lakota culture so that he would better understand Elsie's decisions

and life choices. Washburn's representations of the Lakota language and cultural material vis-à-vis the motif of communal healing clearly reveal her interest in practices aimed at cultural preservation and revitalization of the Lakota language, here demonstrated as relevant and evolving in the context of the second half of the twentieth century.

That as a vehicle of creative and cultural expression, language shows an impressive potential to challenge Western paradigms of knowledge production is fully apparent for Washburn, who situates the Lakota language and culture as central in the text.[1] By such positioning of Lakota epistemologies, she follows the steps of Dean Rader's writing on practices of resistance in Native art and literature. In his illuminating study *Engaged Resistance*, Rader elaborates on how "Native cultural expression comprises a strategy of aesthetic activism fashioned by Natives for both Native and Anglo publics [and how] Native art, literature, and film [are situated] in context and in conversation with one another to create a cross-genre discourse of resistance" (1–2). In his analysis of indigenous cultural productions, Rader distinguishes between "contextual resistance", which refers to themes and issues touched upon by Native artists and writers, and "compositional resistance," which manifests itself on a structural level, "how the text is composed: the materials the artist uses, the organization or plot structure of a film or novel, or the inversions of Western poetic genres" (5). The two levels of resistance jointly form what Rader calls "aesthetic activism," which refers to "a manner of political and social activism that finds representation in the artistic realm" (5). Interestingly, *Elsie's Business* and Washburn's other literary texts, by thematically and structurally revolving around the Lakota language, its use and preservation, engage both forms of resistance described by Rader. Therefore, Washburn's work

1. As Katherine Carter and Judy Aulette write, "Language is a fundamental part of our character, an expression, and a mirror of what and who we are. Ethnic groups in particular use language as one of their identifying features. But just as all ethnic groups are not equal, all languages are not equal either. The power inequalities that exist between different sections of a society are reflected and reproduced by language. Language represents and creates relationships between the speaker and the receiver and these relationships can include the factors of power, control and domination" (214).

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can be seen as entering and expanding the space of indigenous cultural production, and aimed at challenging Western paradigms of knowledge production and meaning making, thus contributing to the already rich body of Native American literature of resistance.

Washburn's novels often allude to contemporary language revitalization practices and programs which have become an important point on political agendas in Native communities in the U.S. as well as a key empowerment tool. The loss of Native languages, a direct effect of colonization and forced assimilation, is a condition which demands immediate actions on a community as well as federal level. As Ellen L. Lutz points out in an article for *Cultural Survival Quarterly Magazine*, "among the estimated 154 indigenous languages still remaining in the United States, half are spoken by only a handful of elders over 70 and are not being taught to children. Many tribes have the will to revitalize their languages, but urgently need a substantial influx of funding, training, and technical support to produce new fluent speakers" (Lutz). Indeed, at the heart of the problem is a development of methodology of Native language acquisition that emphasizes the importance of natural context and linguistic (and cultural) immersion. In his study of Native American/First Nations language revitalization programs, Frederick H. White stresses the need to rethink the model in which Native languages are taught using second-language acquisition methodologies (SLA/A) (91–109). What is needed in communities struggling with the loss of a Native language is a reconstruction of the connection between the language, Native philosophies, and the contemporary context in which it is meant to function. Indeed, Vine Deloria, in a foreword to Albert White Hat's *Reading and Writing the Lakota Language*, emphasizes the need to see Native languages not as linguistic systems to be studied but as illustrations and manifestations of indigenous epistemologies:

> Albert White Hat reverses the traditional method of explaining language by showing through examples, anecdotes and lessons on the world view, and values of the Brule Lakota, how people speak and think. He takes the proper and only correct step to help our understanding of this language by showing that "abstract concepts" are abstract primarily to people who study languages as if they were multiplication tables. Once the words and phrases are seen in the context of people's social

> lives, however, language comes naturally it flows, and it educates and incorporates the reader into the community (xi).

While Washburn does not directly describe various language revitalization methodologies in her fiction, the idea of Native languages as a living and vibrant element of contemporary indigenous cultures is widely supported. In her fiction, the Lakota language does not struggle for survival but "simply is," informing the lives of Native and non-Native characters. Her approach departs from practices described as "language loss lamentation" (83–98), a motif not uncommon in contemporary Native American literature, but instead, is an example of a belief in an unchallenged position of Native languages as vehicles of cultural material and tools of empowerment. Studies on contemporary indigenous language revitalization programs consistently emphasize an instrumental role of language in the processes of cultural preservation. As Colleen Fitzgerald writes, in indigenous contexts, there exists a need for an "organic, all-encompassing, and holistic views of language [...] at the center of well-being, culture, and social structures, and what it means to be human" (285).

Since Washburn's *Elsie's Business* and her second novel *The Sacred White Turkey* engage Native and non-Native contexts and characters, the critical method applied in the following analysis relies on the theory of tribalography, introduced and developed by Choctaw/Cherokee scholar and writer LeAnne Howe. Howe's illustration of how Native epistemologies pinpoint various complex interrelations between Native and non-Native communities, histories, geographical places, and temporal dimensions is an example of how indigenous texts can be approached from a multidisciplinary perspective. Moreover, like Washburn, Howe extensively relies on her knowledge of a tribal language, Choctaw in this case, to illustrate the relevance of Native languages in explaining indigenous philosophies. Thus, tribalography can be seen as a theory of cultural empowerment through the application of Native points of view and languages. As Joseph Bauerkemper notes in his introductory essay for the special issue of *SAIL*, "tribalography evokes a long-standing and enduring tradition of transformative literary and intellectual practice while also emerging as a new critical lens capable of illuminating a wide array of issues within and across

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Native American and Indigenous studies" (4). It is this transformative quality of Native literature, a quality that tribalography emphasizes and cherishes, that informs the readings of Washburn's *Elsie's Business* (2006) and *The Sacred White Turkey* (2010). Both texts relate events through stories told by the protagonists, a technique which, first of all, provides multiple perspectives on narrated events, and secondly, illuminates how seemingly unrelated people, places and their histories are interconnected on communal, cultural and socio-political levels. What tribalography offers in the reading of Washburn's novels is a critical lens that allows us to look at the stories embedded in the texts and rendered in Native languages as more than just effective narrative strategies. While the following analysis of the novels by no means exhausts all interpretative possibilities offered in the texts and their cultural and linguistic richness, it presents the embedded stories as tribalographic in nature in the sense of their transformative and healing potential.

In her 1999 article "Tribalography: The Power of Native Stories," LeAnne Howe writes: "Native stories are power. They create people. They author tribes. America is a tribal creation story. Creation stories, as numerous as Indian tribes, gave birth to our people. It is with absolute certainty that I tell you now—our stories also created the immigrants who landed on our shores" (118). Rather than evoking biblical associations of immediate creation from darkness and dust, the passage figures this act as contingent on narrating stories which ultimately shape and alter realities. When the first settlers arrived at the American continent, they did not know how to survive in a foreign environment. It was the indigenous people of the Northeast who told the newcomers stories about their new home and its resources, and these stories were in turn incorporated into the lives of the newly-established communities. Thus, Howe writes, "Native people created narratives that were histories and stories with the power to transform. I call this rhetorical space 'tribalography'" (118). In "The Story of America: A Tribalography," published in *Choctalking on Other Realities* in 2013, the concept is further developed with special emphasis placed on the ability of tribalography to unite, create unions and coalitions and thus, to transform and heal. Howe delves

into American history and demonstrates how the ideas of consensus and brotherhood, so appreciated by indigenous people, gave rise to and were incorporated into the drafting of the American Constitution. The idea of the union "created an image so powerful in the minds of colonists," writes Howe, "that they believed if 'savages' could unite, they ought to be able to do the same thing" (30). One story gave rise to another, and an idea imagined by one group was adapted and expanded by another. The same mechanisms of interconnectedness are found in traditional Choctaw stories, Howe's family memories, in Lynn Margulis's theory on symbiogenesis which emphasizes the importance of the merger of previously independent organisms in evolutionary changes and, interestingly, in Choctaw prefixes *nuk* or *nok* signifying and triggering the creation of new things and concepts. In fact, before elaborating on what her theory communicates, Howe admits that the entire idea is encapsulated in this Choctaw prefix which "has to do with the power of speech, breath, and mind" (15) thus illustrating how instrumental the Choctaw language is in describing the world from the tribal perspective. In summarizing what tribalography is, Howe asserts that

> native stories [...] seem to pull all the elements together of the storyteller's tribe, meaning the people, the land, multiple characters and all their manifestations and revelations, and connect these in the past, present, and future milieu [...]. I have tried to show that tribalography comes from the native propensity for bringing things together, for making consensus, and for symbiotically connecting one thing to another (31).

It is this ability to see different, seemingly unrelated, narratives as connected that provides an interpretative framework for the reading of Frances Washburn's novels. In both texts, stories provide healing and resolution for individuals and communities that find themselves in emotional and spiritual crises.

Elsie's Business tells a story of Elsie Roberts, half-Native half-African American, who moves to Jackson, North Dakota, after an assault by a group of white teenagers near the Standing Rock Reservation, and is mysteriously murdered. The novel begins one year after Elsie's death, when George Washington, her African American father, comes to exhume his daughter's body and take it to Mississippi. The setting for Elsie's tragic life and death are

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two small towns: Mobridge and Jackson. Numerous poignant comments about human interactions in the towns draw a picture of communities marred by power-struggle, corruption and jealousy as well as indifference and egoism in interpersonal interactions. Sheriff Peterson from Mobridge is reluctant to pursue and name the rapists involved in the assault, as they are sons of a prominent businessman whose support he needs in upcoming elections. It is common knowledge in the town that Mr. Packwood, the owner of the Steak House, repeatedly sexually harasses women who work as cleaners at his house. Father Horst, a Catholic priest in Jackson, is unable and unwilling to respect Elsie's cultural and religious difference. The inhabitants of Jackson tolerate John Caulfield, a local drunk, but never offer him substantial help to fight his addiction. The Lakota community is similarly marred by internal quarrels and misunderstandings. When Elsie settles down in Jackson, no one from the Indian community reaches out to her to help her integrate into the new environment: "It wasn't that they were unkind to Elsie, but that they were a little afraid of her, being as she was, the embodiment of past transgressions, living proof of what happens when people upset the social order of things" (68). But the most serious ailment that characterizes the two communities, white and Indian, is a complete and paralyzing indifference towards each other, which reduces any cross-cultural interactions to a minimum: "The Indians and the whites in Jackson occupied congruent spaces, but lived separate lives. While the Indians knew all about the white world, had to know for their own survival, events in the Indian community—gossip—seldom crossed from the Indian world to the white world" (41). It is as if an invisible wall divided the two groups, hindering any gestures of kindness and communication. Elsie's tragic death aggravates the situation as a sense of guilt penetrates both communities. For the white people of Jackson, Elsie is a reminder of their passivity in the face of violence, violence towards the girl, but perhaps also historical violence written into the American past. The Lakotas, on the other hand, fear the spirit of Elsie, who is strikingly similar to the deer woman or the Double Faced Woman, characters from traditional stories which revolve around the theme of social transgressions.

The arrival of George Washington and his uncomfortable questions initiates a healing process which rests on storytelling and its ability to promote a sense of integrity and spiritual rebirth. It is the very act of retelling Elsie's story that actively engages both communities to examine their shortcomings, improve neighborly relations and find a sense of closure on emotional and spiritual levels. Alternate chapters in the novel retell Elsie's life and engage different narrative genres, e.g. Elsie's memories, other people's comments and those relating the process of George's uncovering of the life and death of his daughter. How the stories transform the environment and its inhabitants is best demonstrated in the transition that George Washington experiences. Initially a stranger in town who invites curious and hostile stares, George is invited by Oscar, a Lakota elder, to stay at his place and save money he will later need to pay for the transport of Elsie's remains. The novel opens on January 16, 1970 when Oscar informs George that Elsie's story is not to be found in police records: "If you want to know more about Elsie's story [...] you have to ask one of the grandfathers, because they know all the stories as well as the new ones, the latest gossip, and sometimes it's all the same stories happening over and over" (1). From the very first sentence, Oscar emphasizes the tribalographic nature of Elsie's story and all the stories in circulation, thus drawing attention to how everything is interconnected.

The use of second-person narration in the chapters referring to George's stay in Jackson signals the process that George will undergo. While the reader quickly learns that the stranger whom Oscar addresses is George, the narrative "you" implicates the reader as well, drawing her into the story. As a result, this somehow forces the reader to participate in the events, the ever-present "you" demanding attention and emotional engagement, and hence it becomes virtually impossible to remain an indifferent observer on the outside of the narrative. More importantly, however, the process of narration ceases to be associated with passive exposure to truth being communicated by an omniscient entity but instead becomes an invitation to participation in the narrative moment. Secondly, a non-Lakota reader, whether he or she wants to or not, is immersed in the Lakota culture (just as George

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is) and gradually learns some of its mechanisms. As Frances Washburn states in an e-mail interview with Mary Stoecklein, the second person "is a technique often used in oral tradition storytelling" (Stoecklein), and its recreation was one of the goals.

Before George constructs the story of his daughter's life, he (and thanks to the second person narration, non-Lakota readers as well) needs to first learn how to listen to and make meaning from the stories he hears. George does not possess this skill at the beginning, and this becomes evident in the opening scene when Oscar invites George for a cup of coffee and shares with him a story about the Double Face Woman, *Anukite*. Unaware that the story provides a commentary on Elsie's life, George dismisses it is as having nothing to do with Elsie and serving as pure entertainment (Washburn 5). Another telling example is found in the scene in which Oscar tells the story of how crows became black. George's reluctance to hear the narrative is easily detectable: "'Long time ago,' Oscar begins, and you know you're going to get a story whether you want one or not. You just hope that it isn't one about patience because yours is about to run out, and you don't want to hear about your own faults" (93). Before he begins, Oscar creates a wonderful storytelling atmosphere. He brews some more coffee, sits comfortably, takes a sip, enjoys it, "slaps both hands down on his thighs" (93) and only then does he start his narrative. It is a story about the times when crows were white, and as they were friends of the buffalo, they always managed to warn them of approaching hunters. Thus, it became very difficult to hunt buffalo and the people began to starve. The council gathered and the people decided to catch the biggest white crow, which happened to be the one that warned the buffalos most often. One of the hunters disguised himself as a buffalo and when the unsuspecting white crow approached, the man caught it. Then the council debated for a long time about what to do with the white crow. One young warrior became impatient and threw the white crow into the fire, and so the bird's feathers became black from soot. From then on, all crows are black. George's inability to profit from the story and understand the Lakota context, and in a wider sense his daughter's choices in life, is beautifully illustrated in the conversation that follows:

You wait for more of the story, but Oscar has stopped.

"But" you ask, "did the crows still warn the buffalo? How did the people keep from starving?"

Oscar looks disgusted. "It isn't about *that*," he says. "It's a story about how the crow became black."

"Yes," you say, "but I still want to know about the starving people."

Oscar holds out his arm and says: "Feel. Go on, touch me."

Not understanding, you touch his arm, his skin feels old and papery.

"See?"

"No," you say.

He rolls his eyes. "The people didn't starve! I'm here, we're here, that's proof we didn't starve." [...] "Some people can't figure out their own answers," he complains. "Gotta have it all explained for you" (94–95).

On another occasion, Oscar tells a story about an Indian man called Two Boys and a white man who leased his land and wanted to trick him out of the money. At the end of the story, it is Two Boys who emerges as the smart one, while the white man is the victim of a practical joke. Oscar finishes the story, and his daughter Irene breaks into laughter, but George is again confused: "'If I couldn't tell better by looking at you, I's say you're part *wasicu* yourself," says Oscar. "'You got to listen to the stories," Irene says. 'They will give you the answers.' 'What answers?' you ask, and you feel like a dumb little kid for asking. 'The answers to everything,' she says" (195). George is clearly a stranger to native storytelling and initially fails to see the connections between Oscar's stories. The story about Two Boys comes after George's conversation with the town undertaker, Mr. Staley, who demands an exorbitant price for the exhumation of Elsie's body and its transport. While George has some savings, they are not enough, and he feels frustrated and tricked by the undertaker's greed.

A solution comes with the Wiping of the Tears ceremony that is organized for Elsie and George by the Lakota community. As Oscar explains: "It's been just a little over a year since she died, so it's time to put away mourning now and let her go from us. We should have done it back in December, but you know, people kind of wanted to forget about Elsie. Until you showed up. You need to go. Kind of put her to rest for you" (195). In the novel, the ceremony itself is not described: it is simply announced as commencing and then as having finished. During its course, however, George thinks about his life as an African American caretaker in a school

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in the South. He thinks about the hard work, hardships, and humiliations, and the small savings he managed to accumulate, which is now going to be spent on Elsie's funeral. In the meantime, the ceremony is complete, and people share gifts and donate money for the cause. The amount collected is $316.25, still less than the sum quoted by the undertaker. However, it is the collective act of helping George to pay for the funeral, an effort shared by Native and non-Native members of the community that is of critical importance here. Usually divided and existing in two distinct cultural spheres, the people of Jackson unite in an act of compassion and sharing. The workings of the ceremony then demonstrate their true force—driven by the guilt experienced by the entire town, Mr. Staley lowers the cost and a mysterious unknown person decides to contribute. Finally, George is able to complete the mission he arrived with.

The very act of telling Elsie's story emerges as transformative for the entire community. Elsie is finally properly grieved and both communities realize the extent to which they failed her. Healing also means forgiving: Nancy attends the exhumation of Elsie's body despite the fact that she was probably romantically involved with her husband; Jack Mason, the father of the rapists from Mobridge, in search of closure, approaches George to tell him that he is not responsible for Elsie's death. The name of the killer will never be known, but it seems plausible to say that the real point is that Elsie's story is known and passed on and thus, not forgotten. As Elsie's body is put into the hearse, George leaves behind a transformed community. As he sits in the front seat, George too emerges a changed man: "You turn around and glance back at Elsie's coffin in the back, remembering that word that Oscar said to Irene. *Cunksi. Cunksi*. We're going home, daughter" (212). While he does not speak Lakota, George's use of the word demonstrates the effects of Oscar's lessons and his understanding of how certain concepts, like the one of kinship, cannot be easily translated into English. Hence, he realizes that to know Elsie he needs to situate her life in the Lakota context, and thanks to Oscar's stories, he is now more competent in this respect. Considering the importance and complexity of kinship in Lakota culture, George's internalization of the word *cunksi* demonstrates his symbolic identification

with Elsie and her Lakota culture. In her analysis of interconnections between indigenous language and tribal-centered literary theory, Penelope Kelsey asserts that "One of the most critical values in Dakota life is that of kinship, a value that guarantees survival in a harsh plains environment whether in the eighteenth or twenty-first century" (28). Similarly, Kellie Hogue observes that the understanding of kinship included relationships with birds and other non-human beings, thus creating a complex network of relationships and interdependencies (128–29). Thus, when George uses the Lakota term, not only does he ensure that the memory of his daughter remains alive but also he contributes of the cultural and linguistic survival of the Lakota people.

This final scene, in which George uses the Lakota term to address his daughter, as well as the scenes in which Oscar exposes George to storytelling conventions, depend heavily on the use of the Lakota language, which demonstrates Washburn's preoccupation with language revitalization practices. The importance of the Native language is signaled in the title of the very first chapter: *Anukite*, a Lakota word which is not translated and whose meaning will become apparent later in the text. The technique of introducing Native words without translation into English, thus communicating to the readers the presence of indigenous epistemologies, was used by such prominent writers as N. Scott Momaday in *House Made of Dawn* (1968) and Louise Erdrich in *Tracks* (1988). Washburn clearly applies this strategy with a similar goal in mind, but, as Mary Stoecklein observes, her method functions to "educate" non-Lakota readers in the Lakota language and culture (Stocklein). While many words and phrases in Lakota are not translated, the meaning of some of them can be inferred from the context. This strategy, combined with the second person narration, implicates the reader in the process of learning the language, comprehending its importance and the complexity (and often impossibility) of translation into English. Following the logic of tribalography, Lakota and non-Lakota cultural and discursive contexts are combined to create an experience of making sense of events when Western and Native epistemologies coexist as parallel tools of knowledge. Finally, Washburn's illustration of how the Lakota language functions for the Lakota community

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best illustrates the concerns voiced by White in his study of Native language re-learning methodologies. In the words of Albert White Hat, "when we teach a language to a student, we should develop in that student another heart and another mind" (11).

The Sacred White Turkey begins on Easter Sunday, 1963, when a mysterious white turkey appears on the doorsteps of Hazel Latour, a Lakota medicine woman, and her twelve-year-old granddaughter, Stella. While the girl immediately believes the bird to be sacred and possess special powers, Hazel dismisses it as only a dumb bird. The white turkey, sacred or not, will later play its part in the unfolding events. The novel is narrated in alternating chapters offering Hazel's and Stella's perspectives on the events respectively. Accidentally, Hazel discovers a scheme devised by George Wanbli, head of the BIA leasing department and a medicine man, and four other BIA employees to steal money from lease payments. The plotters consider Hazel a threat to their actions and are trying to scare her. When she leaves her house to participate in the Sun Dance ceremony her chickens are slaughtered and the white turkey is crucified on the front door but as it turns out, miraculously not killed; As Hazel begins to understand all the implications of her discovery, violence escalates and Stella's friend is kidnapped to force Hazel to not reveal the scheme. Hazel's solution, interestingly, excludes the use of violence altogether and instead rests on the tribalographic potential of storytelling and the belief in the regenerating power of a community.

The motif of healing and positive transformation is already included in the fact that Hazel and her antagonist George, are medicine people. While both are believed to possess healing powers, from the very beginning it is emphasized that George uses his potential in a wicked and dubious way. Hazel recalls several situations in which George emerges as a "jealous man, vindictive and cruel" (48) to his wife, as well as to all who dare to disagree with him. Similarly, despite her young age, Stella sees the critical difference between the two healers: Hazel "was a healer and a good one: sometimes her cures were so immediate, so long-lasting, that people talked. They said that anyone that effective had to be in touch with more than just the good spirit […]. The biggest talker was […] George Wanbli […]. He scoffed

at everything good said about Hazel. He was jealous of her, I know now" (26–27). It is not only Hazel's good-naturedness that differentiates her from George but also her, as she calls it, "practicality" when spiritual beliefs are concerned. Brought up in a boarding school run by Roman Catholic nuns, Hazel rejects Christianity as full of hypocrisy and relies on traditional practice. "I am a bit of an idealist," she says

> but enough of a realist to know better. I believe in traditional spiritual practice, yes, mixed with a lot of practical practice like praying for a cure but taking your medicine, too, and sometimes that means herbal remedies and sometimes that means pharmaceuticals, much as I despise the prices and the lies those corporations put out. You have to be careful, but when all the fog is blown away, I believe in the One Commandment. This is not traditional, but as the Christians say, out of the mouths of babes [...]. 'Don't be shitty' (81–82).

While many members of the Lakota community converted to Christianity or chose to combine traditional and Christian beliefs, Hazel's code of behavior rests on the principle of being a good person, a rule that makes her a respected member of the community. Her common sense and good judgment, on the other hand, make her an efficient healer and a helpful neighbor.

Moreover, a sensible approach to life produces a convincing picture of the Lakota community, as neither overtly critical nor idealized. Hazel is well aware of the corruption and abuse that are part of the tribal government: "Every person running for tribal council president campaigns on the idea that he—or she—is going to clean up the corruption, but of course it never happens, and no one believes it's going to, but that is the standard campaign promise the voter expects and always gets" (81). Corruption, nepotism, ill-meant small-town gossip—Hazel is aware of all of them but nevertheless cherishes being part of her tribal community with its vices, yes, but also, its language, traditions and history. A truly tribalographic sense of connection with the people and their history is brilliantly expressed in Hazel's explanation for why she insists on collecting her lease payment in person rather than have it mailed, which is George and his accomplices' idea. Despite having to wait in line at the BIA office, Hazel enjoys the payment day since it provides a unique opportunity for the people from the entire

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reservation to meet, gossip and barter. "It was that bad top wait in line," Hazel says, adding:

> I rather enjoyed it. You see the same people there every time, and you get to catch up on what is going on with their families, hear the latest gossip, you know. In a strange way, lease-payment days are a Lakota tradition. It reminds me of the old days that my parents told me about, the days when government food supplies that had been guaranteed to us by treaty were issued (78).

By juxtaposing her parents' memories of early-twentieth-century Lakota reality, shaped by the discriminatory policies of the U.S. government, with a contemporary social event taking place in an office of an institution inextricably linked with and an invention of these policies, Hazel draws attention to how tradition, in a tribalographic sense, is a vibrant and dynamic entity which defies notions such as fixity of authoritatively defined authenticity. In the words of Jill Doerfler, "[t]ribalography offers an important perspective on history, which does not limit our understanding of history to the past but acknowledges a dynamic interaction between the past, present, and future" (67). Indeed, Hazel's perspective first links a BIA waiting room with a memory of oppression, and then, the room is subversively turned into a space of tribal integrity and sovereignty.

Similarly, in solving the problem of the lease-payment sham, Hazel resorts to the power of storytelling and the mechanism of how stories and gossip circulate in the community. After Stella's friend Avril is kidnapped and then returned safe and sound to his family, Hazel realizes how much is at stake—George and his gang are stealing around one million dollars a year and will want to continue to profit from their conspiracy. Rather than report this to the FBI, which Hazel resents in the first place, she relies on the power of story. She devises a simple tale about how the white turkey, for so many in the community considered sacred, appeared to Avril and revealed the names of those who stole from their own people. What turns out to be of extreme help is the effect that the white turkey has in the community—especially the episode of its crucifixion and, following Jesus's footsteps, resurrection. Not surprisingly, the story returns to Hazel somewhat transformed:

> On Thursday afternoon when I went to pick up my mail at the post office, Mrs. Henry, the postmaster asked me if it was true that the Great White Turkey had abducted Avril. Lately from the shores of He Dog Lake, transported him miles away, and revealed wonders to him in a vision [...]. Then Mrs. Henry told me about the cloud that the turkey had taken Avril to, how the turkey had put her wing around his shoulder and told him that he was to be a watcher, a protector of his people, and that he would come into possession of great powers someday, and that he had to use those powers to protect all the people. That part was embroidery. I never said anything of the kind, but I know that gossip is like gossip—any story, no matter how simple, gets bigger and fancier with every telling. I had counted on it (181).

As the story and all its versions traveled fast around the reservation, George Wanbli's and the Tribal Leasing Chairman's reputations were tarnished and they could no longer steal the lease-payment money. However, the final effect of the story is not only the end of the illegal dealings. With the stories of corruption and injustice, the community experiences a sense of rebirth and regeneration. As Stella narrates in the last chapter, speaking from the perspective of a grown woman, in the upcoming elections it is Ed Lately, Avril's father, who is elected tribal council president and effectively reduces corruption and nepotism during his two consecutive terms. What begins as Hazel's simple story, created to unmask the crimes of George turns into a part-storytelling part-gossiping event which, even if only for a brief time, unites the community. Finally, for Stella, Hazel's act becomes one of protection—not only of herself, but also of the land that she grows to love. Even though she and Hazel later move to the city, the Lakota land remains sacred: "I never sold the land, nor will I ever. Descendants of the Olsen family still lease it from me, people that I visit every year along with Avril Lately and his family and others when my kids and I go home for the Sun Dance" (197).

Similarly, as in *Elsie's Business*, the Lakota language functions as a powerful and conspicuous presence in the text. While there are fewer Lakota words and phrases used, the entire story is built around the mysterious Sacred White Turkey, which soon begins to function in the community as *wakan*, a concept charged with complex and elusive meaning. "[Y]ou know," Stella explains, some of our people say that the word means holy, and some say, no, it just means something unexplainable without being holy" (1).

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Indeed, scholars and educators of the Lakota language repeatedly point to the complexity of the term. As William K. Powers explains:

> The term *wakan* denotes a state of sacrality or incomprehensibility of any being or object that has been invested with a spirit. This spirit is called *tun*, a term which I have elsewhere translated as "potentiality" (Powers 1977, 52). The relationship between *tun* and *wakan* then is one between the potentiality of being transformed into a sacred state (*tun*) and the sacred state itself (*wakan*) [...]. The most incomprehensible characteristic of *wakan* is that neither it nor its potentiality are visible (23).

Unlike words whose meaning can be inferred from the context, *wakan* is a concept that escapes translation, and instead functions as an idea whose multiple meanings emerge in the process of reading and interpreting the text. Moreover, Washburn demonstrates that what it means to individual characters heavily depends on how they approach traditional Lakota culture, and whether they can, after centuries of colonization and forced assimilation, still relate to it in a meaningful way. As Regna Darnell writes, "Languages can no longer be isolated from their use in particular communities at particular points in time" (190) and Washburn seems to be well aware of this process. Thus again, she demonstrates that if language revitalization methodologies are to be successful, they need to work in tandem with Native communities and offer more than merely linguistic instruction. As far as Native languages revival is concerned, *The Sacred White Turkey* ends in a somewhat optimistic note. While it is true that Hazel and Stella can no longer support themselves from the land and are forced to move to an urban area, Hazel finds another way to function as a Lakota medicine woman, bringing health and balance to her community: she is offered a position to teach Lakota language at the university in Lincoln, Nebraska.

In a review of Greg Sarris's *Keeping Slug Women Alive*, Washburn writes:

> Stories—spoken or written—are important for two reasons: they are the means of transferring information, and/or they are valuable for the aesthetics contained within them that are intended to evoke an emotional response. Both information and aesthetic meaning carry the very essence of any group of people: what is necessary for survival, what they value, what they consider as simply beautiful, or, perhaps, what is necessary for the survival of the soul (70–71).

The description draws attention to different aspects that contribute to the process of how stories produce meaning, i.e. the content, the context, the form, and emotional impact. Tribalography draws attention to all of these as well as emphasizes interconnections between the past and the present, different cultures and various locations which at first glance may seem unrelated. In Washburn's novels the stories told and lived by the protagonists precisely cherish and point to these connections. Far from being merely an effective narrative device, storytelling which offers different insights and perspectives illuminates the importance of the Native context and its dialogue with other contexts that co-exist in the same temporal or geographical sphere. In *Elsie's Business* it is the non--Native context of George Washington whereas in *The Sacred White Turkey* it is the way in which Christian and tribal beliefs may cooperate to achieve a desired goal. The strength of Washburn's fiction lies in her ability to demonstrate regenerative potential of Indian cultures. Observance of ceremonies, use of Native languages, and storytelling practices are manifestations of how indigenous people creatively respond to the situation of ongoing colonialism, devising strategies of resistance. The influence of Anglo-American culture is subversively reworked to represent the transformation of Indian cultures rather than their demise. Interestingly, Howe's concept of tribalography translates well into acts of constructive resistance. In both novels, it is the transformative potential of tribalographic writing that is celebrated the most, whereby suffering communities find peace in the very act of telling a story and sustaining their culture. Washburn's illustrations of various markers of cultural survival—storytelling, Native language, traditional ceremonies adapted to contemporary contexts—create fiction that, in the words of Craig Womack, "breaks down oppositions between the world of literature and the very real struggles of American Indian communities, […] emphasizes Native resistance movements against colonialism, […] discusses sovereignty and native nationalism, seeks connections between literature and liberation struggles, and, finally, roots literature in land and culture" (11).

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REFUSING (MIS)RECOGNITION:

Navigating Multiple Marginalization in the U.S. Two Spirit Movement

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INTRODUCTION

In March of 2018, Two Spirit author Joshua Whitehead offered a generous withdrawal of his nomination for the Lambda Literary Award in the Trans Poetry category. In it, he argues:

> To be Two Spirit/Indigiqueer, for me, is a celebration of the fluidity of gender, sex, sexuality, and identities, one that is firmly grounded within nehiyawewin (the Cree language) and nehiyaw world-views. I think of myself like I think of my home, manitowapow, the strait that isn't straight, fluid as the water, as vicious as the rapids on my reservation, as vivacious as a pickerel scale. I come from a nation that has survived because of sex and sexuality, as post-contact nations that deploy sex ceremonially. My gender, sexuality, and my identities supersede Western categorizations of LGBTQ+ because Two Spirit is a home-calling, it is a home-coming. I note that it may be easy from an outside vantage point to read Two Spirit as a conflation of feminine and masculine spirits and to easily, although wrongfully, categorize it as trans; I also note the appropriation of Two Spirit genealogies by settler queerness to mark it as a reminder that Western conceptions of "queerness" have always lived due in part to the stealing of third, fourth, fifth, and fluid genders from many, although not all, Indigenous worldviews. (Whitehead).

In this statement, Whitehead articulates many of the issues Two Spirit[1] people, or Indigenous North Americans who identify

1. Epple (1998) critiques terms such as berdache, gay, alternate gender, and Two Spirit within academia, warning that "while the term 'Two Spirit' offers many benefits [...] its adoption by academia as a generic label should be carefully evaluated" (1998, 274). In this article, however, the term is used because it is the one that my study participants and the larger community choose to use for themselves.

as spiritually both female and male, face. Specifically, Two Spirit individuals are often represented in media and academic research primarily in terms of colonial binaries of sexuality *or* gender—a perspective that overlooks the equal importance of both axes of identity, as well as the primary importance of Indigenous identity. These widely circulating discussions about Two Spirit people have often uncritically assumed that Two Spirit in-group use of terms such as *gay*, *lesbian*, *bisexual*, *transgender*, and *queer* is synonymous with dominant understandings of those identities, failing to consider how Indigenous culture(s) in general, and discourses within Two Spirit communities in particular, have transformed the ways such terms are conceptualized and articulated. Consequently, people who identify as Two Spirit are frequently asked by researchers, media, and others outside of the community to position their identity as either female or male, and to define Two Spirit as either sexuality-based (e.g., gay) or gender-based (e.g., trans).

However, within the Two Spirit regional groups, gatherings, and individual life histories, there is no singular type of body, experience, sexual practice, styling, or cultural practice that universally maps to being Two Spirit. There never was. Even within a single Indigenous tribe, we know great variation existed across individuals and time periods, and the Two Spirit identity and movement bring these practices and experiences together across more than 500 nations and communities. The often preferred 'simple' or 'singular' answer to these questions erases the complexity of Two Spirit identity and highlights the problem of mis-recognition or "mis-translation" of differences that deeply affect and shape both Two Spirit experiences and outside (mis)understandings of the term, identity, and social movement. In this article, I focus on the discursive strategies within Two Spirit events and groups that center the definition of 'Two Spirit' first and foremost as an Indigenous identity by using both unifying/mass terms (Native American, glbtiq) and culturally & community specific terms (specific tribe names, Two Spirit). Rather than selecting a 'right' term, such conversations highlight the constant, simultaneous positionings negotiated by Two Spirit people in their daily lives, and the tensions between recognizability and accuracy, communality and specificity, and indigeneity and settler culture, and the burden multiply

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marginalized people carry in negotiating between all of those metaphorical and literal spaces.

This "both/and" approach to gender and sexuality, and to femaleness and maleness, is echoed in a number of other binaries that Two Spirits face when negotiating their Indigenousness. For example, an individual might identify as both Navajo/Diné *and* Native American, or as *nadhlé* (one of the Navajo third- or fourth-gender categories) *as well as* Two Spirit. Within each these poles, individuals position their local identities in relation to the generalized categories into which they are often subsumed. I demonstrate that this positioning is accomplished through innovative uses of semantic 'adequation' and 'distinction' as defined by Bucholtz and Hall as well as through the deployment of Indigenous terminology for local identities during a public presentation by a regional Two Spirit group. The group's simultaneous identification with both "ends" of multiple binaries demonstrates the community specific and contextually bound nature of categories often perceived as binaries.

In this way, Two Spirit individuals utilize available categories of identity, not as either/or binaries but rather as overlapping concepts—differentiated along micro- and macro-scales— to refuse attempts to both reduce the Two Spirit identity to one that is based either in gender or sexuality, and the appropriation of the identity and movement by non-Indigenous individuals and groups within broader national and global queer movements. Here I draw on Audra Simpson's concept of the politics of refusal, which she outlines in her work on Mohawk political struggle and daily life and their struggles to articulate and maintain political sovereignty through centuries of settler colonialism. The politics of refusal, per Simpson, "stands in stark contrast to the politics of cultural recognition" while also standing as a rejection of anthropological assumptions that "that the colonial project is complete." Critically, she reminds us that political "recognition" places an emphasis on requiring tribes to express a specific version of cultural difference, or "otherness", instead of an autonomous one, independent from settler and colonial provisions (2014: 20). In other words, "recognition" still monitors cultural differences in a way that does not lead to equality but rather serves as a reaffirmation of how

history has always been reported (20, 33). Refusal as a practice, methodology, and theory has proven to be an illustrative means of understanding actions—and intentional in-actions—in settler colonial contexts as well as other spaces and places of political hierarchy, oppression, and the responses to those oppressions.

METHODOLOGIES

This project draws on over a decade of research and utilizes mixed methodologies that include the long-term ethnography (participation/observation) of two Two Spirit organizations, multi-sited ethnographic participation at Two Spirit events and gatherings, and interviews with individuals who identify as Two Spirit or allies. This research has produced a large corpus of fieldnotes, audio and visual recordings, and media, which provide the data for my semiotically centered analysis of Two Spirit language and identity. It is also informed by my own personal experience as a Two Spirit person who participates in regional groups and gatherings, and who has worked as a co-director in two different Two Spirit societies. As such the individuals and community/ies under discussion include my local and digital social network(s), close friends, and in some cases, my adopted family.

While my research project spans throughout the United States and both public and private community contexts, the politics of refusal discussed in this article are perhaps most evident in moments of public visibility to non-Native segments of the U.S. population, when the contrast of difference between Two Spirit individuals and settler society are the most salient, and the implications of non-recognition due to those differences are the most tangible. As such, this article focuses primarily on the linguistic negotiation of Two Spirit identity during a public educational community presentation by the Rocky Mountain Two Spirit Group,[2] which was sponsored by the Colorado Human Rights Campaign in honor of Native American Heritage Month, and interviews with Two Spirit individuals. In accordance with the agreements made with my research participants, all names used in this article are pseudonyms. The discursive tactics analyzed here are also

2. Pseudonym

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present in less contrastively marked situations, such as small group gatherings or in individual responses to interview questions; however, in these contexts there is a general assumption that the interlocutor(s) understand the general principles of Two Spirit identity, Native American histories and cultures, and lgbtq realities.

HISTORY OF TWO SPIRIT IDENTITY AND MOVEMENT

The concept of Two Spirit, sometimes problematically referred to as berdache,[3] first entered the anthropological literature through discussions of three-, four-, and five-gender systems.[4] Indigenous cultures throughout North America were frequently offered as examples of these social configurations, yielding a plethora of historical references to gender variance specific to these communities. However, rather than focusing on group-internal conceptualizations of these configurations, much of this work is archival and focuses on groups as they were discussed in the historical record produced by European conquistadors, missionaries, and lay anthropologists dating as far back as the first arrival of Europeans on the continent (for historiographies of these accounts, see Callender and Kochems; Jacobs; Roscoe; Williams). These systems were of particular interest to anthropologists as examples of divergence from the Western binary of female/male sociosexual roles.

Indigenous non-binary configurations of gender, sexuality, and kinship later gained greater prominence in sociological, anthro-

3. A multitude of anthropologists and Indigenous scholars have outlined the problematic nature of the term "berdache" (Driskill, et al.; Epple; Herdt; Thomas and Jacobs). It was first applied by French and Spanish colonizers based on their observations of the gender expression or sexual conduct of some Native Americans. In French, berdache means "kept boy" or "male prostitute" and is clearly laden with European prescriptions of morality and social mores. In summing up the arguments against this label, Blackwood notes that "the term 'berdache' is no longer acceptable in referring to Native American genders [...] because of its problematic origins; because it is a reminder of the imposition of colonial categories, morality, and values on Native ways; and because many Native American Two Spirits reject the term and choose to define themselves by their own terms" (287).

4. As opposed to binary gender systems that only recognize two genders—female and male—third- and fourth-gender categories exist in systems that recognize three or more genders.

pological, and gender studies consciousness, The renewed attention to these social roles was not due to interest in models of gender variance per se, but due to a quest for examples of primordial homosexuality (and bisexuality, although this category was rarely discussed as such). Here, Two Spirit individuals, primarily (mis) understood as only men who had sexual intercourse with other men, provided instances of apparent historical acceptance of homosexuality as part of a larger endeavor of looking at same-sex desire in ancient Rome and Greece, Victorian England, and other societies. This conceptualization effectively re-framed Two Spirit identity as a matter of sexual orientation rather than gender identity. Indeed, two of the most cited texts on berdache identity, Walter Williams's *The Spirit and the Flesh* in 1992 and Will Roscoe's *Changing Ones* in 1998, while providing a valuable compilation of diverse realizations of gender variance in Indigenous North American societies, problematically frame these historically and culturally specific identities within the terms of a dichotomous gender system, conflating alternative gender practice with homosexuality.

The perspective presented by authors like Williams and Roscoe is further complicated by the fact that it mirrors the social definitions used by some Two Spirit people themselves—especially in the movement's beginnings. During the emergence of the largely white gay movement within the United States in the 1960s, a smaller movement was born: that of gay American Indians (GAI). As its name indicates, this group placed individuals squarely within a Western gay framework of homosexuality rather than emphasizing the gender diversity that has historically been central to Native gender and sexual alterity. In the 1990s, the Two Spirit movement formed, not necessarily counter to GAI and groups like it, but with a different emphasis and goal: to acknowledge the distinctive identities of individuals who might have been considered simply "gay Indians" within traditional, pre-contact Native culture(s). This movement co-occurred with increased interest from anthropologists and Native American Studies scholars who produced both ethnographic and archival based research, such as Jacobs et. al.'s, *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality* and Sabine Lang's *Men as Women, Women as Men: Changing Gender in Native American Cultures*.

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Many of the Two Spirit groups that were founded in the United States in the early 1990s received most, if not all, of their financial resources from government HIV/AIDS funding dedicated to outreach for 'MSM' (men who have sex with men) individuals. That funding aggressively limited use of those funds for anyone not deemed MSM by U.S. government standards—including at the early retreats and gatherings those groups organized (Jolivette 2016 & Gilley 2006). As a result, the earliest gatherings were limited to those identified as male at birth, and the emerging norms of Two Spirit discourses were shaped by that limited participant set. However, some Two Spirit societies worked to subvert, or get around, these restrictions by asserting their own definitions of gender and sexuality and seeking funding from non-restrictive sources. As such, the number of people involved in Two Spirit organizations who identify more closely with broader categories of identified female at birth, trans, genderqueer, and gender-non-conforming shifted over subsequent decades—initially from groups that did not depend on federal health-based funding—thereby shifting the representation of who, and what 'Two Spirit' was.

Research on Two Spirit identity, practice, and activism has, over the past decade, received increased attention as well as the related areas of Queer Indigenous Studies, and Indigenous gender and sexuality. This research, conducted by Indigenous and non-Indigenous, Two Spirit/queer and not, has provided a glimpse of the impacts of HIV/AIDS within the Two Spirit community (Gilley; Jolivette; Morgensen), examined Indigenous gender and sexuality within both Native American and settler literatures (Tatonetti 2011, 2014, 2015; Rifkin 2011a, 2011b; and Scudeler), and theorized the legal and political realities, and the everyday lived experiences of Two Spirit or queer Indigenous people in the United States and Canada (see in particular edited volumes by Driskill et al.; Innes and Anderson; Barker; and vol. 16, no. 1–2 of *JLQ*). This work has been matched, if not exceeded, in robustness by the production of Two Spirit fiction, poetry, memoir, performance, and art.[5]

5. A list of this work would far exceed the word limit for this article. Tantonetti, Heath Justice, and Driskill's 64-page "Two Spirit Bibliography" is an extensive compilation of these works, and (Drikill et al.'s *Sovereign*

Today, Two Spirit organizations exist throughout the United States and Canada. Members of local groups generally come together for regular meetings, activities, and social events (potluck dinners, birthday parties, etc.) as well as for events in both the Native American community (such as powwows) and the queer community (such as Pride celebrations). Of perhaps equal importance to members, and to the creation and maintenance of the larger Two Spirit community of practice, are the regional and international gatherings held every few months, which are largely comprised of individuals from the United States and Canada, although participants from Mexico and New Zealand have been known to attend. In addition to these local and regional settings, participants often move between different Two Spirit communities in different regions over time, creating a strong network and sense of unity within local groups as well as across the larger national and international community.

Members of the Two Spirit community experience numerous and layered axes of marginalization. While they are most obviously marginalized based on their ethnicity and/or tribal affiliation(s) and gender and/or sexual expression, they also often lack the privileges afforded to those with middle and upper class economic status, access to education, and they face stereotypes surrounding rural and reservation life. Some within the group also experience marginalization based on disability and health status (including HIV stigma). As such, the space created at Two Spirit gatherings and events that centers on and celebrates Two Spirit experiences is not to be underestimated.

Two Spirit groups and gatherings, both local and national, are thus necessarily sites of multi-tribal group identity formation, bridging the temporal gap between historical and contemporary positionalities. Participants often highlight the differences between the various nations represented in these groups while simultaneously integrating their languages, traditions, and histories into a multi-tribal conceptualization of what it is to be Two Spirit. Hence, research on Two Spirit identity not only broadens scholarly understanding of the intersection between articulations of gender,

Erotics and the *Gay American Indians' Living the Spirit* are notable anthologies of Two Spirit authors.

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sexuality, and indigeneity, but also reveals how Two Spirit groups create and adhere to a conceptualization of "Indian" as a racial and ethnic identity that maintains continuity with the past even while observing and engaging in radical reformulation of Indigenous cultures.

Discussions of Two Spirits that emphasize commonalities between this identity and the generalized concepts of either "gay" or "trans" often lose sight of the more localized aspects of Two Spirit identity that hold primary importance for many groups and individuals. The term *Two Spirit* was self-selected in 1990 at the Third annual intertribal Native American/First nations gay and Lesbian gathering in Winnipeg, Canada, based on a calque of many tribal terms, which translate to "of two (i.e., female and male) spirits." This term was chosen to fulfill two functions: first, to replace the highly problematic colonialist term *berdache*, which was previously used throughout anthropology and related fields for Native American third- and fourth-gender roles; and second, to provide a new term that might encompass all of the localized realizations of Indigenous gender and sexual variance in North America. The decision to coin an entirely new term is significant: participants shifted away from the newer collocation "gay Indian", which had been used by many in the community previously, as well as the terms associated with gender variance within a specific tribal nation (e.g., Navajo *nadhlé*, Lakota *winkte*).

BINARY IDENTITIES IN A TWO SPIRIT PRESENTATION

TRIBAL AFFILIATION VERSUS NATIVE/INDIAN

In his 2006 book *Becoming Two Spirit*, Brian Gilley objects to the claim made by some theorists that those who participate in pan-Indian sites have little or no connection to their tribal communities. While he acknowledging that "Two Spirit is intended to be a multi-tribal identity," Gilley also emphasizes that this identity "is used to reference tradition" (33). A contemporary multi-tribal identity is thus constantly juxtaposed with individual tribal connections and traditions. This juxtaposition was evident in a presentation of Two Spirit identity during an educational community presentation by the Rocky Mountain Two Spirit group in November of 2006, which was sponsored by the Colo-

rado article of the Human rights Campaign in honor of Native American Heritage Month. The group started off the presentation with a song, which was followed by individual introductions, an overview of the meaning and history of Two Spirit identity, and finally ended with a question and answer period. The group members presenting included a range of tribal affiliations including Lakota, Navajo, Jicarilla and Chiricahua apache, Pueblo, Osage, Eastern Band Cherokee, and Chickasaw. During the presentation, group members collectively described themselves as "Indian" and "Native American" while simultaneously emphasizing their individual community backgrounds both directly and indirectly.

One of the most salient ways in which members of Two Spirit groups highlight their own community backgrounds is through the use of tribal languages in self-introductions during educational presentations for various communities and audiences, both Native and non-Native, using Indigenous languages in a multitribal context allows speakers to engage in a process of *adequation*, or the creation of "sufficient similarity" (Bucholtz and Hall 495), between tribal identity and more general Native identity, while simultaneously engaging in *distinction*, or the construction of difference, among the various nations represented. Each instantiation serves to authenticate the language user as Indigenous as well as a citizen of a local tribe or nation and, as Ahlers (2006) notes, establishes the entirety of the presentation to follow as Native discourse by functioning as an identity marker. That is, the ability to speak one's heritage language (whatever that language might be) is a strong authenticator of Native community membership, while using a language that is recognizably different from others used in the same context highlights differences between the tribal communities represented, an act of distinction.

The invocation of distinction in order to problematize the macro-category *Indian* was accomplished at several moments in the presentation, especially during the introductions and personal narratives. As part of the beginning of the ceremony, each of the group members introduced themselves, providing several points of information, including name, tribal affiliation, and length of time with the group. Five of the eight group members used their tribal language in these introductions, with only one provid-

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ing a translation in English; importantly, there was no expectation that another speaker of any of these languages was present. This use of tribal languages not only established the group as separate from its non-Native audience, but also underscored distinctions between individual group members, particularly because the languages used—Navajo/Diné, Mescalero Apache, Jicarilla Apache, Laguna Pueblo, and Lakota—were perceptibly different even to an unfamiliar listener. The incorporation of Indigenous languages into the introductions is especially significant given the claim that "the decline in 3rd/4th gender roles paralleled the decline in Native language use" (Gilley 33). Since Indigenous language use is largely associated with the maintenance of tradition, the presenters' use of their tribal languages demonstrated not only an alignment with maintaining or reviving the traditional but also their connection with their tribal communities (Davis 67–68).

The multiplicity of stances regarding tribal unity and differentiation was also found within community disagreements regarding the choice of the term "Two Spirit," which appears to erase local affiliations in favor of a multi-tribal identity. This debate arose early during the community presentation, when leaders of the group were offering brief definitions of the term "Two Spirit" as well as its history. In excerpt 1, lines 4 and 5, a participant named Eric critiques the term as inadequate because of its "universal" and "generic" nature:

Excerpt 1

1. Eric: I'd like to refer back to what he said about
2. what it means to be Two Spirited
3. you know what Meg talked about earlier
4. about Two Spirited people was a universal term
5. just like Native American is a generic universal term
6. To... to distinguish you know Indians now
7. Because Native American
8. American Indian
9. Native American
10. so you can youse the term interchangeably
11. 'Cause you know
12. if you want to be correct you'd call us by our tribe
13. but it's impossible for you all to see

By comparing the term *Two Spirit* to the similarly unsatisfying (to them) term *Native American*, Eric points out how both labels fail to acknowledge the different backgrounds of those they encompass. Eric's preference for more specific designations is seen in line 12, in which he suggests that the "correct" form of address would be to label each individual by their specific tribe. At the same time, Eric does not admonish the audience for failing to use the preferred terminology, pointing out that "it's impossible for you all [i.e., non-Natives] to see," as non-Native individuals are not expected to be aware of the various characteristics that are associated with individual tribes (typical physical characteristics, differences in styling, common names, etc.).

Jackson (45) explains this issue within general conceptualizations of pan-Indian activities and groups: "Pan-Indianism assumes that individuals or groups engaging in social gatherings across tribal or national boundaries will increasingly lose their cultural distinctiveness […] but it also ignores the capacity of communities to consciously maintain distinctive practices in interactionally complex settings." Assumptions surrounding pan-Indian groups and identities therefore set up a binary in which individuals are Indian either because of their connection to their distinctive tribal heritage or through their alignment with a cross-national (and hence culturally detached) identity, but not both. Ahlers (59) notes the same tension between individual tribal affiliation(s) and the more widely encompassing terms Indian, Native American, and American Indian in multitribal settings not unlike the Two Spirit presentation discussed here: "in intertribal settings, speakers may use a tribal designation in addition to the broader 'Indian.' Such shifting references reflect the shifting identity roles performed, and created, by Native Americans in their daily lives." She goes on to argue that, while this conflict between individual tribal identity and the broader category of Native American or Indian is no doubt especially relevant in multitribal settings, even as "these two identities are sometimes in competition, they also provide mutual support for one another" (59).

Crucially, the act of aligning with one's individual tribal affiliation in the group presentation both through explicit labeling in discourse and through the use of Indigenous languages did

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not challenge the speaker's authenticity in the larger category of Indian or Native American; rather, it strengthened this membership because it created an even sharper distinction between those speaking Indigenous languages on stage and the English-speaking audience. This phenomenon can be seen as an example of fractal recursivity, or the "projection of an opposition, salient at one level of relationship, onto some other level" (Irvine and Gal, 38). In other words, the differences between tribes were highlighted and oppositional only when compared to each other; they became mitigated and backgrounded when contrasted with a non-Native audience.

TRIBALLY SPECIFIC TERMS VERSUS TWO SPIRIT

Just as the specific tribal affiliation of each member was emphasized in the presentation, so too were the specific tribal roles associated with people who are Two Spirit, or spiritually both female and male. As each person presented their personal narrative about being Two Spirit, they most also employed the term or terms used in their own tribe's language(s) for that role. For instance, Brent, who was the youngest member of the group and was also seen as one of the most visible and politically active members, began his narrative by introducing the dine term *nadhlé*. In excerpt 2, after referring to himself several times as *nadhlé*, Brent directly addresses his decision to use the tribal term rather than the multi-tribal term *Two Spirit.*

Excerpt 2

Brent: that is actually one of the biggest misconceptions.
On the reservations
(.3)
all these tribes actually had names for
Two Spirit
people.
but how people see them as
just like "oh they just mean gay" but there is a deeper
root
((cough))

Brent: um that um for *nadhlé*
I'm sorry I say *nadhlé* more than I say Two Spirit
Cause
I (hhh)'m just stubborn that way

This comment is framed as an apology. Brent's justification, "cause I'm just stubborn that way," indexes a belief that the community-specific term is an automatic or even natural way of referencing himself, as opposed to the more generalized term *Two Spirit*. His reluctance echoes Epple's critique of the broad application of terms such as *berdache*, *gay*, and even *Two Spirit*, which, she argues, are devoid of cultural and temporal grounding. Epple suggests that these "current analytical concepts simply do not accommodate the simultaneous distinctness (identity as nádleehí [plural]) and fluidity (identity as context-dependent) of *nádleehí*'s self-descriptions" (268). Similarly, during the presentation when group members offered accounts of specific historical figures now included under the Two Spirit umbrella, they referred to such figures not simply as Two Spirit, but also with the term specific to that individual's tribal affiliation: for instance, *winkte* (Lakota), *nadhlé* (Navajo), and *lhamana* (Zuni). Individuals in the group were thus very attentive to using the appropriate tribally specific designation for historical figures as well as for themselves and other group members.

However, while the members emphasized these tribally specific terms and roles that applied to themselves and others, they did so as members of the regional Two Spirit group rather than, say, an organization comprising solely individuals from their specific nations, and each strongly identified as Two Spirit in ways that were relevant to their daily lives. Despite the importance placed on local Indigenous identity labels, this in no way contradicts the appropriateness of 'Two Spirit' as another facet of these speakers' identities. In fact, the mutual dependence of local and multi-tribal terms could be observed in this setting precisely because presenters were recognized as Two Spirit and could also articulate their identity as *winkte*, *nadhlé*, and so on.

Here is it clear that the refusal to use only one term within an array of available terms, especially only those terms that are recognizable on a macro scale, is a strategic move toward being seen on multiple scales and levels. However, this move away from terms deemed not-specific-enough, or oversimplified does not refuse such terms all together, but rather generates the possibilities

for multiple terms and categories to be applicable at the same moment, for the same person or group of people.

TWO SPIRIT VERSUS QUEER

In addition to specifying appropriate tribal labels for the Two Spirit identity of particular individuals, individuals identifying as Two Spirit were also very interested in distinguishing between the Two Spirit identity and gay, trans, or queer Indian during interviews, even though most aligned themselves with one or more of these categories. 'Gay/Trans Indian' and 'Two Spirit' are often presented as synonyms both in anthropological works (Gilley; Roscoe) and in discourses within the broader queer community. However, even gay-identified Two Spirits emphasize that these terms are far from synonymous.

One way that scholars and media representations create adequation between Two Spirits and queer individuals is by highlighting the cultural and spiritual similarities between Native Americans who identify as gay or lesbian and those who occupy what were historically recognized by their tribes with gender roles beyond binary gender systems. Once these groups have been established as similar enough to collapse into a single category, gay Indians are further adequated with the non-Native gay and lesbian population in the United States. In the first of these two steps, differences in gender identity are erased to highlight racial similitude, while in the second step ethnicity is erased to highlight the sameness of sexual orientation By referring to the historical and modern identities by the same term, Two Spirit, and then positioning that term as interchangeable with 'gay Indian', scholars adequate Two Spirit identity with being gay. This system of categorization is enabled by a focus solely on those members of the community who identify as gay and male; such research leaves out community members who identify, in relation to being Two Spirit, as trans, intersex, or genderqueer, in addition to, or apart from, identifying as homosexual or bisexual. Such thinking effectively erases the gender component of Two Spirit identity by excluding from this discussion the divergent ways that being Two Spirit may be embodied.

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Just as the Two Spirit group used terms such as Indian or Native American to identify with a larger ethnically marginalized community, so too they used terms like gay, intersex, transgender, and queer to position themselves within a wider community marginalized for gender or sexual alterity. As part of group members' recognition of various forms of gender and sexual non-normativity, they also adequate all of the terms within the lgbtiq acronym as semantically similar not only to each other, but also to their definition of Two Spirit.

One Two Spirit activist in their mid-30s living in California, Alex, regularly used *gay* as a term that worked to describe herself, explaining how she understood her place within her community by talking about their creation story in which the first humans that were created were Two Spirit. While telling this story, Alex used the terms transgender, intersex, and Two Spirit interchangeably to describe that first human. The semantic differences across these terms, which in dominant queer discourses are used to describe distinct realizations of gender and sexuality, are thus erased in this narrative, as are other discussions of what Two Spirit means. Instead, Two Spirit individuals frequently employ all of these terms more or less synonymously in order to highlight what they hold in common: gender and sexual identity outside of a binary norm. Thus, while the term *Two Spirit* is used to unify members with divergent tribal affiliations, it is also used as an overarching term for a more generalizable sexual and gender alterity, subsuming within its semantics gay, intersex, and transgender identities.

This semantic adequation may not seem so striking given that these same terms are often adequated to some extent under the acronym lgbtiq and its variants, or umbrella labels like *queer*. However, scholars within queer studies have demonstrated that this assumption of equivalence fails to describe the realities in which these larger adequations occur (e.g., Edelman; Zimman). In reality, resources and endeavors that purport to serve the entire range of people encompassed by the acronym have been shown, at best, to privilege gays and lesbians at the expense of transgender, genderqueer, intersex, and others' political and social needs and, at worst, to reinforce the subjugation of these latter groups. Thus, the adequation of these various identities both with one another

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and with the concept of Two Spirit demonstrates a different conceptualization of all of these terms. Of course, Two Spirits' attempts at adequation do not exist in a vacuum and may be seen as reinforcing mainstream ideologies about gender and sexual variance that fail to distinguish between groups that experience their identities in quite different ways. At the same time, the always growing participation of a number of trans, intersex, and genderqueer individuals in this and other Two Spirit groups suggests a willingness to set aside differences that are relevant in a non-Native context in order to emphasize the diversity of how Two Spirit identity is manifested. As Epple (274) notes in regard to the term Two Spirit: "it is little wonder then that a Native American category, such as 'Two Spirit,' requires only that one be both male and female, and Native American. The sexual, gender, or other manifestations of one's Two Spiritedness are understood to vary as widely as humanity itself." This ability to identify oneself as both queer and Two Spirit while emphasizing how the labels are far from synonymous exemplifies the approach many Two Spirit individuals take to binaries.

Two Spirit individuals and activists, thus frequently switch between these two levels of designation—and provide metacommentary about them, as Eric and Brent both did (excerpts 2 and 3, respectively). In doing so, they demonstrate the tension that exists between the preferred, more specific categories that Two Spirit individuals use to describe themselves and the likewise applicable, and often more easily recognized, macro-categories that connect them to others outside their immediate communities. Rather than treating this tension as a matter of irreconcilable dissonance, however, they embraced both local and dominant identity categories by grounding both in their indigeneity, and thereby demonstrated exactly what it means to occupy the murky "both/and" space that encompasses both poles of a binary. When Eric commented that "if you want to be correct you'd call us by our tribe, but it's impossible for you all to see," he highlighted that what is "correct"— recognizing and addressing the individual tribal heritages of each speaker— is also "impossible." Moreover, this conundrum is routinely expressed by Two Spirit activists; for those who embody both female and male, it is this very dissonance that characterizes

Two Spirit experience. Driskill, et al. make an analogous argument about the combined use of the terms queer and Two Spirit, suggesting, "When linked, queer and Two Spirit invite critiquing both heteronormativity as a colonial project, and decolonizing Indigenous knowledge of gender and sexuality as one result of that critique." Based on my own research, I argue that the dichotomies found in each of the axes of identity negotiated by the Two Spirit individuals in interviews and presentations are not necessarily in conflict but rather may simultaneously function to partially represent a complex, multiply marginalized identity.

CONCLUSION

In the negotiation of a multiply marginalized identity such as Two Spirit, any unified imagining of identity is fractured by a strategy of emphasizing individual aspects of identity that may not be shared by fellow community members as well as occasionally adopting contradictory categories. This strategy redefines macro-identities like Native American, Two Spirit, and gay as necessarily made up of multiple, very different pieces—a mosaic—rather than as a homogenized identity that means the same thing, and is experienced the same way, by each person who aligns with it. As Simpson notes, in settler colonial societies, inclusion or recognition:

> is only performed, however, if the problem of cultural difference and alterity does not pose too appalling a challenge to norms of the settler society, norms that are revealed largely through law in the form of decisions over the sturdiness, vitality, and purity of the cultural alterity before it.

A politics of refusal, then, may occur anytime an individual or group refuses "recognition" only as dictated by a colonial gaze—at the expense of their own definition of themselves. In other words, Two Spirit, as a movement and identity, refuses the "gifts" of "citizenship" and recognition of mainstream glbtiq citizenship (and therefore aspects of citizenship of the state to the extent that glbtiq rights and experiences are managed and policed through state-apparatuses). I argue that the politics of refusal in Two Spirit activism and practice are many, but I have highlighted here

two of the most prominent: first, the refusal to be recognized as Native if Indians are only heterosexual and cisgender, and second, the refusal to be recognized as queer if queerness is understood as inherently White (or defined through colonial frameworks).

As I have demonstrated, the Two Spirit group members in my research distinguish between the localized nature of their Two Spirit identity and the generalized categories into which that identity is often placed. The more localized aspects of identity—among them individual tribal affiliation and the specific responsibilities historically associated with Two Spirit people in their particular communities—were clearly integral to the group's definition of themselves. Yet these individuals' use of non-Native terminology—the generalizing Native American/Indian, Two Spirit, and queer— were not used simply as a compromise to reach non-Native audiences; rather they signaled multiple levels of community membership, each of which genuinely represented one part of these speakers' sense of themselves. In doing so, they bridge local, tribally specific understandings of Indigenous gender variance with wide-ranging contemporary discourses of sexuality and multitribal identity, reflecting the complex ground on which Two Spirit people stand.

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TRADITIONAL ECOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE AND INDIGENOUS FOODWAYS IN THE ANDES OF PERU

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INTRODUCTION

Indigenous communities around the world continue to develop effective solutions to global food challenges, revitalizing traditional knowledge in biodiversity preservation and enacting food sovereignty practices that enable people and societies to feed themselves (Holt Giménez and Shattuck; Desmarais; Shiva). TEK refers to the accumulative body of knowledge, including skills, practices, and innovations (technology), which is often derived from Indigenous peoples' intimate interactions with their traditional environment.

Early empirical studies of Indigenous peoples' TEK in agricultural systems have been widely documented, for example, the pioneering work of Harold Conklin (1957), who studied the horticultural practices of the Hanunóo people of the Philippines and recorded detailed information about local plants (totalling up to 1,600 plant species). TEK began to gain to notoriety in the 1980s among various multidisciplinary fields of study, such as the environmental sciences, particularly in ecology. At present, TEK is considered an interdisciplinary theory drawing from social and cultural anthropology, biology, ecology, and resource management fields such as fisheries, wildlife and forestry (Berkes, Folke, and Colding; McGregor).

Yet, mainstream Food Security development and policy-making interventions do not always draw from TEK, and place greater emphasis on scientific and high-tech agricultural approaches to address Food Security (Bello and Baviera; Holt Giménez and Shat-

tuck; Altieri and Toledo). 'Food Security' is a modern term adopted to express national and international goals of supplying adequate amounts of food for a given population. According to a definition provided by the World Food Summit in 1996, Food Security is achieved "when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO).

Despite the aim of working towards eradicating food scarcity, the concept of Food Security has been criticized by Indigenous organizations, food studies, and environmental scholars for the narrowness of its scope. This body of scholarship (see, for example, (De Schutter; Desmarais; Holt Giménez and Shattuck; McMichael) argues that Food Security is often centred on the availability[1] side of the equation endorsed by technology-intensive monoculture farming, and the adoption of scientific-technological systems, as in the case of Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs).

These industrial and technical approaches to Food Security are being challenged by concerns about the safety and nutritional value of food, and the long-term sustainability of the environment. The latter not only threatens the well-being of Indigenous peoples, who rely heavily on healthy ecosystems for their food sustenance, but ultimately of people everywhere (La Vía Campesina; Shiva; Wittman, Wiebe, and Desmarais). In this work, I seek to build on the growing body of scholarship addressing the diversity and complexity of TEK in sustainable food systems, and on the multivalent human-nature relationship of Indigenous peoples for safeguarding Food Security. In doing so, I am centering the discussion on Indigenous cosmovisions and referring to distinctive Indigenous ways of life and knowledge that, are vital for the continuance of Indigenous foodways. In this study Indigenous foodways denotes not only knowledge and practices concerning the plant species and animals found within peoples' territories, but also a rich cultural component embodied in stories,

1. The notion of *availability* within the Food Security contexts suggests that there is enough availability of inputs (seeds, water, and land) and appropriate quality of food for people to be supplied through domestic production or imports (Timmer 2015).

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songs, recipes, and practices that complement traditional *foodways*. I focus on cosmovision to highlight the challenges that Quechua people have faced through the colonial legacy in their efforts to preserve their foodways and ways of knowing. This specifically includes capitalism, which disrupts subsistence economies by imposing the capitalist ideology that natural resources are vehicles for profit, and land is there to be exploited solely for economic purposes (Maxwell; Paarlberg).

The study partners cited throughout this paper are Quechua holders of knowledge[2] concerning foodways practices, agricultural production, and cultural traditions associated with native food systems, such as planting rituals and ceremonies. Case studies with community partners in Choquecancha and Rosaspata in the highlands of Peru were conducted between March 2016 and August 2018. Utilizing a participatory action research approach, primary data was collected through talking circles, oral stories, and dialogues with knowledge holders who ranged from elders, community leaders, and people engaged in traditional food systems. Empirical data was analysed using TEK theory, which studies Indigenous peoples' knowledge systems embedded in their cosmovisions (Battiste; Berkes; Cajete). The research draws from secondary data, which enabled cross-checking of sources and extended discussions on empirical data.

In this study, I do not claim to speak for the Quechua people, but rather draw on their ways of knowing and being, which were generously shared by each of them, and from the knowledge I attained from my kinship relations and lived cultural experiences as an Indigenous woman of Peru. To provide a foundation for the research reported herein, I provide conceptual background on cosmovision, Indigenous foodways, and TEK theory. Subsequently, I present the research methodology, methods, results and discussion of findings followed by the conclusion drawn from this study.

2. In this paper, I use the term "knowledge holders" to denote Quechua people who have extensive knowledge on the study topics and who are authorities in their community. This term does not exclude people who may not be of the age of an Elder but who are important thinkers and leaders within the Andean world.

I refer to Andean cosmovision as holistic ways of knowing (epistemology) and being (ontology), bestowed on them by their ancestors and endowed to them by nature, encompassing economic, social-political and cultural knowledge systems (Apffel-Marglin; Marglin; Lajo). Gonzales and Gonzales (2010) offer valuable insights into the unique epistemological viewpoint of the Andean people below:

> In the Andean world, los saberes (knowing) is a result of the here and now, of living in conversation with and between everyone and everything. Conversing and cultivating are not the exclusive privilege of the human collective. Andean Indigenous culture is one of nurturance through a flowing and continual conversation among the three collectivities that comprise the local pacha. These three collectivities cultivate ayllu (natural collectivity) [...]. Knowing is dependent on what takes place in each chacra,[3] where specific saberes are given (Gonzales and Gonzales 93).

The above quote suggests that Quechua cosmovision is based on experiential learning of means of perceiving and interacting with the environment through mutually-supportive relationships between humans and non-humans (rivers, mountains, lakes etc.) residing on Pachamama (Mother Earth in Quechua language). Such experiential learning and a holistic relationship with the land have enabled Quechua people living in severe weather conditions to gain agricultural knowledge to develop varied and locally-adapted farming systems. For instance, the large-scale irrigation system of canals built by Quechua peasants to divert water from rivers descending from highland areas to irrigate foothill slopes are clear examples of a sustainable traditional farming system (Altieri and Toledo).

I refer to Indigenous foodways as the distinctive ways of growing, preparing, storing, and sharing foods such as edible plants, food crops, and animals by Indigenous peoples within a geographic area, and the way they preserve such foodways through cultural principles such as respect, reciprocity, and biological sensibility,

3. *Chacra* refers to small plots of land allotted to individual families. In the Andean world a *chacra* is understood not only as a small plot of land, but as a sacred space for the nurturing and flourishing of all forms of life (Field research notes in the Andes, September 2016).

among other values. In this sense, Indigenous foodways are the opposite of mechanized industrial agricultural systems, which make use of chemicals or pesticides and rely on hybrid or GMO varieties of the world's major food staples to tackle food challenges. Indigenous foodways are found in every region of the world; for example, for Pacific Northwest tribes the wild salmon holds cultural and spiritual value, and for the Māori of Aotearoa New Zealand, the kūmara (sweet potato) is regarded as a sacred food. All these Indigenous foods are collected, hunted or fished locally based on in-depth and locally rooted knowledge—TEK, which is unique to every Indigenous group, as described below.

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TEK THEORY

TEK is based on Indigenous peoples' relationships with the natural world, and their ability to provide comprehensive insights into nature and information about natural phenomena. There is no universally accepted definition of TEK in academic literature, but the predominant conceptualization of TEK comes from Western scholarship (LaDuke; Berkes; Pierotti and Wildcat; McGregor). From a Western perspective, TEK is defined as an enduring 'backdrop body of knowledge' that has been acquired mostly through oral history from one generation to the other over thousands of years (Berkes; Agrawal).

However, Indigenous scholars disagree with the Western view of TEK used to denote their knowledge systems. They argue that traditional knowledge is place-based and therefore cannot be confined to a particular source of knowledge (Battiste; Cajete; Deloria; McGregor). Indigenous scholar McGregor eloquently points out the reason for such disagreement and argues that "to understand where TEK comes from one must start with Indigenous people and our own understanding of the world" (386).

This study supports the Indigenous view of TEK, and argues that Quechua peoples have their own TEK, reflecting an Andean cosmovision, described in the results section of this study. Consequently, analysis of empirical evidence is made through the lens of TEK theory and adopts a participatory action research approach and involves Indigenous research methods as described below.

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH METHODS

Indigenous scholars (Kovach; Pihama, Cram, and Walker; Smith; Wilson) argue that Indigenous peoples have distinctive forms of constructing, validating, and acquiring knowledge. For example, language plays a key role in articulating Indigenous peoples' understanding of the world as well as their transmission of knowledge, which they predominately share through oral histories (Battiste; Cajete). Considering the nature of this Indigenous-based investigation, it was prudent to privilege Indigenous ways of acquiring, sharing, and valuing knowledge in this study. Therefore, this investigation adopted a community-based participatory action research approach; for example, before beginning to gather empirical data, I met with community leaders from the study communities to discuss and refine the research questions, and subsequently to translate them into Spanish, and into English when required. Also, oral interviews and talking circles were organised and facilitated by knowledge holders and myself. Community study partners thus took on an active role during the research process by being fully and actively engaged in the research from the beginning till the end of the project.

RESEARCH LOCATION AND METHODS

The empirical research was carried out in Peru between March 2016 and August 2018. The Quechua community partners who took part in my research in Peru were from Rosaspata and Choquecancha. The Quechua people are an Indigenous people of South America. There are approximately 3.5 million Quechua people in Peru, predominantly living in the Andean region (Espinoza). These Quechua communities are nestled high in the southern Andes, and the primary form of subsistence in these Quechua communities is traditional agriculture. For centuries Quechua farmers have made use of their Indigenous agricultural heritage to develop varied and locally adapted farming systems. This agricultural knowledge has enabled them to acquire community Food Security and conserve agro-biodiversity (Altieri; Apffel-Marglin).

Thirty oral history interviews were conducted with knowledge holders, including Quechua elders, farmers, and wild food foragers. In these interviews, complemented with two talking circles

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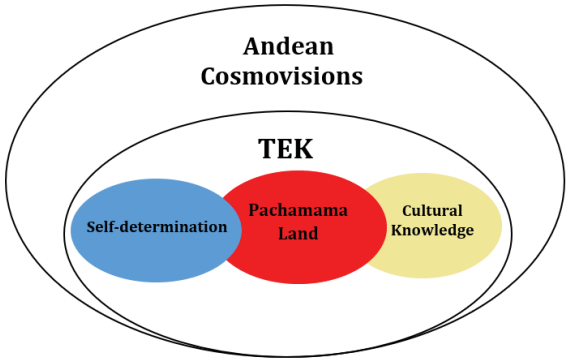
with female farmers, gatherings with Indigenous community leaders and local agroecologists, and spontaneous storytelling sessions with elders, the participants all shared diverse stories of native foodways, biodiversity preservation, and cultural knowledge and practices.

Figure 1: Quechua foodways' realms



Source: Developed by (Huambachano)

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This study suggests that it is in the uniqueness of Quechua peoples' TEKs that the foundation of an Indigenous-based theoretical model of food sovereignty rests, grounded on three interrelated pillars: land, self-determination and cultural knowledge, although this contests the current discursive global Food Security approach (Figure 1). These three interconnected realms enable the Quechua to safeguard their Food Security, and to do so without compromising their beliefs, TEK, or value systems. I will now provide a description complemented with narratives on how each interconnected realm pervades and infuses Quechua peoples' foodways.

INDIGENOUS WAYS OF LIVING: PACHAMAMA–LAND

A recurrent theme throughout this research has been the understanding of the land for Quechua people as Mother Earth–Pachamama. As stated by Petronila, a Quechua leader from Choquecancha:

Pachamama is my mother, I consider myself the offspring of Pachamama because she is like a mother who feeds us with so many foods. In gratitude, I sing and dance for her every day in my *chacra*. Here in this community, we value and respect Pachamama very much because without seeds we would not have anything to eat. For that reason, I feel like the offspring of Pachamama, and as a daughter I hold responsibilities to preserve the well-being of Pachamama and all my other relatives—the *apus* (mountains) and lakes to be able to continue with the legacy of my ancestors and preserve our seeds and well-being.[4]

Petronila's narrative clearly reflects distinctive Indigenous ways of living centered on the understanding that *runas* (humans) do not define a divisible unity between humans and nature because everything is interrelated in the streams of life. For Quechua people, humans are intrinsically intertwined with nature, and the practice of reciprocal relations of living together generates unique wisdom about plants, animals, and other native components of nature such as water and climate systems. Thus, Quechua peoples' ways of life are based on a kinship-centric system wherein all community members humans and non-humans, including Andean deities, or *wacas* (in Quechua language), have duties and responsibilities to respect and nurture one another.

Quechua communities' way of living is hindered by the dominant Western paradigm of nature, which sees the environment as existing independently from humans. This Western perspective is exemplified when a researcher detaches from the object of study, in this case, nature. This is done because nature as an object is subjected to a systematic, fragmented and analytical methodological approach in the knowledge creation process. Another example is monoculture agriculture wherein seeds are reduced to a raw input for agribusiness. These examples highlight a rational and controlling approach to nature that views it solely in terms of economic exploitation.

In stark contrast to Western ideology are Indigenous cosmovisions, which embody a holistic and spiritual-cultural approach between humans and nature underpinned by the ethical principles of reciprocity, respect, and interrelationality between all community members residing in a given territory (Lajo 2011, Huambachano 2018).

4. Petronila Quispe, personal interview December 2017.

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A Peruvian scholar (Lajo) describes three principles underpinning the ethical and customary laws of Quechua people with nature:

Allin Ruay: Means 'do good deeds' through ethical behaviour at all times.

Munay Allin: Expresses the view that to live in harmony with Pachamama humans ought to deeply respect, care, and love all other non-human relatives.

Allin Yachay: This principle refers to thinking wisely or to be a wise person to ensure social fairness within communities (Lajo 2).

This study adds value to Lajo's theorization of Quechua ethical and customary laws by providing examples on how spiritual practices (rituals) symbolise Quechua people's moral responsibilities with their kinship system. As Andali of the community of Rosaspata pointed out, "I learnt especially from my mum and grandmother to always give thanks to Pachamama, and every August is a special month because we have many festivals honouring Pachamama."[5] Andali's narrative is an example of Quechua farmers being respectful of Pachamama because she provides them with resources for their food sustenance, and in reciprocity they express their gratitude through cultural and spiritual practises.

The set of Indigenous customary laws, ethical principles and kinship governing structures is what Daigle (2019) describes as the Indigenous political and legal orders that frames Indigenous forms of authority and governance. Similar Indigenous political, legal and cultural traditions are found in other Indigenous groups, as described in the book *All Our Relations: Native Struggles For land and Life* (LaDuke 2017), which suggests that what links Indigenous societies around the world are practices related to the two main tenets below:

a) Reciprocity, which plays a key role in defining the ethical behaviours between humans and nonhumans within natural law. Indigenous peoples believe that non-humans deserve an appropriate ethical approach encompassing the values of respect and gratitude, as well as a political approach including

5. Andali Huayta, personal interview, August 2018.

norms and structures concerning their actions and behaviour towards non-humans lives.

b) Cyclical thinking that acknowledges that the world flows in cycles, and therefore, there is no beginning nor end and what one does today (birth) will affect one in the future (rebirth).

Reciprocity and cyclical thinking are found in the TEK of various Indigenous societies, for example, in North America, the Anishinaabeg people, and in South America, the Andean people. To illustrate the reciprocity tenet of Indigenous peoples of North America, Berkes explains that:

> A hunter always speaks as if the animals are in control of the hunt. The success of the hunt depends on the animals; the hunter is successful if the animal decides to make himself available. The hunters have no power over the game, animals have the last say as to whether they will be caught (Berkes 107).

In this illustration, the fish is considered by Indigenous peoples to be a person too, and it is assumed that it is has the intellectual capacity to identify the danger of being hunted. Therefore, if the fish was to be caught, it can also be assumed that this was its own decision (LaDuke); hence, the metaphor of the prey 'giving itself to you' is useful in understanding the concept of gratitude from the fish who gifted its life to the hunter, as well as the hunter honouring the death of the fish or other non-human life (Berkes).

The value of gratitude for the bounties of Pachamama to them is expressed by Quechua communities in the form of food ceremonies and rituals. The month of August holds special significance for the Quechua people because it is believed that Pachamama is most fertile during August. I was fortunate to experience a few festivities in August, during which I witnessed male llamas and alpacas being blessed on the first day of August, ceremonial offerings being made in the form of coca leaves, corn, and fruits being brought not only to Pachamama but also to other deities, such as the *apus* (sacred mountains), *mayu* (rivers), and *qochas* (lakes). Another example is the ritual performed by the Andean people called 'Inti Raymi' (Festival of the sun), characterised by the sharing of food within and across all Quechua communi-

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ties to express gratitude to the god 'Inti' (sun) for the fertility of the land and an abundant harvest season (Espinoza; Marglin).

Since time immemorial, not only Quechua people but also other Indigenous peoples have honoured this cultural-food relation in the form of food ceremonies to convey appreciation, love and respect to their non-human kin (the sun, water, animals, and plants) (Marglin; Rostworowski de Diez Canseco; McGregor). For example, Objiwe scholar LaDuke explains that the Objiwe or Anishinaabeg people of North America were gifted with *manoomin* (wild rice).[6] Therefore, Ojibwe people express gratitude for the bounties of *Shkaakaamikwe* (Mother Earth) with large thanksgiving feasts for the first manoomin of the season. Potawatomi scholar Kyle Whyte defines this cultural-food relation as 'collective food relations' and goes on to describe it as to the value of food and the self-determination of human groups, such as urban communities of colour and Indigenous peoples, among many other groups, to govern their political, cultural, and legal food systems (Whyte).

Indigenous peoples' collective food relations are now being disrupted by neoliberal capitalism, and a clear example of such human-nature disruption is the current global Food Security model characterized by the commercialisation and industrialisation of food systems, with a few food corporations gaining monopoly control over food systems (Bernstein; Borras, Saturnino). This process undermines traditional food systems and Indigenous peoples' capacity for autonomy and self-determination (Borras, Saturnino; Desmarais; La Vía Campesina).

SELF-DETERMINATION AND LAND RIGHTS

Peru is a signatory to a series of international law instruments in support of the rights of Indigenous peoples, such as the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. This Declaration is considered one of the most significant milestones achieved by Indigenous peoples because it sets the international standards for the recognition of Indigenous peoples as a stand-alone group

6. A grain that predominantly grows in lakes and rivers in the central part of North America (LaDuke 2017).

within a nation (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs [UNDESA]). The right to self-determination of Indigenous peoples is explicitly referred to in Article 3 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples, which defines them as follows:

> Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (UNDESA).

To understand the Indigenous conception of self-determination, it is prudent to explain that it refers to Indigenous peoples' *collective rights* to govern social-political, cultural, and economic institutions within their territories rooted on Indigenous cosmovision for the respect, nurturing, and preservation of the land—Mother Earth (Lajo, 2011, Apffel-Marglin, Whyte, 2016). Collective sovereignty rights generally entail collective ancestral rights to land and resources, including where applicable, families, clans, homelands, and communities as well, as the natural world that challenge the economic and political interests of dominant colonial powers, such as capitalism (Gibbs; Apffel-Marglin; Fernard).

Quechua communities have a long tradition of communal governance land system referred to as *ayllu* that have enabled them to safeguard their foodways, this tradition includes a sector of land that is operated communally alongside *chacras* or small plots allotted to individual families, and there is an *ayllu* leader chosen by all *ayllu* members (Apffel-Marglin; Mayer). As one study partnered Tito Huamani expressed: "*Ayllu* is our ancestral governance and political system. As a community we all have individual and share responsibilities with all three worlds: natural, human and spiritual dimensions, because we are all interconnected, and to live in harmony we ought to respect and love one another."[7] Thus, the *ayllu* system reflects Quechua communities' collective rights to self-govern their territories according to their cultural, political, and legal traditions, which form the basis for Indigenous

7. Tito Huamani, personal interview, September 2016.

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governance. Quechua people the land rights landscape poses challenges in terms of access to land for food production

Indigenous peoples of Peru have limited legal recognition, except for native communities legally recognised in the Peruvian Constitution under the decree 89 (Furnish 103). For Quechua people the land rights landscape poses challenges in terms of access to land for food production and ultimately suppresses their 'collective sovereignty rights,' as this study suggests. As one Quechua study partner stated, "I am in fear that the government will come here one day and change our ancestral land system, and so my land will be given to big food corporations who will hurt my mother (Pachamama) by exploiting the land all year round without having any kind of consideration for her well-being."[8] Thus, it can be argued that for Quechua people to be food sovereign, they need to have control over land, resources, and cultural knowledge, and if they lose their land and all resources wherein, that means they lose agency over their food systems and cultural identity. The next section focuses on the link between TEK and cultural knowledge for safeguarding Indigenous foodways.

CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE AND TEK

In this study, cultural knowledge refers to customary laws, values, and agricultural practices that are unique to Quechua people and rooted in their TEKs. The TEK of Quechua people is referred to as *Yachay* (saberes in Spanish and knowing in English) and plays a crucial role in Quechua peoples' ways of knowing, especially for agricultural and biodiversity preservation forming the basis for the often-overlooked relationship between cultural knowledge and TEK. The book entitled *Native Science, Natural Laws of Interdependence* by Native scholar Gregory Cajete provides insights into the fundamental values and methodological approaches of Native science. In it Cajete states that:

> Native science is a broad term that can include metaphysics and philosophy; art and architecture; practical technologies and agriculture; and ritual and ceremony practised by Indigenous peoples both past and present. More specifically, Native science encompasses such areas

8. Sonia Quispe, personal interview, September 2017

> as astronomy, farming, plant domestication, plant medicine, animal husbandry, hunting, fishing, metallurgy, and geology—in brief, studies related to plants, animals, and natural phenomena. Yet Native science extends to include spirituality, community, creativity, and technologies that sustain environments and support essential aspects of human life (Cajete 3).

In the statement above, Cajete argues that a distinctive Native science has its basis in the relational worldview of Indigenous knowledge; it is, he says, about "honouring the primacy of direct experience, interconnectedness, relationships, holism, quality and value" (66). An example of Native science is when I observed that, Quechua farmers forecast weather seasons for agricultural production by observing the Pleiades star cluster as stated by the elder Suni: "In February, our elders gather around to observe when the *Willkawara* (Sacred Star) constellation comes up in the sky. Also, if the stars are very bright, then it is going to be a wet year, but if the stars are opaque then it is going to be a dry year." Suni further added that, I remember my grandmother telling me about the myth of the *Willkawara*. It is a star that protects our crops."[9]

In this narrative, Suni is referring to the comprehensive astrological knowledge of Quechua people, which is imperative to guiding their agricultural system. For example, in the Andean world, when the *Willkawara* appears at its zenith at nightfall on the autumn equinox (March 21), this symbolises the beginning of a good harvest season. Andean biodiversity and the cultural and spiritual meaning that this various life forms such as corn and potatoes hold for them defines distinctive characteristics of its agricultural landscape. The Quechua people inherited in-depth agricultural knowledge from their ancestors, the Incas, who were master agriculturalist and experts in the domestication of crop species (Altieri; Brush; Mayer).

For example, Inca scientists experimented with seeds to determine which plants are more resilient to the extreme weather conditions of the highlands to ensure biological agricultural preservation. The Inca people domesticated approximately seventy crops species for maintaining the diversity and sanctity of plants for their food survival (Brush). Knowledge holders Sonia Quispe

9. Suni Carhuancho, personal interview, September 2017.

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and Maria Tinto of Choquecancha enthusiastically acknowledged the biodiversity of their crops with the statement: "We grow more than fifty varieties of corn here in Choquecancha."[10] Peru a country with one of the highest levels of biodiversity in the world; for example, Andean biodiversity includes over 2,500 varieties of potatoes, as well as other valuable Andean crops, such as corn, tubers such as *uqa*[11] and *quinua*,[12] and root crops like *maca*[13] (Altieri and Toledo; Brush; Marglin).

The Quechua peoples' food systems as seen through a TEK lens denote a profound reciprocal connection with all human and non-human relations residing on Pachamama. The value of food for Quechua people has an intangible value, because the notion of food—rather it holds cultural meaning it represents the continuance presence and teachings from their own cultural and spiritual ancestors such as apus (sacred mountains). Nevertheless, agri-food business,[14] predominantly from Europe and North America has taken the lead in the ongoing transformation of agriculture and food production globally. A case in point, are Quechua peoples' agricultural biodiversity and traditional livelihoods that are fundamental to their well-being, which are now endangered by the spread of monoculture agriculture and genetically modified organisms (GMOs) that disrupts their holistic and reciprocal relationship with nature and non-human relations (Bello and Baviera; FAO; Holt Giménez and Shattuck).

INDIGENOUS FOOD SOVEREIGNTY

In this study Quechua peoples as a collective decide how, where, and by whom food is to be produced through the *ayllu* system and exercise cultural traditions and spiritual practices inherent to their cultures and ways of knowing associated with food, which

10. Sonia Quispe and Maria Tinto, personal interview, September 2017.
11. Uqa in Quechua and Oca in Spanish is a yellow and purple tuber that grows in the Andean highlands.
12. This crop has high nutritional value since its high protein content is higher than wheat or rice (Marglin).
13. Maca is a root crop that has its origins in the highlands of Peru; it is relatedly unknown in the food academic literature despite its high levels of proteins. It is also used as medicinal herb (Altieri).
14. Businesses in the agricultural and food industries (McMichael).

reverberates with the notion of food sovereignty. According to one prominent definition, food sovereignty is "the right of peoples and governments to choose the way food is produced and consumed in order to respect livelihoods" (La Vía Campesina). La Vía Campesina, an international organisation of Indigenous farmers, peasants, small producers, and farm workers, initiated the food sovereignty movement in 1996 to put the control of productive resources (land, water, seeds and natural resources) in the hands of those who produce food (La Vía Campesina).

Indigenous scholars (Coté, Huambachano, Hoover, Nelson, Whyte) argue that, Indigenous food sovereignty underscores the revitalization of Indigenous food systems as a tool for reclaiming their traditional food practices and principles and moving beyond colonial approaches to Food Security. They further discuss that, Indigenous food sovereignty efforts are not only forms of resistance against colonial-capitalist legacies, but also a resurgence of Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies encompassing Indigenous cultural (e.g. kinship relations), political (e.g. governance structures), legal (e.g. authority status of non-human kin) and economic (e.g. locally-based economies) institutions as part of the larger process of decolonisation and self-determination.

Indigenous peoples' food sovereignty is expressed in their self-determination to preserve and honor those human and non-human kin connections. In effect, Indigenous peoples around the world are insisting for their right to food sovereignty to be recognized, but what is the right to food of Indigenous peoples? It refers to the inherent right of Indigenous peoples, to have access to safe, nutritious, and culturally appropriate foods to sustain themselves and their societies (De Schutter). In Huambachano's 2018 comparative study of Quechua and Māori peoples' food sovereignty models, she concluded that culture is an important aspect in analysis of the right to food and the food sovereignty of Indigenous peoples because 'food' is indispensable to shaping Indigenous peoples' lives and Indigenous identities.

In the study by Kuhnlein, Erasmus, and Spigelski about Indigenous peoples' food systems, the authors argue that a food system retains a connection to long-evolved cultures and patterns of living in local ecosystems. Also, food systems reflect a trea-

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sure trove of knowledge that contributes to peoples' well-being and health and can benefit all humankind. This investigation resonates with the study of Kunhle et al., and adds evidence on the meaning of, self-determination, land and cultural knowledge framing the foodways model of these two Quechua communities, entrenched in their cosmovision and TEKs.

CONCLUSION

TEK reflects an Indigenous way of life, and knowledge passed down from one generation to the other in the form of foods. Indigenous ways of knowing still reverberate for Indigenous peoples from Pachamama in the Andes, Tonantzin for the Aztec and Nokomis for the Anishinaabe and Ojibwe/Chippewa tribes of North America (Kimmerer; LaDuke; Lajo). Importantly, this study found clear evidence of the value of TEK not only as a tool to gain local knowledge, but also as a collaborative concept to gain in-depth understandings of these two unique Quechua (TEK) systems concerning Food Security.

The dominant Food Security model is at odds with Indigenous foodways because it dismisses their spiritual, cultural, and physical relationship-based approach, and the 'collective food relations' they have with the land.

As a result, these two Quechua case studies call for the need to recognise customary laws and land rights of not only Quechua people, but Indigenous peoples and local communities in general, and to acknowledge Indigenous cosmovisions that conceptualizes their political, cultural and legal orders that give meaning to 'collective food relations. Collective food relations concern much more than just obtaining food for purposes of maintaining a livelihood, they represent an essential aspect of cultural identity. For example, each year activities associated with food, such as harvesting ceremonies, dances, pow wows, and communal food festivals renew the family, community, cultural, political, and social relationships that connect Indigenous peoples with all community members, including plants, rivers and spiritual beings. Furthermore, it is fundamental to consider that many Indigenous peoples view the right to food as a collective one, and are demand-

ing their rights to sufficient, healthy, and culturally appropriate food, not just food with a calorie count value.

To conclude, Quechua communities are resisting colonial powers such as capitalism by revitalizing Indigenous foodways. The two communities discussed here continue to exercise their rights to self-determination, their ancestral collective rights to land, and their rights to continue practising their Indigenous cultural traditions. More importantly, these two Quechua communities are restoring the human-nature relationship that has been broken, and which continues to be disregarded by the current global Food Security model, a fact that impacts their well-being because they heavily rely on healthy ecosystems for their livelihood. Food security from an Indigenous perspective goes far beyond a legal and human rights-based approach; it emphasises the cultural food relations and responsibilities Indigenous peoples have with the natural world, as well as the efforts being undertaking by Indigenous people to assert their rights to self-determination through the revitalization of Indigenous foodways and TEK systems.

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FOOD SOVEREIGNTY PRACTICES AT THE ONEIDA NATION OF WISCONSIN TSYUNHEHKW^ FARM:

The Three Sisters, Ceremony and Community

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INTRODUCTION

I became acquainted with the term 'Indigenous food sovereignty' when I was working on a research project at Haskell Indian Nations University in Lawrence, Kansas in the Fall of 2011.[1] Although my research focus was primarily on Haskell's history as an athletic powerhouse and the contemporary role of sports at the institution, I attended as many events organized at the campus as I could, including the Haskell Indigenous Food Festival. The Festival hosted a number of speakers from different tribes as well as non-Indigenous activists involved in the food sovereignty movement. This is where I first learned about the complexity of the problem of food insecurity on American Indian reservations, the ways in which it is being combated, and how the solutions introduced have not focused solely on access to healthy food, but have been intertwined with other cultural activities. I also learned about the importance of recovering traditional tribal foodways

1. Haskell opened in 1884 in Lawrence, Kansas, as an off-reservation boarding school for Native American children, offering agricultural education for grades 1–5. The school gradually transformed into a 'normal' school, and later into a high school, a junior college, and finally into a university. In the process, it changed from an institution aimed at forcefully assimilating Indigenous children into American society, to an institution promoting and fostering Indigenous sovereignty (Buchowska 15). The results of my research were published as a book, titled *Negotiating Native American Identities: The role of tradition, narrative and language at Haskell Indian Nations University.*

and using ideas and technologies that are in line with Native American holistic approaches to health, food and the environment.[2] I have been thinking about the issue ever since, which has led me to work on my current project concerning the Native American food sovereignty movement in the U.S., of which this paper is a part. Within the scope of the project, I aim to analyze the legal, cultural, political, and discursive strategies of the movement to achieve food sovereignty from a national and transnational perspective. My research at Oneida consisted of participant observation of work at the Tsyunhehkw^ farm and semi-structured interviews with several of its employees, as well as with employees of the Oneida Community Integrated Food Systems, and members of the Oneida community involved in growing white corn and other agricultural work. In this article, I rely mainly on interviews with the late Jeff Metoxen and Kyle Wisneski.[3] Jeff Metoxen was the manager of Tsyunhehkw^ at the time of my visit, and he facilitated a major part of it. Before working at the farm, he had served his community first as a member of the Oneida Police Department for five years, and later as Chairman of the Gaming Commission of the Oneida Nation for nine years. Kyle Wisneski was responsible for field crops and animal husbandry at Tsyunhehkw^ at the time of the interview, and is the current manager at the farm. He is also a father and member of the Wolf Clan. His father was a commercial flower retailer, and Kyle Wisneski grew up helping him with his work. However, he soon realized that the pesticides used in the industry were harmful to the environment and decided

2. I use the term "foodways" to mean "the systems of knowledge and expression related to food that vary with culture" and "the connection between food-related behavior and patterns of membership in cultural community, group, and society" ("Foodways").

3. The Oneida form part of the Iroquois Confederacy (as called by the French), referred to as the League of Five Nations by the English, or the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, as they call themselves. Haudenosaunee translates into the People of the Longhouse. The Confederacy, which was founded by the prophet known as Peacemaker with the help of Hiawatha, is made up of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. It was intended as a way to unite the nations and create a peaceful means of decision making. The exact date of the joining of the nations is unknown and it is one of the first and longest lasting participatory democracies in the world ("About the Haudenosaunee Confederacy").

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to turn to traditional gardening. He had his own garden at age 12–13. He was first inspired by his grandfather, who was a tree farmer and who passed on his knowledge about organic farming to him, and later by his son Braxton, who was three-years-old at the time of the interview. He is also a founding partner of the Indigenous Seed Keepers Network (ISKN), which trains other farmers in seed saving techniques. The communities involved in the network hold many rare seeds, which together make up a large collection of some of the rarest seeds in the world. ISKN has been working for about seven years, and Wisneski is very proud of this work.

Apart from my visit to Oneida, I also learned about and looked at the work and goals of the Indigenous and international food sovereignty movement at the 13th Annual Indigenous Farming Conference at the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota, in March 2016, and Slow Food International's Terra Madre—Salone del Gusto meeting in Turin, Italy in September 2018.[4]

Through my research at Haskell Indian Nations University, I have also gained an understanding of Indigenous research methods and an awareness of the implications of my position as a Polish scholar conducting research in an Indigenous community. In line with the theory of 'cultural interface' proposed by Torres Strait Islander scholar Martin Nakata, I believe that my experience as a non-Indigenous scholar trained in the Western tradition allows me to add a valuable perspective to the discussion on Indigenous food sovereignty in the United States (Nakata).

Food sovereignty can be defined as "the right of Peoples to define their own policies and strategies for the sustainable production, distribution, and consumption of food, with respect for their own cultures and their own systems of managing natural resources and rural areas, and is considered to be a precondi-

4. I would like to acknowledge everyone who has inspired and helped me with my work, including the Haskell community, the organizers of the Indigenous Farming Conference at the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota, the Oneida community in Wisconsin, and the International Forum for U.S. Studies at the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign. A major part of my work is focused on the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin, where I conducted my research in March 2016 thanks to the generosity of Lea Zeise and her family, as well as to the late Jeff Metoxen, Kyle Wisneski and other employees and members of the tribe.

tion for Food Security" ("Declaration of Atitlan"). Food security, in turn, was defined at the World Food Summit in 1996 in Rome in the following way: "Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" ("Rome Declaration on World Food Security"). At this summit, the organization *La Vía Campesina*–The International Peasants' Movement also introduced their own political vision of food sovereignty. The organization was created in 1993 in Mons, Belgium with the aim of bringing together farmers to create a common strategy against increasingly globalized agricultural policies and agribusiness, which were negatively affecting the livelihoods of many farmers and food producers ("The International Peasant's Voice"). Its members include peasants, small and medium-size farmers, landless people, rural women and youth, indigenous people, migrants, and agricultural workers from around the world. Native Americans (as well as many other Indigenous communities worldwide) have also been affected by these neoliberal processes.

Statistically, Native Americans are one of the unhealthiest ethnic groups living in the United States, with obesity, diabetes, and heart disease having reached alarming numbers. This situation is caused by widespread food insecurity, which affects as many as 40 per cent of Native Americans (Blue Bird Jernigan et al. 1), and the group's genetic propensity toward these diseases when exposed to an American diet (Milburn). The majority of Native American reservations fall under the category of food deserts, which means that access to healthful food there is limited.[5] This state of affairs is often seen as yet another instance of colonization and part of the larger political and economic oppression, while tribal food sovereignty is seen as a decolonizing solution to the food and health issues that Indigenous communities face. The above statistics can be attributed to the colonial history of the U.S. and decades of hegemonic policy toward Native Americans–removal from their traditional lands, relocation to reservations, forced assimilation, intense agricultural production, the resulting

5. According to the definition of a food desert there is no source of healthy food, such as a grocery store, within 10 miles.

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inability to practice subsistence farming and cultivate traditional foodways, reliance on nutrient-poor governmental food subsidies, and the continuing pollution of reservation lands and waters by oil and mining companies (Bye). Poverty, which is widespread among Native communities, is at the same time an effect of the above policies, and a major cause of many of their health problems. Another consequence of these processes is the loss of traditional tribal knowledge and ceremonies related to food production and disconnection from traditional food and foodways.

In response, many grass roots Native American organizations and tribally-run initiatives have been created in the past several decades. Their work tackles the issue by focusing on different aspects of the problem, such as economic development, cultural sovereignty, or environmental sovereignty. Their decolonizing strategies range from focusing on the execution of treaty rights and recovering of tribal knowledge to educational programs and cooperation with Indigenous communities and non-indigenous food sovereignty organizations, both nationally and internationally. The organizations involved in the movement include tribally focused organizations, such as the Tohono O'odham Community Action (TOCA), Native Harvest and the White Earth Land Recovery Project on the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota, the Iroquois White Corn Project of the Iroquois tribes in New England, or the Mvskoke Food Sovereignty Initiative of the Muscogee Creek nation in Oklahoma. When it comes to inter-tribal initiatives, they include, among others, the Intertribal Agricultural Council, founded in 1987, and the Native Agriculture and Food Systems Initiative (NAFSI), which forms part of the First Nations Development Institute, which runs developmental programs in all socio-economic areas, not just food security, and Native Seeds, which focuses on the preservation and exchange of seeds between farmers. Furthermore, the actors engaged in the movement meet during numerous inter-tribal events that serve as a platform for exchanging knowledge, networking, and creating new organizations and strategies for seed saving, fighting biopiracy, recovering crops and foodways, and achieving food security. These conferences are attended not just by Native American farmers, but also by non-Indigenous farmers from Turtle Island (North America)

and advocates of food sovereignty. The conferences include the previously mentioned Annual Indigenous Farming Conference, held in White Earth, Minnesota; the Great Lakes Intertribal Food Summit, organized by the Jijak Foundation; and the Native American Culinary Association's Food Symposium, held annually in Arizona. The symposium brings together a growing number of Native American chefs, who are bringing back and promoting Indigenous cuisines around the country, such as Sean Sherman, who is from the Pine Ridge Reservation and runs the catering company 'the Sioux Chef' and a food truck called 'Tatanka Truck', and Ben Jacob (Osage), who runs the Tocabe restaurant in Denver, Colorado.

Moreover, there is a growing literature on the subject, which includes contributions from many Indigenous scholars and activists. In the context of this article, it is worth mentioning Choctaw historian Devon Mihesuah's work, particularly her article "Decolonizing our Diets by Recovering our Ancestors' Gardens" (Mihesuah), in which she advocates for recovering Native American foodways to bring back health to Indigenous communities; Potawatomi botanist Robin Wall Kimmerer's book *Braiding Sweetgrass* (2013), in which she emphasizes the reciprocal relationship between humans and other living beings and shows how much we can learn from plants and animals; Anishinaabe environmentalist, economist and writer Winona La Duke's book *Food is Medicine* (2004), written together with Sarah Alexander, which draws a strong link between traditional foods, the health of Indigenous communities and the environment; and La Duke's book *Recovering the Sacred* (2005), particularly the chapter "Three Sisters", in which she describes the relationship of the Haudenosaunee people with the Three Sisters—corn, beans and squash. American Studies scholar Elizabeth Hoover's work is also noteworthy in this context, for example, her article "'You can't say you're sovereign if you can't feed yourself': Defining and Enacting Food Sovereignty in American Indian Community Gardening" (Hoover), as well as her blog "From Garden Warriors to Good Seeds", in which she describes the numerous Native American food sovereignty projects that she has visited across the whole country.

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This paper considers the food sovereignty work of the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin Tsyunhehkw^ farm, seen as a part of the larger Native American food sovereignty movement. In particular, it looks at the practices that revive traditional foodways and adapt them to the community's contemporary needs. It analyzes the importance of the Three Sisters (corn, beans and squash), and the ways in which the message of environmental stewardship implicit in their story—the responsibility to honor them as the people's sustainers—is interpreted by the community members today. It also looks at how the Oneida have adapted some traditional ways of planting and harvesting white corn to contemporary cultural and technological developments. Next, it considers another role of white corn for the tribe—as tribal culture and ceremony accompany the planting and harvest of the corn, it allows them to revive these Oneida traditions. Last, it looks at how the Oneida concept of serving the community is implicit in the work done at the farm. The study is based largely on some of the interviews conducted with Tsyunhehkw^ employees in March 2016.[6]

THE ONEIDA NATION OF WISCONSIN

The Oneida of Wisconsin moved from Haudenosaunee lands in upstate New York to their current reservation west of Green Bay in 1822. There is a popular conviction that they had become Christians and followed Eleazor Williams to Wisconsin, leaving behind their traditions and culture (Cornelius 1). Such a point of view, however, disregards major forces impacting their removal to Wisconsin: these include U.S. government and treaties, New York State treaties, Ogden Land Company complicity, War Department Policy, and the Church (Cornelius 1). Like most other Native Americans in nineteenth-century United States, they "faced a concerted effort to remove them to the West" (Tiro xiv). By 1838 the Oneidas were divided into two nations—one in New York

6. Parts of the Introduction pertaining to the Author's involvement in the research and the statistical and historical background of the Native American food sovereignty movement have been used by the Author in the article "Transnationalism as a Decolonizing Strategy? 'Trans-Indigenism' and Native American Food Sovereignty" published in *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* vol. 53/s1, 2018.

and one in present-day Wisconsin (xiv). However, the Oneidas of Wisconsin had not left their traditions, language, nor culture behind. After the move they continued to govern their Nation as Chiefs, maintained clans, continued their language, and grew corn, beans and squash, while the women wore traditional clothing, made maple syrup and continued holding ceremonies, although in secret. Until this day, they uphold the Oneida values of their ancestors (Cornelius 1).

Although some of these practices became less common over time, largely due to the policy of forced assimilation, in the past few decades the Oneida community and the tribal government have made a substantial effort to revive their language, ceremonies, and foodways. Many of them were made possible thanks to the gaming contract the Oneida signed with the state of Wisconsin in the 1980s and the opening of a casino. The tribe became a "textbook example of how to use casino dollars to successfully create an infrastructure" (Loew 131). These efforts included an Oneida language immersion program in the tribal pre-school, teaching the Oneida language in the Turtle school, re-building the longhouse in the 1980s, and bringing white corn from the Haudenosaunee in upstate New York. As asserted by the late Jeff Metoxen, manager of Tsyunhehkw^ at the time of the interview: "A lot of that stuff was taken away, but in Canada, in New York, they still had those things, the longhouse, ceremonies, they still had their language, so it was cool, we could go there and take part of that" (Metoxen 2016). The work of Tsyunhehkw^ can definitely be seen as part of the effort to re-establish traditional foodways, as well as ceremonies linked to foodways and philosophies inherent in the Oneida approach to food and the environment.

TSYUNHEHKW^ AND THE THREE SISTERS

Tsyunhehkw^ forms part of the Oneida Community Integrated Food Systems (OCIFS) group, which was established in 1994 to address developmental issues associated with poverty and health problems on the Oneida Reservation (OCIFS Brochure 1). Apart from Tsyunhehkw^, OCIFS includes the Oneida Farm/Apple Orchard, Oneida Food Distribution/Food Pantry, Oneida Grants

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Office, and the Oneida Health Center. As such, it is a tribally-funded and tribally-run initiative.

The Tsyunhehkw^ certified organic farm grows ca. 3–6 acres of Iroquois white corn each year, and also has a medicinal garden and a glass house, where different fruit and vegetables are grown. Moreover, it breeds cattle and chicken, and has a cannery (located in the Oneida school), where its products are processed and then sold at the Oneida retail store at an affordable price. Various workshops are also organized at the farm and cannery, both for community members (not just Oneida citizens) as well as school students and students of the nearby University of Wisconsin at Green Bay. Lastly, Tsyunhehkw^'s employees help community members set up their own gardens, and a community garden is also made available to those interested.

Central to the Oneida's understanding of food and stewardship of the corn, as well as of the environment more generally is the Three Sisters story. The Oneida version of the story on the tribe's website, as told by Amos Christjohn, starts with a description of Sky Woman falling from a hole near the Tree of life and grabbing seeds from the ground near it, to eventually land on the back of a large turtle ("Creation story"). It goes on to describe how the turtle expanded to form Turtle Island and became part of Mother Earth, and how the first seeds included Corn, Beans and Squash, which became the Three Sisters for the Iroquois people. They are considered the main providers for Iroquois' sustenance. "It is our tradition and responsibility to honor our sustainers" (Metoxen 2):

> When the humans had been created, (the Creator) shukwaya?tisu instructed them that all that was needed for a good life was readily available to them. They would want for nothing, there was water, food, medicines-everything needed to sustain them. All that was asked of the humans was to gather what was provided and give thanks. Over time, we failed to provide this recognition and ignored our responsibilities (Metoxen 2).

The text goes on to describe the vision of Handsome Lake, a Seneca prophet who lived at the turn of the eighteenth century and who played a major role in the revival of traditional religion among the people of the Longhouse. His vision concerns his conversation with the Three Sisters while he was preparing to leave this world.

The Three Sisters asked him to take them with him. He realized his people would go hungry without them; however, the Three Sisters insisted on going because they were not recognized in ceremonies anymore. "Handsome Lake explained to the people that they had forgotten their responsibilities, and that the Three Sisters were going to leave this world if they continued in this way. The people recognized they had failed and began again to honor the Three Sisters in their ceremonies" (Metoxen 3). The moral of Handsome Lake's vision is clear—if the Three Sisters will not be honored, they will disappear and no longer provide sustenance for the people. White corn is also present in the Oneida creation story. Although Tsyunhehkw^ to a large extent focuses on the production of white corn, the philosophy behind the Three Sisters story is very much also present in the harvesting of other plants and animals on the farm. Moreover, they have a small Three Sisters garden that they use to teach the community members and students on the relationship between corn, beans and squash, and about the importance of the story to Oneida culture. The three crops are planted in a technique known as companion planting as they benefit each other—the maize (as corn can also be referred to) provides a structure for the beans to climb, which in turn provide nitrogen for the soil, while squash spreads close to the ground preventing the growing of weeds.

INNOVATION AS TRADITION

Tsyunhehkw^ workers recognize the importance of caring for their corn, how the seed is selected, where it is planted and whether the soil is good. Technology is used, but only to an extent that allows for keeping the corn as heirloom as possible, and not breaking the protocol of handling the corn. For example, genetically modifying the corn would kill the spirit of the corn, according to Kyle Wisneski, current manager at Tsyunhehkw^, who follows the longhouse tradition (Wisneski 2016). Also, the farm uses commercial fish emulsion as fertilizer, as in the past fish heads were used to fertilize the corn. The responsibility goes back and forth—between the corn and humans. As Jeff Metoxen stated "I think it plays a role a lot of the time, I know that at times they looked at it and said [some technological innovation would be] great for you, [and] I felt that

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concept played a role in why it didn't work for them" (Metoxen 2016). He continued, "technologically you could work on a lot of these things, but this isn't corn silage, it isn't sweet corn. A lot of times they failed because they try to apply these concepts to it. They look at it as a marketable product, and not as a sustainer. I don't support that. I think we need to recognize the technology, [while] at the same time I'm trying to find out more about my culture, and what to do in the future, it's [about] not getting lost in it, not an entrepreneurial train of thought" (Metoxen 2016). Although the amount of corn planted at Tsyunhehkw^ requires using mechanical equipment, such as a planter or picker, the corn is hand-harvested in a traditional way every October by the community during the annual Harvest and Husking Bee. People will often question the traditional character of the agricultural practices at Oneida. They will ask, for example, how cattle, chicken or an apple orchard are part of the Indigenous sovereignty effort. Metoxen answers:

> Because it's a symbiotic relationship with nature, we have so many acres, [cattle] produces manure that can help [utilize] some of the land, that can produce some of the soil, the more they eat, the more they poop, so you can plant there, and move them around, so if you don't have them, it's impossible… and if you have chicken, you have fresh meat and fresh eggs, etc. It's part of that relationship, there's so much I feel and pursue—that you have to have more of a biodiverse aspect and thought process, instead of being monoculture, instead of being 'white corn is all I care about' (Metoxen 2016).

He adds,

> we never did that, no matter what century you go back to, it was a mixture of everything. There's all this work with today's technology and today's issues that we're facing—how do you make it diverse? How do we reach my interpretation of food security to pursue food sovereignty? (Metoxen 2016).

Therefore, using modern technology is in fact a continuation of Oneidas' creativity in seeking diverse ways to cultivate the corn, as well as a continuation of the emphasis on biodiversity in agriculture. Hence, although cattle and chicken might not be animals traditionally bred by the Oneida, their contemporary use is a continuation of an Oneida tradition of innovation in agriculture.

Traditional ceremonies guide the agricultural year on the farm. They include giving thanks to the Creator through prayer, smudging for a good season to start, and a seed planting ceremony, which currently is not practiced, but as stated by Jeff Metoxen "it's part of what we're aware of, say you go by the seasons, say you're looking for the responsibility that you have and it's a cycle.... So when we get the plant, we look for the start of a good season for it to sprout" (Metoxen 2016). There is also a green corn ceremony in August, before harvest, when the green corn (the early stage of the corn) comes up. It is similar to sweet corn in that it needs little processing to be edible. Metoxen explains:

> It's like sweet corn. You can probably just eat it if you want it. There's also a traditional soup that we eat for the green corn ceremony made out of it, thanking that at least you'll have a harvest–it's more of a personal thing, an internal thing, but our longhouse follows that [...]. A lot of times, the clan system of the Oneida tribe, the turtle, wolf and bear–there is a responsibility they have to the longhouse, so a lot of times they'll work with us when the green corn is ready, and they'll come pick a bushel, and they'll make a certain dish with it that they'll go and present to the longhouse. It's kind of an opportunity to barter. We don't charge for that. We just say hey, could you help us out at certain times, and things like that. It's kind of an open-ended thing (Metoxen 2016).

The above passage is indicative of not only the importance of corn in Oneida ceremonies, rooted in an understanding of corn as a relation and sustainer, but also of Tsyunhehkw^'s role as the provider of corn for the longhouse ceremonies. As the harvesting of the corn (and agricultural practices more broadly) and ceremony are closely intertwined, Tsyunhehkw^'s role as the provider of the corn cannot be underestimated in the community's ability to conduct longhouse ceremonies. This is not to say that white corn was not harvested by individuals before Tsyunhehkw^'s establishment in the early 1990s, but to have a large-scale harvest on the reservation is very much appreciated by the community.

Another ceremony that celebrates white corn and that Tsyunhehkw^ plays a big part in organizing every year in October is the Harvest and Husking Bee, which is at the same time the biggest cultural event in Oneida, attended by many in the community.

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It celebrates the traditional way of taking care of the corn. It starts in a circle, with tobacco and prayer. As explained by Jeff Metoxen:

> Then there's the harvest and husking bee, so there's a harvest moon, and harvest process, during the harvesting time you basically pick your seeds for the next season so then you're thankful for your selection process… so we talk a great deal about going into it with a good mind and a good heart, that you're ready for this, that you take these responsibilities and you see them through. You hope those things come through, and I believe in them (Metoxen 2016).

Tsyunhehkw^ employees take great pride in their job as keepers of the corn. As stated by Kyle Wisneski: "I feel that a lot of people would like to have the job, the keeper of the corn. It goes back thousands and thousands of years, it's in our creation story, it's an honor. There's been a lot of Oneida legends that have come through this door and taken the responsibility to keep the corn safe, so it's an honor. I don't look at it so much as a job" (Wisneski 2016). They also see the Harvest and Husking Bee process as part of their responsibility to care for the corn, as it allows them to pass on the tradition of drying the corn:

> That's something we share with them [the community] when we have the time. Why are we doing this? Well, this is the white corn, it's not for the cows, nor the pigs and the chicken, it's not silage. This is for the humans, it's our food.… This is something our people have had ever since the beginning. We are trying to make sure it's around. Those are the big steps that keep that around, that sharing. Braiding the corn is a traditional way of drying the corn—what are the responsibilities with it? Well the corn is wet, it's not like the sweet corn, almost everybody knows that you can boil it. This corn isn't designed to do that. If we try and do that, if we don't share with them these responsibilities, we're setting them up to fail. Again, it's important to share these steps […] this is designed to be dried down in [a particular] way (Metoxen 2016).

Thus, apart from being an important ceremony in the community's calendar, the Harvest and Husking Bee also serves to teach the community, and especially the younger generations, how to braid it, thereby fulfilling the obligation to care for the corn. It also shows the importance of sharing the corn with the community and of community involvement in the process.

Indeed, service to the community is another tradition that is continued at Tsyunhehkw^. It is implicit in the farm's mission,

as its main goal is to provide the community with white corn and other food rather than to make a profit, but it does more than just that. The service is also visible in its mission to educate the community about traditional foods and food practices, how to be self-sustainable and grow one's own garden during various workshops and at schools, as well as the Harvest and Husking Bee, during which an education day is organized. The following passage is how Jeff Metoxen explains the meaning of engaging with the community as a tradition:

> It's been a tribal event since white corn has been around. This is how in the past they would talk about it—this is what got your community involved, this is what got all the people involved and recognizing that everyone takes care of the corn. If there are certain requirements or guidelines for male or female, you would share what these were. If you could help out anywhere, every stage has something that you can do, even if you have certain restrictions on you. We've had people in wheelchairs, yeah, they're not gonna be in the field, but they can be under the tent area where we have harvesting. Just talking, I guess that's your community-building event. We actually have many more students than we have people. Usually there's a few hundred students (Metoxen 2016).

Metoxen's description of community involvement dovetails with the message implicit in the vision of Handsome Lake—the community takes care of the white corn, while the corn not only sustains the community, but also builds and integrates it. Tsyunhehkw^ fosters this reciprocal relationship.

CONCLUSION

Tsyunhehkw^'s work is part of the food sovereignty effort that the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin has been successfully undertaking since the early 1990s through its Oneida Community Integrated Food Systems. At the same time, it also forms part of the larger, Native American food sovereignty movement in the United States, with its employees working together with Indigenous seedkeepers and organizations, participating in intertribal and international food sovereignty conferences, co-organizing the annual Great Lakes Food Sovereignty Summit, and taking part in numerous other initiatives.

The Oneida of Wisconsin have been both creative and successful in keeping their agricultural practices, traditions, and ceremonies

alive. A careful use of technology and abiding by traditional protocols allows them to harvest substantial amounts of heirloom white corn that they can use in ceremonies, sell to individuals at the retail store, and consume on various other occasions. Guided by the revived longhouse tradition, they have been able to conduct ceremonies throughout the year. Lastly, through their educational service and the annual Harvest and Husking Bee, they have been able to bring the community together and engage it in the harvesting of the corn, as well as spread knowledge about its cultural importance.

As such, for the Oneida, achieving tribal food sovereignty is a decolonial process, as it brings back foodways that are at the core of Oneida culture and beliefs, and combats health issues and food insecurity on the reservation that have been caused by colonial policies of removal and assimilation. The work done by Tsyunhehkw^ also shows that achieving tribal food sovereignty is inextricably linked with cultural sovereignty, as food, stewardship of the land, language, ceremony, and community are all part of the process.

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A NOTE FROM THE NEW BOOK REVIEW EDITOR

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Dear *RIAS* readers (old and new),

I am pleased to announce that, starting with this issue, our journal will include a completely redesigned Book Review Section, featuring three to five high-quality reviews by leading and emerging scholars from around the world. As for the selection of the books to be reviewed, even though I am a literary scholar, it is my intention as Review Editor to consider books that engage with the U.S. and the Americas as a hemispheric and global phenomenon from a wide range of perspectives and disciplines, including anthropology, art history, and media studies. Given the constraints associated with a slim editorial staff, during this first phase we will be able to publish only reviews written in English—a language many of us share as readers—but, in the future, I will also proactively seek out scholars interested in reviewing monographs, coauthored works, collection of essays, and anthologies published in languages other than English. If you would like to submit a book review or send us a review copy, or have other ideas about how to improve the Review Section, please send me a message at manlio.dellamarca@lmu.de

As a longtime reader of *RIAS*, I'm thrilled to come on board as Book Review Editor and would like to take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to *RIAS* Editor-in-Chief, Giorgio Mariani, and to all the members of the Editorial Board for thinking of me. I would also like to thank Mark Olival-Bartley—my English copyeditor here at LMU Munich—for his willingness to join this editorial project and for his hard work. Having studied applied

linguistics in his home state of Hawaii, Mark is not only a dedicated graduate student but also a working poet–a wordsmith, in a word, who will closely work with me to ensure that every published review is a first-rate piece of writing.

I look forward to working with you and to meeting many of you in person at at one of our events in the near future.

Manlio Della Marca
Book Review Editor, RIAS

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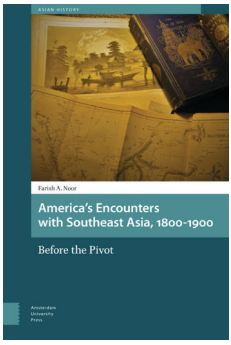
AMERICA'S ENCOUNTERS WITH SOUTHEAST ASIA, 1800–1900: BEFORE THE PIVOT

by Farish A. Noor
(A Book Review)



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Farish Noor's latest book presents a series of richly-textured critical explorations of a selection of key texts presenting windows on the ways in which the United States engaged with a range of different Asian societies over the course of the nineteenth century. The author emphasizes from the outset that this is "a book about books"—pursuing a series of close readings to explore the ways in which these texts reflect emerging and contested visions of a distinctively American identity constructed in relation to perceptions of diverse others that U.S. citizens found themselves in contact with on the distant shores of Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century. The particular books treated here thus serve to reveal different facets of America's evolving image and its relationships to an expanding world of foreign relations over the first century of the nation's history. The story begins with a bang.

Noor's readings of the two accounts of the voyage of the U.S. Frigate *Potomac* published in 1835 by Francis Warriner and Jeremiah Reynolds, respectively, present overlapping narratives of the young nation's first act of military aggression in Asia. This took place at the Sumatran port of Quallah-Battoo (Kuala Batu), located on the west coast of the island in what is today the Indonesian province

of Aceh. It was there that the *Friendship* of Salem, Massachusetts anchored to procure a cargo of pepper in February 1831. By that time, such sailings had become rather routine, building up a booming trade that started with the phenomenally profitable return on the first cargo of Sumatran pepper brought to Salem in 1797. The experience of the crew of the *Friendship* on this errand was, however, strikingly different and ended violently. While the ship's captain was ashore, locals who were presented as porters to load his vessel with pepper overwhelmed the crew of the *Friendship*, killing the First Mate and two crew members, and seizing the ship. After the Captain and other survivors finally returned Stateside, news of the attack sparked public outrage, pressuring Congress to dispatch the USS *Potomac* to exact redress for the attack on the ship from Salem. This culminated in the punitive bombardment of Quallah-Battoo, which in turn further fueled fiery partisan political debate back home.

Two men on board for the expedition of this heavily-armed frigate to Southeast Asia produced popular books on the voyage upon their return. While the basic narratives of both agree on nearly every major point, their respective accounts of those events reveal somewhat different perspectives and interpretations of what the voyage meant as a projection of American power abroad. Noor characterizes the account of Francis Warriner—a "non-combatant" officer on the Potomac—as more "religious" and "moral" in tone, presenting a rather ambivalent report on America's first military adventure in Asia. Noor contrasts this with Jeremiah Reynolds' sharper and more defensive tone on the attack of Quallah-Battoo as justified by the need of the United States to project protection of its citizens and their property even while overseas.

A separate chapter in Noor's book later returns to the ongoing saga of Quallah-Battoo with a discussion of Fitch W. Taylor's account of the circumnavigation of two U.S. naval vessels, in the course of which they received news of another attack on an American trading vessel anchored off of that same pepper port in 1838. In response, they adjusted course to investigate, and, when talks broke down with the local rajah, the Americans once again bombarded the Sumatran coast, devastating both Quallah-Battoo and the nearby port of "Muckie" (Meukek). Taylor's text presents a complex and often contrasting assemblage of reflections ranging

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from fantasizing about the possibility of the American colonization of Sumatra to asserting America's unique nature of being above such foreign adventurism and an aestheticized relish in the violence of gunboat interventions.

The tension between professions of innocence of imperial ambitions and threats of the use of force to advance national interests abroad takes on further permutations in the other works discussed here by Noor. Edmund Roberts' *Embassy to the Eastern Courts of Cochin-China, Siam and Muscat* (1837) records the travels of an American "Special Agent" sent on the USS *Peacock* to gather intelligence and his eventual success in negotiating the first treaty between the United States and a Southeast Asian sovereign power. Noor's characterization of the book as both a record of an early chapter in diplomatic history and marking "the birth of American Orientalism in Southeast Asia" (82) further highlights the complexity and simultaneous expression of multiple registers of discourse that such early texts of American experience in Southeast Asia present.

Over the decades that followed, American entanglements in Southeast Asia grew increasingly complex through both official arrangements such as the *1850 American-Brunei Treaty* and independent adventurism. A particularly fascinating instance of the latter is examined by Noor through his nuanced reading of Walter Murray Gibson's 1855 *The Prison of Weltevreden*—a complex work of fiction that incorporated and embellished material from the author's report on his time in Sumatra intended for the U.S. government. While Gibson travelled to Southeast Asia independently and without any official mandate or sanction, he became embroiled in a significant international incident when a letter surfaced in which Gibson wrote to the Sultan of Jambi purportedly instigating rebellion against the Dutch colonial authorities and pledging American naval support. After that debacle, Gibson went on to other adventures that in themselves continued to intersect in significant ways with evolving imaginations of America and its place in this world (and the next) through stints as both a Mormon missionary and Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Hawaii.

The last book treated in a chapter-length discussion is Albert S. Bickmore's account of his voyage to the East Indies (*Travels in the East Indian Archipelago*, 1869)—representing an early American attempt

to establish the nation's international scientific reputation. That book also, however, reflected emerging ideas on race that came to animate American interventions in Asia and the treatment of Asians in the United States for more than a century. From there, Noor surveys the increasing production of American travel writing and Orientalist literature as emblematic of the nation's "coming of age" on the global stage. Through Noor's selection and exploration of this generally forgotten literature, this book presents a story of America in Southeast Asia that predates the turn of the twentieth-century colonization of the Philippines. In this, it provides a critical and insightful complement to the familiar narrative of the development of U.S. foreign policy in the region punctuated by a series of "wars": the Spanish-American, and two World Wars, as well as one "Cold" one.

Thus, while Noor frames this book as primarily a work of "literary and discourse analysis" (14), the book also sheds important light on the histories of both America and Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century. His observations demonstrate they ways in which these publications can be read as artefacts of processes of identity formation, in which early American voices began to articulate a vision of what distinguished them from other "Westerners" in their interactions with diverse Asian "others". Through his careful and contextualized readings, these texts emerge as remarkable points for reflection on historical processes that contributed to the formation of America's national identity alongside the roles that Southeast Asia as a region and its people played within that.

Noor's book is also valuable in providing a number of appendices that will prove useful to students and scholars of American and Southeast Asian history during this period, including the full texts of major treaties between the United States and Asian powers: Siam (1833), Brunei (1850), and Japan (1854), as well as a helpful timeline of America's nineteenth-century entanglements with Asia. Taken as a whole, then, this book makes valuable contributions to several fields that do not often intersect in a single academic work: Southeast Asian history, nineteenth-century literature, and American studies. Readers coming from the perspective from any of these fields will learn much from Noor's book, and his finely crafted prose helps to make it a thoroughly enjoyable read as well.

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TEN RESTAURANTS THAT CHANGED AMERICA

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(A Book Review)

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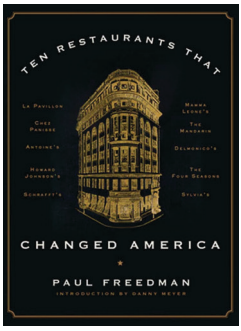

We begin with the option of *blanquette de veau*, just one of forty veal dishes. And we end with *butternut squash galette with sage and chestnuts*. The veal represents Delmonico's oldest surviving menu, dated 1838, and clocks in at eleven pages—a souvenir from a time when decadent dining meant an abundance of choice.[1] Opened in 1827 by Swiss brothers, Delmonico's is considered by Yale historian Paul Freedman to be the United States' first real restaurant. This 1838 menu is also the oldest in his book *Ten Restaurants That Changed America*, first published in 2016 and then in paperback in 2018. The *galette*, whose description sways from English to French and back to English, represents the book's most recent menu: a 2014 dinner at Chez Panisse in Berkeley, California. It serves as a snapshot of contemporary dining in America, where chefs free diners from an overwhelming number of choices and diners expect ingredients to be local.

In between these two meals, Freedman offers courses from eight other restaurants. There are *huîtres à la Rockefeller*

1. Never shy of decadence, Oscar Wilde considered Delmonico's one of "the two most impressive sights in the United States" alongside Yosemite Valley (7–8).

at Antoine's in New Orleans and *club sandwiches* at Schrafft's, also in New York. Or how about the *fried clams* at one of the 929 Howard Johnson's that dotted the United States in the 1970s? There is also the iconic *spaghetti with meatballs* at New York's Mamma Leone's, or *hot-and-sour soup* at San Francisco's the Mandarin. Sylvia's in Harlem serves "down-home" *fried or smothered chicken*, and, further south in Manhattan, there's *filet de sole au Chablis* at Le Pavillon or *salsify in wild game marinade* at the Four Seasons. (Today, one can still book a table at Delmonico's, a successor of the original, as well as at Antoine's, Sylvia's, Chez Panisse, and, the recently relocated, Four Seasons.) Collapsing the nearly two centuries Paul Freedman covers, these are the ten restaurants, he argues, that changed America.

The title gives away the book's contents, but it is easy to overlook its most operative word: changed. Freedman writes about restaurants but tells a larger story. In tune with the interdisciplinary field of food studies, Freedman convincingly proves "food and cuisine reflect the culture at large" (433). *Ten Restaurants That Changed America* is an important contribution to an ever-growing body of literature that demonstrates how restaurants not only reflect social values but also construct them. Nestled between the public and the private, they are fascinating stages for cultural change.

This isn't a book about America's best restaurants. Instead, each chapter engages with larger social questions. With Schrafft's, Freedman touches on gendered access to public space and the history of restaurants opening their doors to women. The chapters on Mamma Leone's and the Mandarin both engage with so-called "ethnic" establishments and the potential of restaurants as gateways to experiencing other cultures. Sylvia's departs from the legacies of the Great Migration and reflects on eating out, race, and the civil rights movement. And the chapter on Howard Johnson's charts the history of franchising, frozen foods, and the emergence of roadside, middle-class family dining. Freedman based his selection on exemplary establishments—prototypes of sorts—that defined a category. One of the book's strengths is that it brings such different restaurants together in an effort to profile how the United States imagines itself through its meals.

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Many of the restaurants also clash and contradict one another. Delmonico's adhered to French gastronomy's rules but embraced American ingredients like terrapin (turtles) from Maryland (which Oscar Wilde once ordered). Regional distinction, present at Delmonico's and Antoine's, declined as Schrafft's and Howard Johnson's streamlined American classics. Le Pavillon promoted snobby French food, and, in contrast, The Four Seasons turned away from the French model and offered haute cuisine in an American accent. Alice Water's Chez Panisse is a reaction to assembly line food. Sylvia's, Schrafft's, and Howard Johnson's represent a culinary world many Americans could participate in, whereas, The Four Seasons charges prices that preserve its exclusivity.

Freedman treats the reader to many meals, but despite this range, an obvious critique is his narrow geographical scope. After all, seven of the ten restaurants were based (or at least present) in New York City. But there is perhaps a reason none of these restaurants are far from the coast. Freedman explains this was not intentional and yet these cities are all ports "and many of the influences on American food, from French food to immigration, passed through them" (xlv). In other words, *Ten Restaurants* celebrates immigrants. It documents migration and travel. Many of its characters arrived by boat or plane. Cecilia Chiang was born in Shanghai, and Henri Soulé was French. Immigrants also opened Delmonico's, Antoine's, and Mamma Leone's. For American-born Alice Waters, it was living in France where she learned to eat. Because of this, Freedman's ten restaurants are connected far beyond the country's borders.

In building up Chez Panisse's legacy of pioneering what many consider to be the beginning of contemporary American cuisine, Freedman writes: "All revolutions have to create a grim image of the past […] against which they are revolting. Every 'Renaissance' has to manufacture its own 'Gothic' period or 'Dark Ages' […]" (379). This also hints at Freedman's academic background. A professor of history at Yale, he is, in fact, a medievalist. Although his research has included the history of cuisine, especially the spice trade, and he edited *Food: The History of Taste* (2007), he specializes in medieval social history, with a focus on Catalonia. Keeping with the propri-

etors and chefs he profiles, *Ten Restaurants* very much discusses American culinary history in dialogue with global shifts.

Continuing with the transatlantic, I included two chapters in my undergraduate food studies course at the University of Munich this past semester. Both were accessible in language, tone, and scope, to the students, all of who speak English as a second or even third language. Written with the light hand typical of journalism, the book also doubles as a gateway to thinking about menus as primary sources and how restaurants serve so much more than dinner.

Freedman also takes to heart the expression that we eat with our eyes. The book encompasses over 100 figures, ranging from menus to photographs (including an excellent one of "Henri Soulé inspecting a roast," in which his tightly pressed lips perfectly capture the brilliant yet bossy character Freedman describes), and from food-focused *New Yorker* covers to works of art, including Edward Hopper's 1929 *Chop Suey*. In addition to enticing students to read lengthy chapters, these figures all exemplify food's place in visual cultural studies. But Freedman doesn't only tease the reader with intriguing dishes. An appendix supplies "classic recipes," including Howard Johnson's famous *fried clams* and *baked Alaska*, invented at Delmonico's in 1867 in celebration of the Alaska purchase.

It is also fitting that the book begins in New York City and ends in California. In addition to its overarching question of what is American food, it casts a second story as its red thread: the fall of French cuisine's dominance. At first, it might seem ironic, then, that *Ten Restaurants That Changed America* both begins and ends with French restaurants, and yet somewhere along the way is the story of the coming-of-age of an American dining culture, in which the coasts were central.

I happen to be writing this in Berkeley. Chez Panisse is only a twenty-five minute walk northeast. But even closer is Café Ohlone. Run by Vincent Medina and Louis Trevino, the café uses pre-contact ingredients to cook creative dishes that serve an idea of how the Bay tasted before European colonization. Café Ohlone opened in 2018, and so it is not a contender for Freedman's list, and yet it points to an important absence. In Freedman's quest to study American restaurants, he overlooks Native American

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influences. Is it possible to discuss the reemergence of local and seasonal eating in the United States without considering Native Americans?

The book also dabbles in other absences. Although Freedman purposely tells a story that goes beyond McDonald's and fast food serving as the only definition of American food, I cannot help but think about salsa, smokers, and steak. A book about the ten dishes that changed America would look quite different from this one. Freedman reminds readers "there are more than 40,000 Chinese restaurants in the United States—more than there are branches of McDonald's, Burger King, and KFC *combined*" (209). But what about salsa—the nation's most popular condiment?[2]

Furthermore, his most recent example, Chez Panisse, opened in 1971, over two decades before The Food Network first aired in 1993 and represented a growing interest in not just eating but in talking about it, too. It was once considered un-American to fuss about food, and, today, in 2019, finding the best noodle bar or getting a reservation at a top restaurant has become a fully competitive American sport.

Keeping with a numbered approach, Freedman ends with five recent trends: farm-to-table; molecular/modernist gastronomy; celebrity chefs; the influence of Asia; and, the new informality of dining out. Despite this summary, I can't help but wonder how the book would read if it included a more recent contender, perhaps the likes of David Chang's Momofuko empire, which checks three of the five boxes. I wonder about these restaurants that defy categorization. Restaurants that go beyond national and regional cuisines, ones that—to borrow what was once the culinary world's "f-word,"—might be described as fusion, which Freedman only briefly touches upon. To call Chang's cooking fusion is not quite right, nor is it to call it "Asian" or "Asian-American." This would be ripe territory for considering what the late restaurant critic Jonathan Gold called "fusion from the other side" (Goldstein 316).

Ten Restaurants That Changed America gifts readers a handful of facts fun enough for a dinner party (like that the term "power lunch" was coined in a 1979 *Esquire* article to describe well-heeled

2. Salsa sales overtook ketchup in 1991 (Pilcher 673).

lunches at the Four Seasons), but it also does more important work. For those who are new to food studies, *Ten Restaurants That Changed America* solidifies that eating out is an important part of popular culture. It further exemplifies the importance of historicizing what has become naturalized: the now ordinary act of going out for dinner. Furthermore, from convenience to exclusivity and from forty veal dishes to a menu that presents no options at all, the book documents the continual evolution of an insatiable American appetite.

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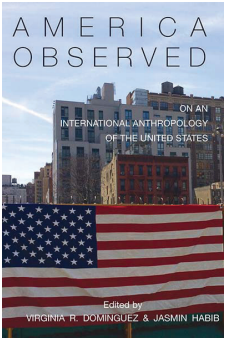
AMERICA OBSERVED: ON AN INTERNATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE UNITED STATES

by Virginia R. Dominguez and Jasmin Habib, eds.
(A Book Review)



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America Observed: On an International Anthropology of the United States brings a fresh perspective both methodologically and theoretically to the subfield of the anthropology of the United States. Alterity being a stubborn cornerstone of the field of anthropological inquiry, Dominguez and Habib ask the poignant question: Can the U.S. be "Othered" (1)? In their introductory chapter, the editors clearly lay out a compelling argument for non-U.S.-based anthropologists to conduct extensive ethnographic work in the United States and the challenges that come with such an approach. As a U.S.-born anthropologist of the United States, I find this call compelling and overdue. Predominantly, anthropology has always pushed the idea of anthropological study in foreign, remote places where the anthropologist must become accustomed. The anthropology of the U.S. has had the opposite problem, with the majority of U.S. specialists conducting "home anthropology." This is a designation that the authors outline; however, any anthropologist of the U.S. who comes from the U.S. will attest that the country is vast, culturally diverse, and socially complex. Conducting field work in different parts of the states where one may not be familiar can be as "othering" as any international inquiry. Nonetheless,

it is an important question to raise, What would an anthropology of the United States look like if it was conducted by colleagues from outside of the U.S.?

What follows is a series of chapters that try to answer this poignant question, grounded in the thick description that anthropological methods require. Although forward thinking and compelling, the breadth of Habib and Dominguez's introduction would have been enriched by a detailed discussion of the history of anthropology both *in and out of* the United States, noting its inextricable links with empire and settler colonization. Such an inclusion might well have yielded interesting insights and redoubled the foundation for what follows. To be sure, any discussion of the present and future of a U.S. anthropology should consistently and thoroughly interrogate its highly entrenched and contentious disciplinary past.

The contributing authors provide a series of ethnographic studies and essays that explore how international ethnographic researchers can contribute and provide insight into the anthropology of the U.S. The text is divided into two thematic sections: the first, "On the Outside Looking In? The U.S. As a Fieldsite," takes the reader through a series of ethnographically rich chapters that showcases the potential of scholars outside the U.S. conducting U.S.-based field work. Helena Wulff's chapter explores the influence of American pop-culture on Swedish youth, mobilized as a driving force for Swede migration to Manhattan, New York. Wulff employs an ethnography of young Swedes living in Manhattan to elicit responses about the United States from "outsiders." Wulff frames their experiences as transnational, global, and temporal. The ethnographic material is carefully curated, and her analysis draws on ideas of collective connection, fantasy, and national imagination. We are drawn to think of Manhattan (and New York) as a cosmopolitan hub. Wulff approaches this vast sociocultural conglomeration from a micro-perspective and crafts an ethnographic language that takes the reader through an emic perspective on the United States and its relationship to self-realization in the city.

Jasmin Habib's chapter, "Is It Un-American to Be Critical of Israel? Criticism and Fear in the U.S. Context," begins with a thought-provoking series of quotes that interrogates what it means to be

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both Jewish and a U.S. citizen in the shadow of historical American Judaism and the concept of homeland. Habib explores the views of diasporic "dissident activists" who are critical of the U.S.'s relationship with Israel and the Israeli occupation of Palestine. Through her ethnography, Habib invites the reader to see U.S. Jewish activism and identity through the lens of empire, which allows for nuance and complexity. The ethnographic writing is strengthened by Habib's personal and in-depth profiles of two activists, grounding her ethnographic material in rich historical narrative.

Limor Samimian-Darash's chapter on biosecurity opens with a delightful auto-ethnographic vignette where she describes her experience presenting a paper at the American Anthropological Association's annual conference. This vignette showcases what she calls a "cultural prism," where a paper given by another conference participant about the U.S.'s response to biological terrorism and threat receives a "non-cultural reading," whereas her own paper (also on the topic of preparedness for biological threats but focusing on the Israeli context) is described by the panel discussant—a U.S. anthropologist—as an ethnographically rich exploration of a "small country," thus revealing the underlying Malinowskian exoticism that still seems to pervade much contemporary anthropology. Harkening back to the editors' question about the possible othering of the U.S., indeed, with this brilliant opening, Samimian-Darash definitively shows the reader that the U.S. in anthropological discourse is often treated as all-encompassing, resistant to the gaze of alterity. The rest of the chapter does not disappoint with Samimian-Darash presenting a complex discourse on the construction of knowledge in biosecurity in the U.S., which she shows is permeated with a kind of Americanness that refuses to acknowledge its localized ways of knowing.

Ulf Hannerz's chapter starts with a more conversational commentary on his relationship and experience as an "outside" researcher in the U.S., humorously characterizing his method as a "relaxed America-watch." Hannerz's chapter, "American Theater State: Reflections on Political Culture," reads largely as a discursive cultural commentary. It does not include the typical rich ethnographic data that the other chapters in this section

provide. Nonetheless, Hannerz gives a sort of auto-ethnographic insight into what "America Observed" really means, a sustained outsider's gaze into the strange cultural milieu that is the United States. Hannerz poses that political culture in the U.S. is akin to a sort of theatrical performance. For the U.S. citizen, anthropologist or not, this approach begs the question, Are we the audience members? Fellow actors? Or somewhere in between? Hannerz's chapter is the real star in terms of showing the reader what an outside critical discourse on the U.S. can elicit.

This thematic section concludes with Moshe Shokeid's chapter, which examines the emergence of several gay voluntary associations in New York. Shokeid details various groups and meetings he attended throughout his field research, providing a varied and robust ethnographic picture of his field site(s). Throughout the piece, Shokeid is continually self-reflexive, allowing his outsider status to run through the ethnographic material. This reads as an effective and powerful symptom of the particular positionality that the text is attempting to cover. Shokeid's writing highlights this unique perspective with clarity and sophistication. The second half of his chapter is a juxtaposition of the historical sociality of gay communities in New York with gay communities in Israel and the influence of the former on the latter. This approach produces a tenuous comparison that could have been better unpacked with a more robust and varied theoretical framework. Shokeid relies heavily on more discursive elements, forgoing richer ethnographic comparisons that might well have strengthened his argument. However, his approach is compelling and merits a text that would allow for a longer, more detailed exploration.

The second and final section of the book, "From the Inside Out? Reflections on an International Anthropology of the U.S.," is a collection of essays that rounds out and contextualizes the previous section. Geoffrey White's "Who Cares? Why It's Odd and Why It's Not" interrogates the question of the U.S. as a field site by situating it within a discourse of "insider/outsider" with a comprehensive review of the previous chapters. His use of the authors' texts to juxtapose short quotes evokes a sort of comparative ethnographic analysis and is extremely effective in tying the various authors' chapters together under the book's

overall theme. Keiko Ikeda's piece, titled " Power and Trafficking of Scholarship in International American Studies," provides the reader with a nationalistic discussion on the emergence of an International American Studies focusing on geopolitical positionality and hierarchies. Finally, Jane Desmond presents a discourse on the insulation of U.S.-based researchers and the neglect and lack of recognition for the scholarship by non-U.S. researchers who conduct research in the United States.

While each chapter was wonderfully executed and provided sophisticated anthropological insight, as a cohesive series, the volume might have showcased greater ethnographic diversity. As the editors have acknowledged, the United States is not only a large geographic region but a complex bricolage of culture that is not so easily encompassed. In a book exploring the "Anthropology of the United States" from international perspectives or otherwise, one needs both quality and quantity. This is not a criticism of a shortcoming of the text but a call for a larger more robust volume of its kind. Conducting extensive ethnographic field work takes long periods of time, where researchers are required to live for extended periods alongside their communities of study. Thus, considering the expansive nature of the U.S., an ethnographically diverse text under the positionality of an International Anthropology of the U.S. would take a considerable amount of time and a great number of researchers committed to collaborating and conducting U.S.-based field research. Hopefully, with this brilliant effort by Dominguez and Habib, more anthropologists from outside the U.S. will pursue U.S.-based field study, contributing a robust etic perspective on the anthropology of the United States.

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KNIGHTS ACROSS THE ATLANTIC: THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR IN BRITAIN AND IRELAND

by Steven Parfitt
(A Book Review)

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At a time when some works passing under Transatlantic Studies or Transnational U.S. Studies and History are rather comparative or elite-centered, *Knights Across the Atlantic* is not only a refreshing lesson in precise scholarship in transatlantic labor history but also a compelling example of how to use and interpret archival and online sources.

In seven concise chapters, Parfitt's sleek book tells the history of the rise, struggles, fall, and influence of the U.S.-based Knights of Labor in Britain and Ireland, and recovers its credentials as a transnational movement that spurred the British labor movement to new heights in the twentieth century. His first chapter provides the historical context for the expansion of the Knights into the British Isles with a special view to the motivations of the U.S. Order of the Knights of Labor for doing so. American Knights originally reached across the Atlantic to organize their British and Irish counterparts both from an impulse to practice "universal brotherhood" *and* with the aim of regulating migration to their own shores by establishing and coordinating with workers' organizations in those countries—an approach that Parfitt incisively terms "brotherhood from a distance" (43, 62).

In its second chapter, *Knights Across the Atlantic* charts the arrival and rise of the Knights in the British Isles and discusses how Irish migration and diaspora across the isles and the Atlantic fed the Order's popularity not only due to its endorsement of the nationalization of land and Irish Home Rule, and several of its recruiters' ethnic backgrounds, but also because the U.S. Knights' approach of organizing across some racial and ethnic lines put the Order in the position of a dispassionate outsider on the Isles. Yet the Knights' refusal to subscribe to the anti-Irish racism of the British Empire did not spare them from the challenge of sectarianism in lowland Scotland and Northern Ireland.

In Chapters 3 and 4, Parfitt investigates how the British and Irish Knights applied the U.S. organization to their needs. It could be expected that they selectively adapted American principles and practices; what is surprising is that, as Parfitt demonstrates, British and Irish workers chose to closely follow U.S. approaches and praxis in fraternal rituals and industrial relations, even as they chose not to organize women into their assemblies. Knights on the Isles insisted on negotiation and arbitration with their employers even when this approach put them into direct conflict with the more militant and strike-prone workers' bodies of the new unionism of the 1890s. Parfitt is right to conclude that even with American calls for flexibility, the centrifugal force of this transnational movement bound those on its outer reaches to the center even more than it did its U.S. Knights.

Parfitt's Chapters 5 and 6 masterfully trace the actions, influence, and legacy of the British and Irish Knights in politics and unionism. From the ambiguity of the U.S. Order about labor in politics, the Knights of the Isles not only fashioned an approach to municipal power, they also played a role in national and party politics. While British and Irish Knights never had the numbers to assert their power through elections, their ideas and programs exerted an influence over some key players like Keir Hardie who used the Order's ideas in his role in the Scottish miners' organization the Sons of Labour as well as his establishment of the Scottish Labour Party in 1888. After moving to London, Hardie's fellow Knight and comrade in the Scottish labor movement James Shaw Maxwell served as first secretary of Britain's Independent

Labour Party. Through such personal and ideational links, Parfitt demonstrates that the Knights of Labor served both as catalyst and agent in the coalescing of the independent labor movement in British politics. Arriving in the Isles at a time of labor disorganization and economic depression, the Knights' rise was fast but short-lived; their conciliatory approach to industrial relations and their awkward position between the local, old and new national workers' unions allowed them to be a catalyst in but not a beneficiary of the upswing and advance of the British labor movement. Parfitt argues that the Knights served as a training ground, meeting place, and inspiration for British and Irish labor members but not as a sustainable, dominant labor organization.

In his final, seventh chapter, Parfitt outlines the reasons for the decline of the Knights in the Isles. In addition to their inability to find a niche among labor organizations, the Order's adherence to American principles and approaches eroded their standing in the face of nationalist criticism; their dependence on U.S. financial support made them founder when the money dried up, and several high-profile embezzlement cases sullied their movement's reputation. The Order attempted to root itself nationally too late to halt or reverse its own decline, but its approach to internationalism also made it an anachronism in the new climate of "national internationalism" (Marcel van der Linden quoted in Parfitt, 216).

Truly transnational scholarship is a tall order for anyone not in the least because the dominant Western nation-bound scholarship, thinking and archiving have made it especially difficult and costly to locate, access, and productively utilize enough sources. Parfitt excels in this endeavor. In addition to major online archival collections, he conducted research in archives in regional centers in the United Kingdom and 'global cities' such as Liverpool, Amsterdam, and Washington, D.C. His careful attention to union journals and newspaper coverage yielded impressive results; his use of correspondence to and from U.S. Order leader Terence Powderly (including in his personal papers in Washington, D.C.) is a crucial part of his evidence; his deployment of union reports, proceedings and manifestos provides crucial proof for his claims.

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He makes the best of his admittedly thin primary sources—and not only in accessing them.

"We should remain careful not to claim too much" (229). Parfitt's judiciousness in interpreting sources and circumstantial evidence is refreshing in a field where early career scholars are often given (sometimes trained) to overstate their case. Parfitt's care in articulating reasonable claims and delineating his ground actually increases the persuasive power of his analytical arguments. His admission that the Knights' international records are thin only highlights the author's skills in making his case with evidence from less obvious sources.

Knights Across the Atlantic indeed fills a gap in scholarship: with it, Parfitt contributes to what he calls "a truly international history" of the Knights of Labor (6, 230). His writing style is geared towards this: in the beginning of every chapter, his focus moves in concentric circles by discussing the chapter's topic in the U.S. movement then in countries already studied by other scholars (especially Belgium, Australia, and New Zealand), before zooming in on the British Isles. More importantly, Parfitt reconstructs an important piece in the puzzle of the fin de siècle as a major transition period in transatlantic and international labor history. In the process, he productively complicates notions of "American exceptionalism" in these fields. Building on Kim Voss' claims in her 1993 book *The Making of American Exceptionalism: The Knights of Labor and Class Formation in the Nineteenth Century*, Parfitt argues that the example of the Knights shows that the "exceptional U.S. conditions" which have long been faulted for the difficulties of the country's labor movement were not a given but were *constructed* by labor unions' choices and fortunes as much as historical forces. As Parfitt shows, the fate of the Knights in the U.S. resulted in the retreat of American labor into craft unionism and away from politics; yet the Order's meteoric presence in the British Isles spurred their new unionism in the opposite direction. While Parfitt's intervention in debates about American exceptionalism could be updated and further problematized, both this and his attempt to shift the focus from the elites to the workers in studies of the Anglo-U.S. "special relationship" make his book to be of definite interest to both students and scholars of Transatlantic Studies

and Transnational American Studies. The publication of Parfitt's book at a time when both the United States and the United Kingdom are on a quest to dramatically redefine their role in regional and global systems of trade and migration should also make *Knights Across the Atlantic* of interest to all critical readers on both sides of the Atlantic.

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ABSTRACTS
AND NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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Indigenous Social Movements in the Americas RIAS vol. 12, Spring–Summer, Nº 1/2019

Refusing (Mis)Recognition: Navigating Multiple Marginalization in the U.S. Two Spirit Movement

I focus on the discursive strategies within Two Spirit events and groups that center the definition of 'Two Spirit' first and foremost as an Indigenous identity by using both unifying/mass terms (Native American, glbtiq) and culturally & community specific terms (specific tribe names, Two Spirit). Rather than selecting a 'right' term, such conversations highlight the constant, simultaneous positionings negotiated by Two Spirit people in their daily lives, and the tensions between recognizability and accuracy, communality and specificity, indigeneity and settler culture, and the burden multiply marginalized people carry in negotiating between all of these metaphorical and literal spaces. Drawing on Audra Simpson's (2007, 2014) concept of the politics of refusal, I demonstrate how Two Spirit individuals utilize available categories of identity, not as either/or binaries but rather as overlapping concepts—differentiated along micro- and macro-scales—to refuse attempts to both reduce the Two Spirit identity to one that is based either in gender or sexuality, and the appropriation of the identity and movement by non-Indigenous individuals and groups within broader national and global queer movements.

Keywords: Two Spirit; Refusal; Indigenous social movements

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Her 2018 book from the University of Arizona Press, *Talking Indian: Identity and Language Revitalization in the Chickasaw Renaissance* received the 2019 Beatrice Medicine Award for Best Monograph in American Indian Studies. It and additional publications focus on Chickasaw language revitalization (*Language and Communication*, 2016 and *The Changing World Religion Map*, 2015). In addition, she has published in a number of topics and fields, including gendered representations in Breton language revitalization media (*Gender & Language*, 2012); the discourses about language endangerment in media (*Language Documentation & Description*, 2017); the intersections of gender and sexuality in language revitalization (*Oxford Handbook of Language and Sexuality*, forthcoming); and language, Indigeneity, and gender/sexuality in Two Spirit identity (Queer Excursions, 2014). Her 2014 co-edited volume from Oxford University Press, *Queer Excursions: Retheorizing Binaries in Language, Gender, and Sexuality*, was awarded the Ruth Benedict Book Prize from the Association for Queer Anthropology and the American Anthropological Association.

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USA

"Fires were lit inside them:" The Pyropolitics of Water Protector Camps at Standing Rock

The language of fire has sometimes been used in illustrative ways to describe how social movements spark, flare, and sometimes sputter out. Building on recent scholarship about protest camps, as well as borrowing language from environmental historians about fire behavior, this article draws from ethnographic research to describe the pyropolitics of the Indigenous-led anti-pipeline movement at Standing Rock—examining how fire was used as analogy and in material ways to support and drive the movement to protect water from industrial capitalism. Describing ceremonial fires, social fires, home fires, cooking fires, and fires lit in protest on the front line, this article details how fire was put to work in myriad ways in order to support the movement against the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL), and ensure social order and physical survival at the camps built to house supporters of the movement. This article concludes with descriptions of how these sparks ignited at Standing Rock followed activists home to their own communities, to other

struggles that have been taken up to resist pipelines, the contamination of water, and the appropriation of Indigenous land.

Keywords: social movements, Native American, American Indian, fire, pyropolitics, #noDAPL, Standing Rock, protest camps, Indigenous

Elizabeth Hoover is Associate Professor of American Studies at Brown University where she also serves as the Faculty Chair of Brown's Native American and Indigenous Studies Initiative steering committee. Elizabeth is descended from Mohawk and Mi'kmaq communities, and her research focuses on environmental justice and food sovereignty in Native American communities. Her first book *The River is In Us: Fighting Toxics in a Mohawk Community* (University of Minnesota Press, 2017) is an ethnographic exploration of Akwesasne Mohawks' response to Superfund contamination and environmental health research. Her second book project-in-progress *From Garden Warriors to Good Seeds; Indigenizing the Local Food Movement* explores Native American farming and gardening projects around the country: the successes and challenges faced by these organizations; the ways in which participants define and enact concepts like food sovereignty and seed sovereignty; the role of Native chefs in the food movement; and the fight against the fossil fuel industry to protect heritage foods. She also recently co-edited a book *Indigenous Food Sovereignty in the United States* with Devon Mihesuah (2019 University of Oklahoma Press). Elizabeth has published articles about Native American food sovereignty and seed rematriation; environmental reproductive justice in Native American communities; the cultural impact of fish advisories on Native communities; and tribal citizen science. Outside of academia, Elizabeth serves on the executive committee of the Native American Food Sovereignty Alliance (NAFSA), and the newly formed Slow Food Turtle Island regional association.

MARIAELENA HUAMBACHANO
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Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Indigenous Foodways in the Andes of Peru

This article explores the Quechua peoples' food systems as seen through a traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) lens and reflects on the vital role of Indigenous peoples' knowledge for global food security. Data was collected from two Quechua communities, Choquecancha and Rosaspata, in the highlands of Peru, from March 2016 to August 2018. This data was collected via participatory action research, talking circles with female farmers, oral history interviews with elders, and Indigenous gatherings at chacras with community leaders and local agroecologists. Analysis of this data suggests that Quechua people's in-depth and locally rooted knowledge concerning food security provides an Indigenous-based theoretical model of food sovereignty for the revitalization of Indigenous

foodways and collective rights to food rooted in often under-recognised aspects of their Indigeneity and TEK.

Keywords: Traditional ecological knowledge (TEK); Indigenous food ways; Food Security; food sovereignty; Quechua people

Mariaelena Huambachano (Ph.D) is an Assistant Professor at the University of Wisconsin, Madison in the department of Civil Society and Community Studies. Mariaelena is an Indigenous scholar who is native of Peru and citizen of New Zealand, whose work stems from both personal and professional interests. She is a food sovereignty and environmental justice advocate and also an active member of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. Her research focuses on Indigenous transnational comparative studies at the interface between cultural and agrobiodiversity proving a new approach to understand traditional knowledge, biocultural heritage and public policies. Her work can be found in *Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems*, *The International Journal of Food Studies*, *The International Journal of Environmental Sustainability*, *The International Journal of Environmental, Cultural, Economic and Social Sustainability*. Also, in the volumes on Indigenous spirituality at work: *Transforming the Spirit of Business Enterprise* edited by Chellie Spiller and Rachel Wolfgramm and in the volume of *Critical Studies on Corporate Responsibility, Governance and Sustainability* edited by Gabriel Eweje. She is currently working on a book project entitled *Indigenous Food Sovereignty, Sustainability, and Well-being* and also she is leading an international community-based project entitled "Our Right to Food Sovereignty" with community partners in Aotearoa New Zealand, Peru and the USA.

ZUZANNA KRUK-BUCHOWSKA
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Food Sovereignty Practices at the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin Tsyunhehkw^ farm: The Three Sisters, Ceremony and Community

The paper looks at the role of traditional foodways and related cultural practices in Oneida's contemporary food sovereignty efforts, and the various understandings of the continuity of food and agricultural traditions in the community. The Oneida Nation of Wisconsin are located west of the city of Green Bay, in the northeastern part of the state, which in turn is in the north of the Midwest region of the U.S. The tribe's Tsyunhehkw^'s (joon-hen-kwa) farm, whose name loosely translates into "life sustenance" in English, serves important cultural, economic and educational purposes. It grows Oneida white flint corn, which is considered sacred by the tribe and is used for ceremonial purposes, and tobacco for use in ceremonies and runs a traditional Three Sisters Garden. The Three Sisters–corn, beans and squash, are an important part of the Oneida creation story, as is the vision of Handsome Lake–a Seneca prophet from the turn of the nineteenth century, who played

a significant role in the revival of traditional religion among the People of the Longhouse. They inform the work done at Tsyunhehkw^ to provide healthful food for the Oneida community.

Keywords: Oneida Nation of Wisconsin, Indigenous food sovereignty, cultural revival

Zuzanna Kruk-Buchowska is assistant professor at the Faculty of English, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland. Her scholarly interests focus on Native American and Australian Indigenous studies, in particular Indigenous education, cultural resistance, Indigenous knowledge recovery and food sovereignty. She is also the coordinator of the Australia and New Zealand MA program at her Faculty. Based on her research at Haskell Indian Nations University in Lawrence, Kansas, in 2016 she has published the book *Negotiating Native American Identities–The Role of Tradition, Narrative and Language at Haskell Indian Nations University* (Adam Mickiewicz University Press).

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"Bringing Things Together": Tribalography, Lakota Language, and Communal Healing in Frances Washburn's *Elsie's Business* and *The Sacred White Turkey*

In this article I analyze two novels by Frances Washurn (Lakota/Anishinabe), *Elsie's Business* (2006) and *The Sacred White Turkey* (2010), through the prism of LeAnne Howe's concept of tribalography. A critical approach that has been gaining influence in Native American Studies, tribalography emphasizes how Native epistemologies pinpoint various interrelations between Native and non-Native communities, histories, geographical places, and temporal dimensions and calls for multidisciplinary perspectives in reading Native American cultural productions. Applying tribalography in the reading of Washburn's fiction illuminates how indigenous communities in her texts engage in cultural practices such as storytelling, speaking Lakota language, and observing Lakota ceremonies and thus revitalize their culture in the colonial context. Preserving indigenous culture is seen as an act with wider implications than solely strategic resistance: it is also an act of healing and restoring harmony in often troubled communities..

Keywords: tribalography, Lakota culture, language revitalization, healing, storytelling, community

Joanna Ziarkowska is Assistant Professor at the University of Warsaw, Poland. She is the author of *Retold Stories, Untold Histories: Maxine Hong Kingston and Leslie Marmon Silko on the Politics of Reclaiming the Past* (2013) and the co-editor of *In Other Words: Dialogizing Postcoloniality,*

Race, and Ethnicity (2012). She has published several articles on Native American literature and is currently working on representations of diseases and healing in Native American literature.

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