THESIS

DWELLING IN THE DISTRICTS: THE PARTICIPATION AND PERSPECTIVES OF

MAPPING TRADITIONAL COMMUNITIES ON PINE RIDGE

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ABSTRACT

DWELLING IN THE DISTRICTS: THE PARTICIPATION AND PERSPECTIVES OF

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This thesis discusses the process and results of research gathered from a field season on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation of South Dakota. By engaging in a community mapping project with Oglala Lakota elders, I show the benefits and reason behind the theory of participation. The project intends to "map" the indigenous *tiospaye* groups in the Porcupine District, and ends up gathering narrative representations of place rather than explicitly cartographic ones, a reification of the theorized "dwelling space." A discussion of the mapping project leads to a wider explication of the general practice of mapping indigenous lands throughout history. How indigenous perceptions of place and landscape are represented through acts of cartography is discussed to show the potential for empowerment or disempowerment of indigenous worldviews. The thesis concludes that a divestment of power to local communities is necessary for truly sustainable development, and further that the knowledge and perceptions of the traditional Lakota elders needs to be validated on their own terms in order to decolonize the relationship between their *tiospayes* and the tribal government.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"And the little screaming fact that sounds through all history: repression works only to strengthen and knit the repressed." - John Steinbeck, The Grapes of Wrath

On September 17th, 2007, the United Nations General Assembly drafted the "United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples." The first of its kind with international recognition and scale, the declaration asserts the basic human rights of indigenous people around the world. Amongst others, these rights include: the right to self-determination in political structure and representation; the right to retain indigenous cultural institutions; the right to remain on traditionally occupied or used territories; and the right to retain the place names and resources within these territories (United Nations General Assembly 2008).

Through these constructed rights, indigenous communities theoretically have international support to maintain or revitalize their traditional forms of land tenure[1] that have historically been wrestled away from them. However, change comes slow and – in spite of international declarations – often only from the ground up.

In the sun bleached, grassy hills of Western South Dakota, the elders of the traditional Oglala Lakota communities are communicating their vision of self-determination in terms of traditional land tenure and community governance. On the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, just north of the Nebraska state line and south of the once mighty White River, local movements for indigenous self-determination have been contesting the colonial and neocolonial trespass of native lands since at least the eighteenth century (Robertson 2002; Wolf 2010). Today, the

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[1] Land tenure is defined in this thesis as the cumulative social relations of property rights, rules of access to land, land inheritance and land use, per Roth (2009).

traditional and rebellious elements of the Oglala band of Lakota Sioux are still in the midst of negotiation with their tribal and federal governments.

In this introductory chapter, the premise of the *tiospaye* mapping project will be discussed. Following this, a history of the Lakota people is constructed, thereby situating the concept of the *tiospaye*, traditional governance, and the political resistance to the contemporary reservation system. To conclude, a preview of the following chapters will be provided.

Premise of Research

Presented in this thesis are my interactions with elder Lakota people from the Porcupine District of the Pine Ridge Reservation. Through an exercise in local participatory activism unofficially referred to throughout this thesis as the "*tiospaye* mapping project," these elders contest the oppressive state of affairs that affect Lakota life on the reservation. The Lakota *tiospaye* – a Lakota word that, according to local informants, translates as "community"– has persisted through a long history of colonization, yet has no official recognition by or representation to the tribal government on the reservation (Robertson 2002:249). This political situation has left the many *tiospayes*, and the traditional Lakota culture embedded within them, delegitimized and unequally serviced by the government in favor of groups adhering to the dominant American values of commercial capitalism, private land ownership, and nuclear family residence patterns. While not necessarily advocating for a radical disintegration of the modern reservation government, the elders of these *tiospayes* desire for their communities to manage their own affairs without government interference when appropriate, just as in times past. The government, they argue, should be altered to accommodate traditional governance.

The purpose of this thesis is to document the *tiospaye* mapping project's activities and results, as well as ethnographically analyze the project's effectiveness at empowering local people to assert their own constructions of local identity and dreams of political change. Further, this thesis makes an effort to validate indigenous processes of mapping, as exemplified by the *tiospaye* mapping project, as legitimate forms of communication about land tenure and land rights. If effective, this project could lay a foundation for the self-determination and development ideals similar to that advocated by the U.N. Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

However, these goals are considerably more difficult than they appear. Many anthropologists and geographers working with indigenous people and their land rights maintain that the ability to represent indigenous concepts of space, place, and land tenure is not hard. However, to do so in a way that effectively communicates in the language of the state that can yield positive legal action, while also maintaining the integrity of the indigenous perception and knowledge, has yet to be done successfully (Hale 2006; Ingold 2000; Nadasdy 2003, 2012; Rundstrom 1993, 1995, 1998; Ross *et al.* 2011; Sletto 2009b and others).

This thesis shows how, while certainly not a panacea, participatory mapping is one possible route to empowerment. My fieldwork on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in the summer of 2012 reveals how these methods have enabled indigenous communities to appropriately communicate and network with each other without bending to the hegemonic discourse of conventional development, but that its effectiveness as changing dominate land tenure regimes is yet to be seen.

The Anthropology of Mapping

It goes by many names: participatory mapping, process mapping, counter-mapping, ethnocartography, community mapping, and others (Chapin *et al.* 2005:623). No matter the name, the basic objective of this new mapping tradition is the appropriation and subordination of state mapping techniques that have historically been used to dispossess indigenous people of their traditional territories, and redirecting these techniques to aid the political struggles in which indigenous people worldwide are currently engaged (Peluso 1995:385). Participatory mapping, the preferred term used in this thesis, has accompanied changes in anthropology's (and geography's) ethnographic tradition by shifting from researching and critiquing indigenous cultures for the benefit of scientific knowledge, to employing the tools of science in the support of the socio-political struggles that these groups are engaged in (Hale 2006:99,104).

Rundstrom's (1993; 1998) early critiques of the power of mapping show the negative impact of the geographic translation of indigenous land tenure. At the same time, anthropology's ethnographic focus on indigenous constructions of space and place (e.g. Basso 1996; Feld and Basso 1996) have spurred a new multidisciplinary emphasis on the ethics and impacts of cartography, carried forward by the likes of Fox *et al.* (2008), Chapin *et al.* (2005), and Nadasdy (2012). Importantly, the practice has acknowledged from the start that the appropriation of mapping as communication must be used in an effort to bolster native voices and representations of landscape (Rundstrom 1993:21). Only by letting indigenous perceptions dominate the mapping process will any positive, emancipatory political change come (Sletto 2009b:445).

The indigenization of the map, however, has been the problematic focus of much of the literature, as the translation of the indigenous perspective to cartography (a western tool of

science) is often as impossible to do as translating idioms between languages. To remedy this, mapping and geography has had to accommodate non-spatial representations of landscape, particularly in narrative form. Wallerstein (2003:459) and Turnbull (2007) argue for the equivalency or complementarity of narratological constructions of spatial reality to that of traditional cartography or other scientific representations. Turnbull (2007:143) argues:

> Telling a story and following a path are cognate activities, telling a story is ordering events and actions in space and time – it is a form of knowledge making. Diagrams and maps are likewise stories. In science, just as in all knowledge producing traditions, the processes are inherently narratological...

Although many indigenous mapping projects start out with a western map, they will often end up with a narrative expression of land. Ideally, this narrative should be embraced as a legitimate representation, and should not be subjugated to the conventional cartographic requirements of the territorial state. Regardless, many indigenous communities collaborate with anthropologists and geographers for the explicit goal of creating a conventional map, as this is the only accepted form of communication that states will accept (Roth 2009:221).

Academics have not yet resolved this issue, but Hale (2006:115) suggests that there needs to be a balance between the short-term benefits of using positivist mapping techniques which codify indigenous land use in a way that will grant them a homeland, and the long-term benefits of not bending to western spatial hegemony. In the end, the community must hold the power to choose the most useful tool to respond to the threat of their lands and livelihoods. If their knowledge and assessment of their own condition demands positivist social science methodologies like cartography, then it is the academic activist's job to provide them.

Although anthropology as a discipline has only started challenging the colonial system of oppression since the 1971 Declaration of Barbados (Hale 2006:99), indigenous people have been

asserting their rights for over 500 years. In the following section, the long history of the Oglala Lakota's struggle for the right to self-determination is presented. This history is heavily reflected in the narratives of the *tiospaye* mapping project's results, and in many ways the history itself is the persisting cultural landscape of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.

Lakota History of Governance

Lakota culture and activism can only be fully understood in its historical context. To the larger American body, Lakota history and territory has been eliminated from the map by imposing an imagined and peaceable history over the middle of the continent. However, Lakota history shows a continual struggle between the political governance ideologies imposed by the federal government versus the homegrown ideologies of the Lakota people. It is the colonial encounter, par excellence. This is a not a history of unrelenting victimization of the Lakota people (Robertson 2002:4), but a history of constant spatial and ideological negotiation with considerable amounts of resistance and adaptation.

This section presents a nearly 400 year history of the Oglala Lakota in terms of socio-political change in response to colonial incursion, from the indigenous model of the *tiospaye*, the 19th century treaty era and the carving up of Lakota territory, the imposition of Western-style socio-political organization through the concept of the "chief" and land privatization, and later the Indian Reorganization Act. While extraneous to Americans who erroneously see the Great Plains as an empty space penetrated by American sovereignty, this history along with the narratives presented in Chapter 4 shows that the Lakota people construct the cultural landscape of the Great Plains with their ancestor's experiences of struggle for cultural tradition and land. It is a direct refutation of the "emptiness" assumed by American westward expansion.

European Contact

DNA evidence suggests that Native American groups have been present throughout the North American continent for at least 20,000 years (Tamm *et al.* 2007), but European history's first encounter with Sioux tribes (comprised of Lakota, Dakota and Nakota language groups) was not until the French Jesuit movement into the forest and plains ecotone of Wisconsin and Minnesota in the 1640s (Price 1996:xii). Since pre- contact, the indigenous populations of this area were in a state of flux spurred by the incursion of groups east of them responding to increasing territoriality instigated by the European-Indian fur trade (Wolf 2010:161) as well as regional tribal alliances manipulated by colonial France and England (Wolf 2010:173). Although likely just the last occurrence in a timeless shifting tradition of movement, by at least the late 18th century the Sioux tribes occupied much of the northern Great Plains (Wolf 2010:177), an area including the sacred Black Hills that is the storied site of origin of the Lakota (Ross *et al.* 2011:143).

The Tiospaye

During this early colonial period, Lakota social organization is a multi-tiered but non-hierarchical system. It includes the band-level organization called *tiospaye*; seasonal multi-band aggregations; and an even larger punctuated, ceremonial organization focused on the sun dance (Price 1996:7). The Lakota people, unified by the Lakota language, are loosely divided into seven "council fires," or *Ocetiyotipi Sakowin,* which includes affiliations like the Oglala (Price 1996:6). The *tiospaye,* being the only pre-colonial basis for Lakota social organization, was and still is mostly a loose consortium of families that decide to camp together for most of the year (Price 1996:2). The fixity of tribal affiliation as it is known today, such as Oglala, is largely a

creation of European notions of exclusive hereditary ethnic identity; in contrast, the pre- and early colonial era's *tiospaye* and sub-tribal affiliation could shift based on preference or survival (Biolsi 1992:35; Price 1996:4,16,68).

The governance structure of the *tiospaye* was as shifting and diffuse as the bands themselves. Unlike European constructs of hierarchical leadership, Lakota power was distributed between many headmen holding different responsibilities in different contexts. Major roles included: the *blotahunka* war-party leader (Price 1996:7); the *wakiconza* "camp administrator" (Price 1996:7); the *akicita* warrior society that enforced informal rules (Price 1996:7); the "shirt wearers" society responsible for selecting hunting and camping locations (Biolsi 1992:35); and the *itancan* father-figure responsible for taking care of guests and the needy (Price 1996:xiii). Any and all persons including women were allowed to determine their own group affiliations, and because of this, all group decisions were made by either 100% consensus or *tiospaye* bifurcation (Price 1996:7). Although no leadership position listed above had any real decision-making authority and all of these roles only applied to the extended family *tiospaye* unit (i.e. not all Lakota people), the federal government interpreted the role of *itancan* as a "chief" equivalent to a European king, forever changing Lakota political organization.

The Era of the Treaty

The imposition of chieftainship by the government was America's first attempt to augment indigenous Lakota culture to facilitate colonial communication (Rosen-Carole 2012:137,138). As it is not possible for the nation-state to negotiate with uncountable and shifting *tiospayes* roaming the plains in search of bison, the federal government artificially unified, nationalized and geographically circumscribed the bands. Starting in 1825 and

progressing through the 1860's, the Lakota *tiospayes* engaged with the government *en masse* through non-traditional "chiefs" in treaty processes that increasingly ceded territories to the American domain (Biolsi 1992:4).

Three years after the start of the California Gold Rush that brought 25,000 itinerant miners through Lakota territory (Price 1996:29), the federal government negotiated the 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie, thereby establishing the Great Sioux Reservation – a supposedly sovereign homeland for the Sioux tribes. It mandated that the Lakota sub-tribes (and not *tiospayes*) elect life-long chiefs, an extremely alien concept. For the Oglala, the position of chief was eventually appointed to Red Cloud (Biolsi 1992:5), one of many Lakota *itancan* originating from the Bad Face *tiospaye* (Price 1996:ix). This treaty became the first of many fixed, bounded cartographic conscriptions defining Sioux territory and forever changed indigenous land tenure and socio-political structure (see fig. 1.1).

Figure 1.1: The Original Great Sioux Reservation, as agreed upon in the 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie. (National Geographic., N.d.)

Even though the government demanded chiefs for the purpose of treaty negotiations, Lakota organization still followed the *tiospaye* model through the early reservation period (Pickering 2000:8). However, the land base that facilitated the seasonal nomadic land tenure strategy of the *tiospaye* was significantly reduced through the 1868 Treaty of Ft. Laramie (Robertson 2002:20). Because of the land reduction in combination with a shrinking fur trade economy and the rapid decline of the buffalo, the Lakota bands negotiated compensation through subsistence rations, cash infusion, cattle, and the military defense of the Black Hills against pillaging gold mining pioneers (Robertson 2002:20).

Importantly, the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 set up a new form of tribal council government recognized by the United States that required a ¾ majority vote on any new land cession legislation (Robertson 2002:20). This "treaty council" government is still advocated by many traditionally minded Lakota people today. However, not even a decade after the Fort Laramie treaty was signed, the Black Hills Act of 1877 was drafted without Lakota consent as the federal government seized the sacred Black Hills from Lakota territory and gifted it to white settlers intent on ranching and mining (Price 1996:157).

In reaction to encroaching boundaries since the early 1850s, many *tiospayes* led by the warrior societies rejected government subjugation. These *tiospayes* had no traditional obligation to follow the treaties signed by band leaders they were never subservient to, and so fought wars of rebellion against the federal government. Within the first six months of what is called Red Cloud's Wars, they killed 91 enlisted men, 5 officers, and 58 American civilians in defense of their lands (Price 1996:64).

With the 1877 death of the charismatic war party leader Crazy Horse (Price 1996:162), and with roughly 200 buffalo left on the plains to subsist them by 1878 (Price 1996:47), all the rebellions were quelled as the Oglala *tiospayes* permanently settled along the creeks within the reservation territory (see Fig 1.2). Ironically, the chiefs mandated by the federal government were seen as an unnecessary threat now that the Lakota had been settled, and so the government divisively distributed the monetary and subsistence infusions required by treaty law to weaken chief-based allegiance and introduce Western ethics of individualism and private land tenure (Biolsi 1992:39).
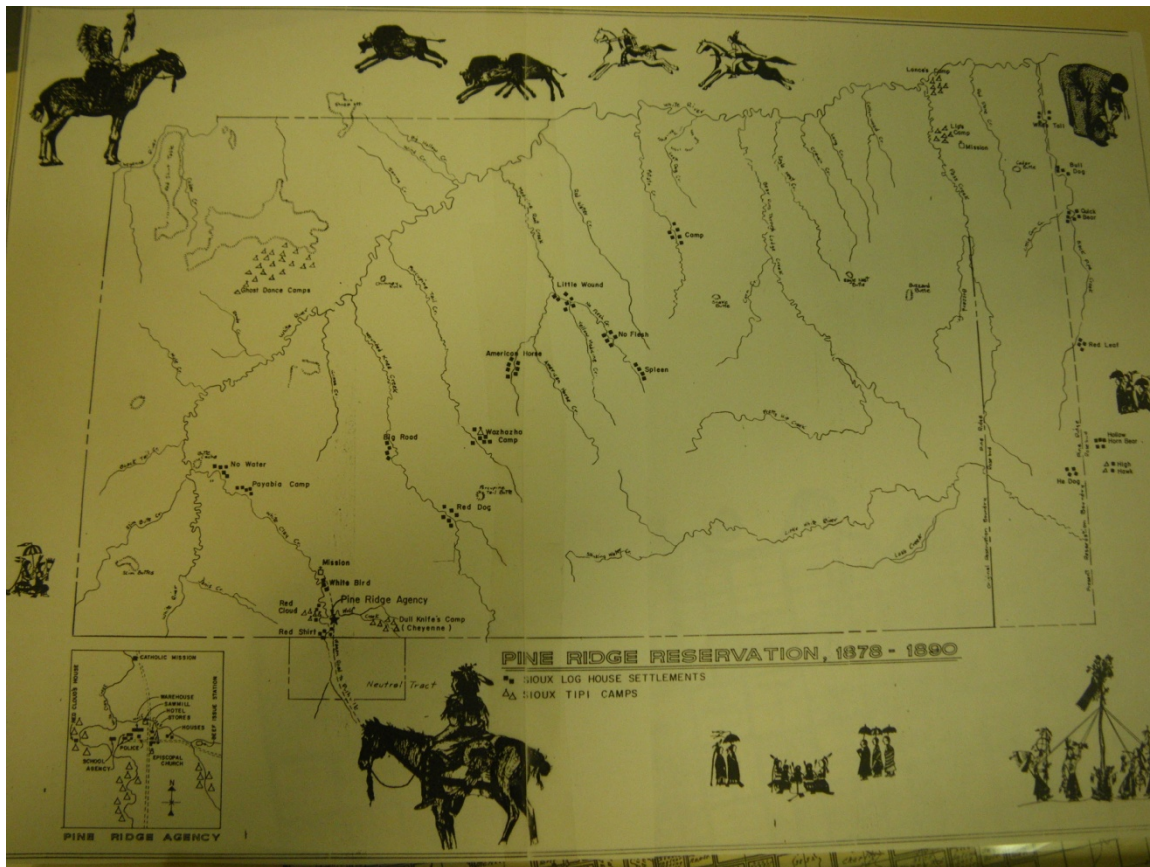
Figure 1.2: Map showing the early *tiospaye* settlements along the creeks on the Pine Ridge Reservation. (Oglala Lakota Archives, N.d.)

Four farming district boundaries were drawn along the creeks within the reservation boundary to further weaken *tiospaye* and treaty council representation and replace it with district representation (Robertson 2002:60). As the first installment in a century-plus tradition of federally subsidized, culturally inappropriate housing, log cabins were instituted to eliminate the shifting residence patterns of the *tiospaye* enabled by the canvas and hide *tipi* (Robertson 2002:60).

By 1885 a majority of Oglala people that settled along the creeks of the Pine Ridge area lived in log cabins (Robertson 2002:60), yet many of their cultural traditions survived the violence of the 19th century. More so, through all of these challenges, the Oglala *tiospayes* found subversive ways to receive more than double the rations required by treaty from the federal government by changing their names and continually shifting cabin residences, as facilitated by *tiospaye* structural flexibility (Biolsi 1992:21).

The Dawes Act, Wounded Knee and Lakota Resistance

In 1887, the General Allotment (or Dawes Severalty) Act authorized U.S. President Cleveland to divide the commonly held lands inside of the Great Sioux Reservation (and most other American Indian reservations) into privately owned parcels that were then evenly distributed amongst nuclear families, and not *tiospayes* (Chang 2011:108; Robertson 2002:61; Zontek 2007:53). Although intended to instill the ethics of agrarian civilization onto supposedly undeveloped "savages," the Dawes Act better served to tear apart traditional communities while opening up more land to Euro-American ranchers (Chang 2011:109; Ross *et al.* 2011:140). The allotted lands were held in trust by the federal government, meaning that the Office of Indian Affairs (the predecessor to the contemporary Bureau of Indian Affairs) had complete control on

the leasing or sale of these lands (Biolsi 1992:11). Under this act, Native land holdings across

America were reduced from 137 million acres in 1887, to 52 million by the time of World War II

(Chang 2011:108).

Under the Great Sioux Agreement of 1889, the Great Sioux Reservation was again

divided into six smaller, disconnected reservations, and in the process the Lakota lost another 11

million acres of land (Biolsi 1992:6; Robertson 2002:83). These extremely rapid enclosures and

cultural assimilation sparked the Oglala on the new Pine Ridge Reservation to perform the Ghost

Dance ceremony of 1890 (Biolsi 1992:23). Houses were burnt and fences were destroyed, yet

the real intention of the Ghost Dance was not to wage war against the federal government, but to

revitalize Lakota culture. The ceremony prayed for the regeneration of the earth; the return of

the buffalo; the exit of the white man from the Great Plains; and the repopulation of Lakota

people onto their former lands (Zontek 2007: 27). At Wounded Knee Creek in South Dakota on

December 29th, 1890, the Ghost Dance ceremony unofficially ended as the 7th Cavalry of the

U.S. Army was dispatched to massacre upwards of 300 Lakota men, women and children,

including Chief Big Foot (Zontek 2007: 26).

The Oglala Omniciye and the IRA

Although the Wounded Knee Massacre marks the last violent military confrontation with

the Lakota until the Wounded Knee occupation in 1973, the Oglala people on Pine Ridge

continually fought through political means for their treaty guaranteed rights to indigenous

representation. Although not traditional in the sense of unchanged since time immemorial, the

treaty-based *Oglala Omniciye*, or "Oglala Organization" attempted to represent all of the

tiospayes in the new settled reservation environment (Robertson 2002:93). However, as the

federal Office of Indian Affairs continually farmed out allotted Indian land to white and mix-blood ranching interests throughout the early 20th century, the *Oglala Omniciye* and its full-blood Lakota constituency gradually lost power through attrition (Robertson 2002:154).

Even though the shift from nomadic hunting and gathering to settled cattle ranching was drastic, many of the Lakotas adapted quickly by ranching their cattle communally for subsistence as if they were buffalo until the end of the World War I era (Robertson 2002:136). However, between 1910 and 1917, one million acres of what is now Bennett County, SD were sold off to commercial ranchers and disaggregated from the reservation (Robertson 2002:84). Further, the subsistence cattle held by Lakota people were taken in 1916 and 1917 without compensation, leaving many without a land base or a means to subsistence outside of government rations (Robertson 2002:124). In this period, the final blow to any semblance of traditional authority was eliminated when Superintendent Tidwell of the Office of Indian Affairs forcibly disbanded the *Oglala Omniciye* treaty council and replaced it with a "business council" of twenty-one district representatives, thereby enforcing American republican values (Robertson 2002:170-1).

Although sold to the tribes as an exercise in decolonization, the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) government (also known as the Oglala Sioux Tribe – or OST – government), instituted in 1936 by a full-blood vote of 28% in favor, in many ways was just a nation-wide institutionalization of the republican business council (Robertson 2002:172). The on-site administrative positions previously filled by OIA agents were directly replaced with those tribal members that held to mainstream capitalist values (Biolsi 1992:64). The IRA intended many positive changes, such as the reinstatement of communal tenure, *tiospaye* recognition, and an end to the allotment era, but almost none have transpired (Biolsi 1992:70; Robertson 2002:173).

Modern Day

Today, the Lakota people are left with an entirely alien system of government that mimics the federal OIA/BIA bureaucracy, complete with large-scale corruption and a favor towards the commercial cattle industry. Ever since the IRAs creation, the *tiospaye* minded Lakota people have been trying to undermine it; the *tiospaye* mapping project is merely the most recent iteration of this ongoing struggle.

The Bureau of Indian affairs has tried many ways to ameliorate its destructive past through countless well-meaning but misguided programs, from the Operation Relocation of 1952 (Robertson 2002:203), to the Indian Self-Determination and Education Act of 1975 (Pickering 2000:118); none of these programs deal with the BIA's colonial positionality or its responsibility in creating the IRA tribal structure. As a shining example, when Lakota people attempted to regain ownership of the Black Hills in the 1980s, the Supreme Court of the United States agreed that the land seizure enabled by the 1877 Black Hills Agreement was illegal, yet the court offered only a cash settlement instead of a reinstatement of land, a well-meaning offer, but one that entirely ignores the issue that the Lakota people want their land reinstated to them, their treaty rights recognized, and the power of self-determination. The monetary offer was subsequently rejected (Ostler 2010:174).

Since 1980, the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation has been the poorest county in the United States (Fenelon and Hall 2008:1870). However, many Lakota are still inspired to revitalize and reinstate their traditional culture and build a more promising future for the next generation. This undying persistence to assert their human rights is the ideal that inspires the *tiospaye* mapping project.

Conclusion

As far as it has transpired, the *tiospaye* mapping project's use of participatory mapping has preserved the process by which Lakota knowledge is created and shared, has respected Lakota values, and has better facilitated the transfer of power in the research process to Lakota stakeholders more than traditional (i.e. non-participatory) social-scientific methods could achieve.

Although woefully incomplete, the project demonstrates a culturally appropriate way for Lakota people to investigate and challenge the structures of power within their communities while at the same time reifying local senses of place and Lakota identity. However, the degree to which the mapping project actually brings about real institutional change has yet to be seen.

Organization of the Thesis

The following chapter titled "Participatory Research and Development" explains the history and tenets of participatory research and participatory development schemes, as set in contrast to conventional forms of economic development. This chapter focuses on constructions of power and the potential for academic research to either engage with communities in an appropriate way where power is shared, or in a destructive way that reproduces colonial power relationships.

Chapter 3, entitled "Process," explains the particularities of the *tiospaye* mapping project structure, the methods of research, and the materials used in research. The biography of the key research associate, Calvin White Butterfly, is elaborated, as well the projects connections to historical movements, and additionally my positionality in respect to the research.

The fourth chapter, "Mapping through Narrative," relates the results of the field work. It is presented in narrative form, as interpreted through myself. Themes of language, history, land, and cultural roots are presented as ways participants in the project expressed themselves when asked to map their *tiospayes*. These stories are the narratological maps produced by the project participants.

Chapter 5: "Western Map-Making versus Indigenous Mapping" is an analytical dissection of western spatial perception, its connection to social, political and economic forces, and how this is manifested through cartography. It is set in contrast to indigenous environmental perspectives and mapping processes. This chapter provides a deeper understanding of how representing indigenous territories via conventional map-making can be problematic. Further, it provides context for how the narratives presented in Chapter 4 are in fact mapping, although they may not seem to be.

The conclusion provides a discursive evaluation of the *tiospaye* mapping project in terms of both power and technology, as guided by the participatory ethics presented in Chapter 2, and the representational problems raised in Chapter 5. A reflexive evaluation of my role in the field season is discussed, as well as the current state of the project.

Chapter 2: Participatory Research and Development

Instead of being framed as an endeavor of scientific engineering, community development is better theorized as a political endeavor bent on the manipulation of culturally relative values. That being said, who is manipulating, how manipulation is achieved, and to what ends, has a huge impact on the outcomes of any development project. As the theoretical foundation of the *tiospaye* mapping project, participatory research (and by proxy participatory community development) will be deconstructed and set in contrast to the colonial development complex.

The theory of participation emanates from decades of struggle by both researcher and researched communities striving for a more positive and equitable approach to conducting social research with communities. As argued below, the historical influences in academic and professional spheres caused by an association with colonialism have left obvious and destructive power imbalances between scientific researchers, development institutions and indigenous communities. As such, the top-down model that most mainstream community development projects follow is heavily indoctrinated by warped and paternalistic ethnocentrism, along with a blindness to the negative impacts inherent to its methodology.

Simply put, the participatory approach to research is an alternative methodology used to investigate problems relevant to local communities, while at the same time empowering these communities instead of colonizing them. It invites community members, scientists and development professionals to share in the development of the project, the collection and the analysis of the data and the application and evaluation of the results (Chambers 1994a).

Using contemporary arguments coming from the school of post-colonialism, problems inherent to the patterns and processes of non-participatory social research and socio-economic development practices will be discussed. Following this, an integrated understanding of the philosophical underpinnings and historical developments of participatory research as advocated for by a few primary innovators of the practice, including Paulo Freire, Robert Chambers, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, and others, will be elaborated. Through this dissection of the history of social research and development, it is shown that participatory approaches offer local communities and scientific researchers an avenue to decolonize their heretofore-imbalanced relationships of power, while at the same time increasing the positive impacts and sustainability of their efforts.

Post-Colonial Discourse and the Political Economy

As this chapter is ultimately concerned with validating the use of a participatory methodology on the *tiospaye* mapping project, a political project predicated on decolonizing historically situated hierarchies of power on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, it is first necessary to theorize key historical drivers of imperial colonialism: economic development and the research epistemologies of social science (Tuhiwai Smith 1999). Post-colonial discourse, as a school of critical inquiry that investigates the "underlying assumptions, motivations and values which inform research practices" (Tuhiwai Smith 1999: 20) among other things, is an essential theoretical foundation for anthropological inquiry.

The lens of post-colonial discourse is a departure from traditional anthropology, which primarily takes a group of people and their culture as the object of study. However, Freire (2009:107,108) notes that this type of self-satisfying ethnographic approach carries inherent dangers of objectifying people and stripping them of their humanity, instead of focusing on the institutions or structures of power that similarly serve to dehumanize them. Yet still,

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anthropology as the study of culture serves an invaluable role in deconstructing the meaning and nature of the cultural milieu that is inescapably tied to colonial history.

Tuhiwai Smith (1999:23) argues that, before the reworking of colonial bureaucracy is possible, the process of decolonization is first a mental activity of analyzing the historical processes that lead to the dehumanization and marginalization of certain (e.g. indigenous) groups of people. Wolf (2010), through the Marxian lens of political economy, complementarily emphasizes how the colonial relationships that result from the dehumanizing hierarchical class structure are indeed cognitive in nature, but also equally material. Political structures of the nation-state that, stemming from Europe, are tied the economic structure of capitalism, ultimately rely on controlling how humans relate to nature, their ability to produce their own subsistence, and the ability to relate to one another in a society (Wolf 2010).

Given this, Hornborg *et al.* (2012) suggest that any analysis of local struggles over land or resources, which is part of almost all indigenous struggles for self-determination, is largely an exercise in revealing the relationships between the beneficiaries of the global economic system of capitalism (Hornborg 2012), and those who are subjugated by it. Post-colonial discourse and political economy together suggest that the globalized practice of economic development is directly implicated as the mechanism of exploitation leading to the dehumanization of whole populations of people worldwide.

Theorizing the Pathology of Development

Development is popularly conceived as the gifting of aid or infrastructural technology to other communities or nations that have been unsuccessful at modernizing in a way similar to the Western world (Wolf 2010). However, Wolf (2012:13) critiques that "by dividing the world into modern, transitional, and traditional societies, it blocked the effective understanding of

relationships among them." Wolf (2012) and other social scientists like Andre Gunder Frank (1975) and Immanuel Wallerstein (1984; 2005) argue that a closer analysis of the historical relationship between what is now the "developed" world and what is the "undeveloped" or "third" world reveals a direct inverse correlation between the development of the core Western capitalist society and the other, termed here as the "periphery."

Frank (1975) argues in his treatise "The Development of Underdevelopment" that the rapid capital accumulation in the core countries like the United States and Great Britain is only possible if intentionally "underdeveloped" regions serve as cheap land bases for the material export of the worlds valuable trade goods. In this way, goods like beef, oil, coal, gold, wheat etc. flow from peripheral landscapes to the core for the purposes of developing the core's infrastructure or increasing individual wealth. In this sense, anywhere that is penetrated by global capitalism is either transformed into a core area of accumulation, or a satellite area of dispossession to feed the core (Wolf 2010:22).[2]

Underdevelopment then, and by proxy the contemporary neoliberal mode of economic development, is in itself a 500 year-long intentional system set up to institutionalize imbalances in wealth for the benefit of those who are dominant: the "modern" or "civilized."[3] Those areas, from Indian Reservations in the United States to many Sub-Saharan African and Latin American countries, are throughout history encouraged by core nations to "develop" their national economies by striving towards the material production of globally marketable goods, as though

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[2] It should be noted, however, that the distinction between "periphery" and "core" is merely a heuristic that admittedly grossly simplifies the diversity of cultural and economic realities and relationships, as each local community has a unique history with colonialism and development (as mentioned in Wolf 2010:23). A locality even has the potential to shift between categories over time depending on unique historical circumstance and its ability to leverage power.
[3] Alternatively, the global system may be seen not as intentional, but as a product of "emergence," or simply a natural system which perpetuates and amplifies its own inequalities (Vitali *et al.* 2011).

they may eventually enjoy the plush lifestyles that accompany modernity as experienced by the core (Wolf 2010). This, however, can really never be the case as the existence of materialistic modernity is "linked in both symbiotic and antagonistic fashion" (Wallerstein 1984:110) with the underdevelopment of the periphery.

If global wealth and material resources are conceptualized as a zero-sum game as proposed by Hornborg (2009), there is no possibility of a limitless cornucopian growth for all people on Earth, but merely a growth that inevitably occurs by exploiting some other area of the world system. Anecdotally, Wallerstein (2005:1263) notes that in the French language at the turn of the 20th century, the phrase used to describe the economic development schemes applied to French colonies: "*mettre en valeur*," or "to make valuable" is tellingly in its idiomatic meaning of "to exploit, draw profit from."

As a system of relations between core and peripheral countries, development is essentially the act of cultural and economic domination. Freire (2009:58) characterizes the dominant culture as feeling fully justified and entitled to the receipt of the benefits of an imbalanced system due to its culturally superior work ethic, its "courage to take risks," and its graciousness in offering charity in the form of development to those who are not well-off. The imbalances in the system, from the perspective of the dominant, is more due to the lack of drive to earn wealth through hard work than it is due to the historical circumstances that give rise to the global-scale system of peripheral dependency. Because of this, Freire (2009:74) notes, economic development does not attempt to ameliorate the structure of the world system, but merely the non-modern, non-liberal[4] cultural values that supposedly keep the poor in poverty.

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[4] Liberal here is in reference to the Western philosophical tradition of liberalism, defined as "… a system of ideas focus[ing] on the individual, who has the capacity to reason, on a society which promotes individual autonomy and

As such, Batterbury and Fernando (2006:1854) report the dominant development solution

for developing countries, as leveraged by international development agencies like the World

Bank and the International Monetary Fund, is a restructuring of national practices towards

economic liberalization and democratic politics, regardless of the values of the given

communities within the national boundaries. Further, as mentioned by Abrahamsen, any

suggested governance agenda in an economic development context will only conform to local

community preference if it is coincidentally already "compatible with capitalism and modern

state structures," (cited in Batterbury and Fernando 2006:1856).

Colonizing Research Relationships

Anthropology, and all social science for that matter, is heavily implicated in the

maintenance and justification of the development program as described above. Although there

are many subversive threads in social science that aim to reveal the hegemonic structures of

history in order to remedy them. It is proposed by a few insiders, notably Tuhiwai Smith (1999),

Wolf (2010) and Wallerstein (1984), that the research methodologies and theories propagated by

social scientists are the primary rationalizing mechanism that fuels colonial exploitation.

Wallerstein (1984:105) explains,

> Societies were seen as collective entities going along parallel paths in the same direction.
> That is to say, it was societies that were "developing." Development (or, in older
> terminology, progress) was a measurable (or at least describable) characteristic of
> societies.

The comparative experiment of anthropology, as shown above in Wallerstein's quote,

was and still is occasionally a justification for cultural Darwinism through the medium of the

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self-interest, and on a state which has a rational rule of law which regulates a public sphere of life, but which allows
individuals to pursue their economic self-interest," (Tuhiwai Smith 1999:59).

development discourse. Anthropology's early focus on the non-European cultures of the world is born out of the colonial context, and its purpose of collecting information on indigenous communities around the world serves the intent of colonialism in that it makes the domination of foreign lands and their diverse peoples morally defensible (Wolf 2010:18). To this effect, the discipline of anthropology is still despised worldwide by various indigenous communities for its role in ethnographically creating and perpetuating harmful and racist representations of supposedly undeveloped indigenous peoples (Tuhiwai Smith 1999). History, economics, sociology, philosophy, natural science, and geography, as detailed in Chapter 5, are all equally implicated as tools of the colonial capitalist corpus in its project to systematically and academically dehumanize peripheral communities to legitimate its position as the core of the world system.

Naturally, this characterization does not suggest that these academic fields have worked exclusively or knowingly towards the project of oppression. In fact, often they ignorantly work towards the goal of bettering humanity and attempting to "provid[e] wise council about solving what are considered to be the 'problems' of the present," (Wallerstein 2003:456), while in the end only extracting knowledge from local people as they attain personal advancement in their careers. This disjuncture is largely due to the conservative nature of methods not keeping pace with the progressive nature of theory. Where the post-colonial school, or cultural critique school is conscious of its power in describing cultural phenomenon, it has been largely silent on its field methods, leaving them unchanged since the invention of ethnographic inquiry (Hale 2005:101). But even though the tide is turning towards the ethical dilemmas of research, a survey conducted by Walker (2007:365) shows that only 9% of surveyed political ecologists (a field of study

heavily steeped in this very school of post-colonial discourse) make practical efforts to give voice, empowerment, or reduce risk for the local informants of research.

The frequent lack of ethical concern in social science, paired with an ahistorical perspective on how methodologies of science are constructed and associated with exploitation and political violence has left a deep rift between peripheral communities and professional researchers (Arnold and Fernandez-Gimenez 2008:70; Davis and Reid 1999:757s). The persistence of the West's perception of what a social problem is and how it can be fixed is entirely situated within the problematic cultural-historical milieu that is itself an accomplice to. Researchers, in the vein of the tradition of development, maintain a positionality of superiority – a constructed hierarchy of power – that inherently reinforces the binary between the agentive subject: the researcher, and the passive object: the local/rural/indigenous receiver of progress and charity (Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Freire 2009). Instead of attending to the structural constraints of development itself, indigenous people as passive objects of social research do not gain agency but merely become implicated as a part of the problem that is their underdevelopment (Tuhiwai Smith 1999:92).

The argument offered by a post-colonial discourse on social research and science shows a considerable imbalance of power between researchers and the researched. The methodology of traditional scientific positivism, which begins with a question, claim, insight or judgment by an outsider, can never escape the ego or culture of that researcher. Freire (2009:54) cautions that a "pedagogy which begins with the egoistic interests of the oppressors (an egoism cloaked in the false generosity of paternalism) and makes of the oppressed the objects of its humanitarianism, itself maintains and embodies oppression." It is in heed of this warning that an alternative

approach, the participatory methodology, is suggested as a potential remedy of the colonial relationship of social research.

The Theory of Participation

In a quest to ameliorate the crimes of research past, academics and development professionals are urged by a new approach termed "participation" to collaboratively design and implement research that intentionally serves the needs and perspectives of a local community (Davis and Reid 1999:755s). The unifying tenets of the participatory methodology are respect, cooperation and empowerment. The participatory approach is first and foremost reflexively concerned with the art of process. How and by whom research is conducted will ultimately decide the nature of the collaborative relationship.

As suggested by Chambers (1994b), the participatory methodology is unflinchingly committed to balancing power. For an academic researcher to engage in a participatory project with an indigenous community is to act *prima facie* on the assumption that the local people have the potential and drive to solve many of the problems existing in their own communities. Tuhiwai Smith (1999:116) maintains that a persistent relationship of paternalism perpetuated by dominant culture onto colonized people is accompanied by the suggestion that problems experienced within a community exist because of the mentality or culture of the community. To a colonized mind resigned to its inferiority, all solutions to the research problem must necessarily come from an external source like aid agencies, governments or universities: the development discourse outlined above.

Precisely because of this history, outsider researchers necessarily have a role to play, an obligation even, with indigenous peoples as facilitators of empowerment. Outsiders cannot give power back per se, but they can offer access to desirable technical skills or institutional

connections necessary to the implementation of a homegrown, locally owned research project that allows power to be grown from within.

According to Arnold and Fernandez-Gimenez (2008:67), the degree to which empowerment actually happens in participatory research is highly dependent on the project structure, and as such participation can be conceptualized on a scale ranging from true, full empowerment to a degraded "functional participation". In the former case, attention to who holds power in the relationship between community members and scientists is of primary concern to the effect that both sides can openly propose and challenge the direction or implementation of project goals. Theorized as such, participatory research must be both dialogical (Freire 2009) and reciprocal (Davis and Reid 1999). There must be an open process by which both sides of the table can determine what research is supposed to do, what questions it is supposed to answer, and benefits must be shared equitably between insiders and outsiders.

In the latter case of "functional participation," local people are used or manipulated within a project framework that is entirely designed and implemented by formal scientific researchers or development professionals (Arnold and Fernandez-Gimenez 2008:67). In reality, the label "participatory" as applied to the this scenario is antithetical to the core tenets outlined above, and so would be considered by many participatory research advocates (Chambers 1994a; Davis and Reid 1999; Freire 2009; Tuhiwai Smith 1999) to be a bastardization of the term for personal gain. In this sense, there may be a scale that can measure varying amounts of functional participation, but not one that can measure varying levels of empowerment (as this is an all or nothing condition).

Regardless, the exciting potential of the paradigm shift towards participation has elevated the concept of "participatory" to buzz word status; it is increasingly a requirement for project

funding, which ultimately incentivizes an illegitimate use of the term (Chapin *et al.* 2005:628).

Additionally, Pain and Francis (2003) caution strongly that even the most well-intentioned participatory project can quickly turn tyrannical on either side through a lack of commitment, honesty, altruism or humility, and so a continual reflexive attention must be employed to detect when true participation devolves into domination.

Participatory activists note that the proliferation of a participatory methodology is in part a response to the parallel evolution of indigenous self-determination movements (Davis and Reid 1999). As the world becomes increasingly aware of its historical positionality, the traditional subjects of research are more able to assert their own agendas and demand a higher code of ethical research from anthropologists (Speed 2006:71). As indigenous people become increasingly successful at asserting their natural rights and humanity to dominant colonizer groups, the outsider groups gradually respond by investigating avenues by which they can cede acceptable losses in power and still maintain traditional scientific methodology and authoritative positionality. This slow negotiation of research power is what creates the sliding scale of functional participation and the idea that participation is appropriate in some cases and not in others.

However, if considering Freire's (2009:47) explanation of the nature of power in unequal or oppressive relationships, "freedom is acquired by conquest, not by gift." Indigenous peoples' interest in self-determination, especially in the research context that has historically inflicted significant violence, is a non-negotiable prerequisite for social justice (Tuhiwai Smith 1999:116). In kind, Freire (2009:44) cautions, the research relationship must strive for equity in power, not a reversal of domination, so that the oppressed do not "become in turn the oppressors of the oppressors." This results in a research dialectic based on reciprocity and respect.

Origins of the practice

The history of the participatory approach dates as far back as Kurt Lewin's "action" research in the 1940's with its attempts to achieve public health justice through radical political activism (Davis and Reid 1999:757s). As this genesis has been mostly ignored, it is not until the 1970s that Paulo Freire's manifesto "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" fully revolutionizes how liberation and empowerment should be incorporated into practices of development and education. Freire (2009:48) proposes a radical reformulation of how oppressed, impoverished or marginalized communities should be educated by suggesting,

> … the pedagogy of the oppressed, a pedagogy which must be forged *with*, not *for*, the oppressed (whether individuals or peoples) in the incessant struggle to regain their humanity. This pedagogy makes oppression and its causes objects of reflection by the oppressed, and from that reflection will come their necessary engagement in the struggle for their liberation. (Emphasis in original)

Freire (2009) emphasizes not only that power is to be shared between the powerful and the powerless (be they teachers and students or development teams and indigenous communities), but also that the ultimate goal of all such struggles is the emancipation of an oppressed population's humanity, an ultimate leveling of access to and power over one's own development.

Outside of Freire's theory of liberation, development and education still work in ways to satiate temporary material circumstances (i.e. famine or warfare) but without addressing the hidden structural elements that keep oppressed communities in perpetual states of marginalization or forced dependency. Through the element of *prescription*, or the "imposition of one individual's choice upon another," marginalized people are perpetually guided into suggested courses of development by power-holders in the dominant system (Freire 2009:46). By paying foremost attention to the disillusionment with historically situated systems of oppression, the participation of people in their own development aims to eliminate the flow of

prescription inherent to the colonial power relationship (Friere 2009:46-47). More simply put, Freire is suggesting that only by engaging with one's own position within a system of power can one then act in a way that might subvert it to the effect of emancipation: the attainment of full, unsubjugated humanity. This combination of liberated perception and action, termed *praxis* (Freire 2009: 54), is the essential theoretical foundation that guides the participatory approach in general.

Freire's criticism of prescriptive flows of development is heavily represented in Chambers' (1994a) suggestion that both traditional ethnographic research (in cases of research relating to development) and "rapid rural appraisal" (RRA) be shifted to a new methodology of "participatory rural appraisal" (PRA). RRA, designed in the 1970s as a way for development professionals to quickly incorporate local understandings of problems facing their communities (as opposed to extremely long and drawn out ethnographic research), was and is a way to functionalize local knowledge in a way that facilitates the goals of outsider development interests (Chambers 1994a). Although at first glance the effort to consult with local communities seems like a major step towards equity, often the only true objective of the RRA approach is the enhancement of the outsider knowledge base, and as such is merely extractive, not empowering (Chambers 1994a).

This is not to suggest that RRA cannot confer short-term material benefits to local communities. Chambers (1994c:1448) argues that RRA is, in many ways, a progressive way to incorporate the cybernetic aspect of how communities learn from their local environments and adapt in unique ways in real time. Unfortunately, RRA methodology divorces the learning from the acting, i.e. the problem detecting from the problem solving, and so the cycle of locally based adaptive feedback loops are interrupted and never develop to retain locally based solutions to

community or global issues. In other words, the system never "learns," and therefore the people do not gain power, but merely dependency.

Conversely, PRA has an explicit emphasis on empowering processes and ownership (Pain and Francis 2003). PRA's primary goal is to maintain and strengthen local capacity by emphasizing ownership of the entire research process, from investigation to action and evaluation (Chambers 1994a:959). The outcomes of research then becomes secondary to process, as outcomes can almost assuredly not be sustainable or empowering if the process is not first decolonized. By keeping the full cycle within control of the local community, ideally the conventional hierarchy between highly respected and highly paid research professionals and often ignored community members is flattened (Pain and Francis 2003).

Linking Participatory Methodology and Indigenous Knowledge

Chambers (1994b:1255) justifies his PRA framework on a vastly growing body of work that recognizes the idea that, as applied to community development, local or indigenous knowledge[5] is often times more appropriate than or at least complimentary to a disembedded global science. Hale (2006:101) suggests that it is the daily, lived struggle by local people against the forces that oppress a community that validates local knowledge as appropriate for development: local people are generally more aware of their surroundings, their limitations, and their capacity to implement and maintain sustainable solutions.

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[5] Indigenous knowledge, also referred to as traditional ecological knowledge or TEK, is defined by Berkes (1999:8) as "a cumulative body of knowledge, practice and belief evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment." Local knowledge is equally situated in culture and place, but may not be held by an indigenous group or be as time-deep.

As participatory research is reciprocal and so not dominating of either side, many participatory advocates claim that aspects of local knowledge and science can be combined to benefit of both (Davis and Reid 1999:757s; Heckler 2007). Agrawal (in Heckler 2007:91) and others conversely argue that the integration of local knowledge and science is really just the "scientization" of local knowledge and so the nature of local knowledge becomes subjugated to that of the epistemology and ontology of science.

Although it is wise to be cautious about the ill effects of decontextualizing local knowledge for the sake of gathering scientific data, Berkes (1999: 28) suggests that a fully participatory approach to collaborative research is ever reflexive on power relations, cultural context and the process by which knowledge is generated. In this way, the collaboration between science and indigenous knowledge can further the project of getting science to accept and support local initiatives to exercise and build on local capacities to enact change (Berkes 1999:34).

The emancipatory potential of relying on local constructions of knowledge ties into the previously mentioned theory on cybernetics or adaptive learning systems. Only by growing human capital, or "the acquired knowledge and skills that an individual brings to an activity" (Brondizio *et al.* 2009:262), can a community learn to do without dependence on outsider development. When learning and the reproduction of local knowledge is perpetuated through the interaction of individuals doing and making change in their own setting, the organic knowledge is scaled-up to the level of the entire community (McCarthy *et al.* 2011). This social capital, held by a community as a whole, is the key to being able to internalize and adapt to perturbations through known and interpretable feedback loops in the local system, glossed as adaptive capacity (Berkes *et al.* 2003:9).

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If this self-sustaining adaptive capacity is not able to grow within a community, then it must be made up for with "the influx of external subsidies usually associated with development projects," (Brondizio *et al.* 2009:264), bringing the community back into dependence on the "false generosity of paternalism" (Freire 2009:54). More importantly, if outsider researchers do not bother to first decolonize their relationship with local participants, social capital that has long been grown through the interaction with place and each other can be unintentionally and unknowingly destroyed and left without any complimentary way to deal with local problems or build on knowledge in the future (Brondizio *et al.* 2009:263).

Conclusion: A Search for Relevancy, Legitimacy, and Trust

This chapter presents a network of theories that serve to historically justify the methodology employed with the *tiospaye* mapping project on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. As will be shown more specifically in the following chapters, there exists a "deep cynicism" (Tuhiwai Smith 1999:118) within indigenous communities that outsiders, especially government employees and academic researchers, have ignorant, ill or exploitative intentions when working on their lands.

This cynicism is entirely justified and supported given the colonial relationship described by social theorists and indigenous peoples alike. To remedy the disintegration of trust between two spheres that have long been at odds with each other, this theoretical argument shows that a participatory methodology has the potential to help both researchers and indigenous people gain accountability (Davis and Reid 1999). Only by gaining trust and legitimacy in each others eyes can positive change come to either community (Freire 2009:60), otherwise both will be relegated to indefinite antagonism or dehumanization of the other.

Although a relatively recent and novel way to do research, the participatory process has been shown to work in select cases as long as "work" is defined as a research or development relationships seeking decolonization; communication has become dialogic instead of unidirectional, and collaborative partnerships have been created for the long-term benefit of all sides (Arnold and Fernandez-Gimenez 2008:68). There are currently no known, better alternatives to this methodology, and in many ways the participatory approach offers real solutions to questions of accountability, ethics, legitimacy, rigor, and relevance of social research.

Chapter 3: Process

Outsiders navigating the reservation get lost easily. By national standards, the roads are sparsely signed and minimally paved. The main traffic arteries of the Pine Ridge Reservation, laid and maintained by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, provide access to most of the larger towns and often spear through the middle of most of the reservation districts.   The roads usually follow river valleys, and in other places cut across them.   In the middle of the reservation, BIA highway 28, coming from the northwest following Wounded Knee Creek, and BIA 27 from the northeast following Porcupine Creek, converge just south of the hill known as Wounded Knee where fallen ancestors of the Oglala people have been buried since the massacre in 1890.

To an outsider, the hill itself is visually unremarkable. It, like the roads, has no markers to attract tourists or mourners. If compared to any major historic site in the United States, the Wounded Knee massacre site would seem to be unimportant or forgotten. Yet the modest, chain-link fence surrounding the cemetery on the top of the hill is adorned with new and old scarves of black, red, yellow and white: the symbolic colors of the Lakota nations. Behind the cemetery, beyond a sprawl of old wooden crosses serving as headstones, lies an old Christian church; down the hill from that, a defunct museum from recent times. Gazing across the street, a rough wooden kiosk can be seen – set up so that local micro-enterprise artisans can sell their wares to passers-by. It is at this intersection, known locally as the "Big Foot Crossing," on my second day in a three-week stretch of fieldwork in the summer of 2012 that I am first introduced to the history of the land on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

Already an hour late from my massive detour, I finally find Calvin's trailer home off BIA28. Calvin, an Oglala elder named Calvin White Butterfly who lives in Manderson, South

Dakota, a relatively large (by reservation standards) community in the Wounded Knee District

north on BIA28 from the Wounded Knee memorial. Seemingly endless and wild tall grasses that

roll up the characteristic tawny hills and bluffs of the Wounded Knee valley surround his small

trailer. Calvin is watering the garden next to his home while his dogs run around barking. By

flagging me down and waving me into his driveway without ever having met me before, Calvin

confirms that my bright red rental car instantly sets me apart from the locals. Consequently, it

becomes a source of my insecurity as an outsider for the next three weeks.

Calvin is a full-blood Oglala Lakota (with technically 1/32 Cheyenne blood, he informs

me), humble, thoughtful, and resolutely impoverished. Calvin is what others speaking Lakota

might call *wacanteognaka,* or a person who puts their family and community above their own

material wealth (Robertson 2002:37). Calvin is a modern day traditional leader of the Oglala

people, not because he has any official political clout or decision making authority (he has little,

if any), but because he sacrifices his life to defending his native lands and tending to the needs of

the least fortunate in his community, just as the head shirtwearers (Price 1996:17) and warrior

societies (Price 1996:12) did in the pre-reservation days.

After trading handshakes, introductions and a pack of tobacco, Calvin sits me down

inside and out of the oppressive heat to discuss business over a smoke. Before this exchange I

have only a very rough understanding of the project at hand as relayed to me by Village Earth,

the non-profit organization out of Fort Collins that connects me with Calvin.

Often, anthropology graduate students will meticulously plan their social science

projects: surveys, structured interviews etc., to be carried out in distant and exotic lands in an

effort to glean rare and prized indigenous knowledge, attempt to discover the nature of the

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human condition, or to bring radical change to a community facing dilemma. This too was my naïve dream inspired by the years of reading and researching the annals of ethnographic publications. However, inspired by my graduate advisor to break with the tradition of research-based colonialism as described in the previous chapter, I instead decide to join in on a participatory mapping project over which I have significantly less control.

In this chapter, I will provide a window into the structure and process that constitute the mapping project in its current state. Such details as project setting, timeframe, reflexive biases, methods, and technologies used will be discussed to give an in-depth reconstruction of the mapping project as I understand it.

Project Overview

My first lesson on the reservation was to learn the land. Although I did not understand what was happening at the time, our fieldwork began by Calvin taking me around to all of the places that he considers to constitute the historical landscape of our research area, as well as his personal history on the reservation. Although it was officially outside of the bounds of our research project, the research could only begin after I had seen the landscapes and understood the histories associated with them. I had read about the better-known events in books, like the Wounded Knee Massacre in 1890, and the same site's occupation by the American Indian Movement (AIM) in 1973. However, it is a qualitatively different experience, a different kind of knowledge, to get a personally guided tour from a local who grew up learning the histories on the landscape, being able to visualize movements from the perspective of the ancestors, and being instructed by those whose families were directly involved in the events. As Basso (1996:109) argues,

> …the outsider must attempt to come to grips with the indigenous cultural forms that the landscape is experienced *with*, the shared symbolic vehicles that give shape to geographical experience and facilitate its communication – its re-creation and re-presentation – in interpersonal settings. (Emphasis in original)

Agreeing in full, both Calvin and I as the outsider deemed it my first order of business to learn about place before any deeper knowledge can be understood.

Calvin showed me, based on how he learned it from his family and community members, from where the army approached, where the Lakota warriors stood their ground, to where the women and children fled, and how Chief Big Foot was killed and quartered at the four-way BIA highway intersection below us, giving rise to the outstretched-human form that the road is arranged as now (fig. 3.1).

After a few days of visiting Wounded Knee, the Wounded Knee Community Development Corporation (CDC), the Thunder Valley CDC, and a few other private homes and businesses, I was a little more familiar with the physical and historical layout of the reservation.

Back at his home, sitting on his couch, Calvin tells me that nine years ago he assumed duty as the *Tiospaye* Project leader. I learn from him that his project intends to non-forcefully link Lakota identity, values, family history, and land through the practice of mapping in an effort to change social and economic conditions on the reservation. During the summer, our goal is to work through Porcupine District by driving a large laminated aerial imagery print of the area to the homes of known and respected Lakota elders in order to talk about their *tiospaye* boundaries and demographic constitution. By engaging in casual conversations, we can find out who lives in each *tiospaye*, where the elders think their *tiospaye* boundaries lie, and what households in the area are not traditionally from that community. Additionally, we will learn other opinions and stories that are connected to the landscape as it unfolds. After gathering this narrative-cum-

spatial data on the map, communities can be better identified, reified, and empowered through the map in an effort to challenge the current political hierarchies on the reservation.

Figure 3.1: The Wounded Knee Memorial, with the Chief Bigfoot Crossing in the background

Calvin's mapping project is, as described by him, a very idealist socio-political agenda intended to break down many of the barriers that keep Lakota people trapped in conditions of poverty and violence. Calvin intends to foster change within his community not through the conventional channels of tribal or federal government aid, but from within by revitalizing and empowering local, kin-oriented *tiospayes* to take care of their own people. To do so, the *tiospayes* need to reorient themselves to their contemporary problems like access to housing,

environmental services (land, water etc.), violence and political representation by building capacity at a local level through traditional social networks. Eventually, the ideal is for *tiospayes* to be largely self-governing on issues that are controllable at the local level, while still situated within a multi-level political framework of the reservation.

However, as the project is in its infancy, the goal for the summer field season is not to radically change Lakota political hierarchies (a lofty goal!), but merely to make contact and converse with the numerous *tiospaye* elders that constitute the district. Very much the antithesis of a "rapid" development style (see Chambers 1994a,b,c), this project is designed to operate on Lakota time and according to Lakota social values. By making contact and talking with other elders about their land and community, a consensus on what problems exist and what changes are desired by the *tiospayes* will manifest. This, in essence, is what I am there to facilitate and record.

Historical Connections

History proves that socio-political change on the reservation is difficult at best. Because reservation life carries with it so many historical and institutional barriers that keep people from asserting and fulfilling their needs, it is often that well-meaning projects die as quick as they are born. According to Calvin, the reservation is replete with a general feeling of hopelessness and disempowerment. Many adults cannot visualize paths that will improve their conditions, and so they end up accepting the economic and emotional depression that they inherit from their social environments. The history of colonialism as experienced on the reservation, and the social ills that accompany it (gang violence, alcoholism etc.), has fractured families and has left many of the younger generation without pride or knowledge of their strong Lakota heritage. As an elder

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seeing this reality unfold within his community, Calvin is inspired to facilitate social and political change so that traditional Lakota values and ethics are materialized not only in the *tiospayes* within the districts of Pine Ridge, but also in the tribal constitution.

In terms of local, grass-roots attempts to gain political control, Calvin's aspirations aren't novel. Similar grass-roots-oriented traditionalist/revitalization movements have occupied the political landscape since the creation of the reservation in the late 19th century and leading into the 21st (Fenelon 1998; Robertson 2002). To their credit, every attempt has been a strong communication in the ongoing dialogue that is the colonial relationship.

The *Tiospaye* Mapping Project follows in the footsteps of ancestral concepts like the *Oglala Omniciye*, which struggled vigorously for decades leading up to the Indian Reorganization Act in 1936 in hopes of persisting the *tiospaye*-centered governance principles of the Oglala people (Robertson 2002). Nearing the end of its existence, in 1931 the *Oglala Omniciye* petitioned to remove the evolving representative democracy institutionalized by the federal government in favor of a 1868 Ft. Laramie Treaty-based, *tiospaye*-oriented form of self-government. These leaders wrote,

> We, the undersigned, adult members of the Oglala Sioux Tribe of the Pine Ridge Reservation of South Dakota, hereby repeal the Constitution and By-laws adopted November 30th, 1928, for the Business Council [instituted by the federal Office of Indian Affairs], which had run the last two years on trial; and declare the said Business Council ended and discontinued. And we hereby approve and confirm the former tribal Council as reorganized on February 19, 20, 21, 1931, at Porcupine, South Dakota, based on the authority of three-fourths (3/4) of the adult members of the tribe. (Robertson 2002:170)

Similarly, in 2000, a large group of Oglala organized under the auspices of the Grass Roots *Oyate* in a peaceful occupation of tribal buildings to protest the corruption of the IRA government. They advocated a "traditional" model of governance that would favor the interests of the local communities over outside interests like cattle ranchers (Robertson 2002: 199). These

movements, as well as a continuous string of resistances that connect them, have motivated many Oglala people to become activists within their own communities despite their oppression.

Even though these calls for a traditional-style government appeal to models of organization created after the start of the reservation period, it does not diminish the concept of the *tiospaye* as a genuinely traditional model. In fact, the persistence of the *tiospaye* as the unifying organizational structure through hundreds of years of radical and rapid culture change suggests that the *tiospaye* is a genuine indigenous model in that it features the resilience and flexibility to adapt to changing social, political and economic environments (Prince 1996:6).

Because Calvin occupies a position of considerable responsibility and impact, he validates his tenure in the role of project leader based on his ancestral connection to the Lakota warrior societies. As he recounts, some of his male ancestors were members of the *Ska Yuha Okolakiciye*, or the White Horse Owners Society. Although no longer a functioning institution, the White Horse Owners Society (a.k.a. White Horse Trader Society/White Horse Rider Society) traces its existence to long before the creation of the reservation system (Price 1996:17). According to Calvin, this society constituted a collection of proven male warriors who were selected by the *tiospayes* to be neutral arbiters of conflicts between individuals or *tiospayes*. Additionally, the society was instrumental to pre-reservation multi-band politics because they alone were qualified to select the head "shirtwearers" of the Oglala people, including such notables as Crazy Horse, American Horse and Young Man Afraid of his Horse (Price 1996:17). Furthermore, Calvin's ancestral line hosts many respected and notable people, including his shaman grandfather, the aforementioned shirtwearer Crazy Horse, and even reportedly George Custer, the U.S. military general killed by the *Tokala* warrior society at the Battle of Little Big Horn.

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Methodology, Methods and Materials

The participatory research framework necessitates a primary emphasis on the ethical process of research, and so this and many other indigenous mapping projects in the literature around the world today present method as data (e.g. Peluso 1995; Rundstrom 1993; Sletto 2009a). Tuhiwai Smith (1999:128) argues:

> In all community approaches *process* – that is, methodology and method – is highly important. In many projects the process is far more important than the outcome. Processes are expected to be respectful, to enable people, to heal and to educate. They are expected to lead one small step further towards self-determination. (Emphasis in original)

The design of the project follows this mantra by employing participatory methods that are conducive to the local Oglala Lakota culture. Although these methods may take considerably longer and produce less codifiable data than traditional methods such as surveying and formal meetings, they are the only methods currently known to empower participants through process, and not just results.

Such elements as participant selection, time, space, technology and materials have all been considered and selected to increase genuine, reflective participation through thoughtful responses. As it is deemed extremely disrespectful and counterproductive to impose a research agenda that disregards local constructions of time, space and process in indigenous communities (Nadasdy 2003:104), this mapping project has built in unlimited flexibility in its attempt to not colonize the participatory mapping process.

Maps

The style of mapping that we employed in this project is what is known as "sketch mapping." Although sketch mapping itself is an activity as ancient as the first person to inscribe

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or gesture a symbolic representation of a landscape into the air or the earth, sketch mapping has been incorporated as a fundamental component of participatory mapping because of its ease, practicality, and lack of reliance on high technology like GIS (Chapin *et al.* 2005; Sletto 2009a). Although our base map is a product of high tech remote sensing and digital photographic printing, the basic practice of drawing with markers on top of it could just as easily be done on regular paper or in the sand if necessary. More importantly, the creation of a locally generated map allows the people to have conversations without relying on government resources or interpretations of the landscape, which Chapin *et al.* (2005:628) argue is a crucial step in building local capacity.

My first day in Calvin's home, we took the large three foot by four foot aerial imagery map and laid it on the floor so that I could understand our approach. He showed me how by using wet-erase markers, participants can draw or write on the map to illustrate their narratives as we go. Occasionally people will map present day situations, and frequently they will map historical events that are significant on the landscape.

It is understood that it is neither Calvin's nor my job to translate people's narratives into a map inscription; if we did, this would be the first step in appropriating a participant's communication. The goal is for the elders themselves to draw and refer to the map if it is helpful, or ignore the map entirely if it is not. As explained by Ross *et al.* (2011:97), the spatial demarcation of boundaries can be a significant barrier to the collaborative process and the preservation of indigenous perceptions of environment. If we insist on a participant to draw his or her community boundaries as westerners generally understand them (i.e. bounded tracts of land, as explained in more detail in Chapter 4), the result will likely emulate exactly what we are asking for, not the actual local perception of landscape and community. As Nadasdy (2012)

argues, there are strong political implications and historical reasons for the rise of such an ethno-territoriality predicated on western spatiality, as such a system is easy to translate onto a map, but our focus on ethical processes aims not to *a priori* assume this type of relationship with the land.

In spite of its proclivities towards a western model of geographic representation, the map as a tool is still extremely important to the participatory process. Because the map is visual, as well as generally interesting to most people, it has great power in distracting people from the awkwardness that conversations between strangers can generate (Chambers 1994a:959; Chambers 1994b:1264). Further, when participants actually do draw on the map or see other peoples' drawings, it serves as a launch board for further discussion that reveals a great diversity of interpretations of the local historical landscape (Chambers 1994b:1263; Chambers 1994c:1445).

The large-format aerial imagery is supplemented by archival research at the reservation's Oglala Community College near Kyle, SD. There, many archival maps have been gathered and digitally scanned with the help of the library's archivist in an effort to present historical spatial representations of the Oglala *tiospayes*. These maps are included in the thesis as visual aids. One map in particular, one labeled as drafted in 1914, will have significant impact on the future of the project (fig. 3.2).

Spatial and Temporal Setting

One of the most important methodological considerations in the participatory mapping process is the setting and timeframe of research. Often, community development projects will be organized in a centralized location, such as a town hall, school, or other technologically enabled facilities. The community members are expected to shift their schedules and find transportation

to accommodate the meetings. Additionally, meetings will be held according to rigid time schedules that accommodate the work schedules and speaking styles of the dominant American culture, and not that of the Lakota people.

These factors combine to result in a colonized research setting, in that it panders to the comforts of academics or researchers instead of the local participants (Nadasdy 2003:131). Conducting research in this way can quickly destroy the interest and collaboration of local participants who cannot afford to travel or who are alienated by the way that bureaucratically organized meetings require constant talking (in English no less), a straight-to-the-point (i.e. non-narrative) speaking style loaded with jargon, and a location that is geographically removed from the places being discussed. On this last point, Ross *et al.* (2011:105) argue that indigenous people are more comfortable "speaking about the needs of country while remaining on country," and so an elder driving a hundred miles across or off the reservation to address the needs of the land directly outside his or her front door is not a suitable meeting arrangement.

As all of our participants are economically impoverished and living in remote locations, many of them do not have access to vehicles or even telephones to enable this kind of formal meeting organization. Many development projects proceed without consideration of these constraints, effectively eliminating the oldest, the most remote, and consequently the most important elders in the community. To accommodate the constraints and comforts of our participants, our meetings are always conducted in the households of the elders. Because many people do not have telephones, or the ones that do we do not have numbers for, this method involves significant amounts of travel, sometimes over 120 miles of driving just to find out that nobody is home today at our destination; nobody said that participatory research is fast or easy.
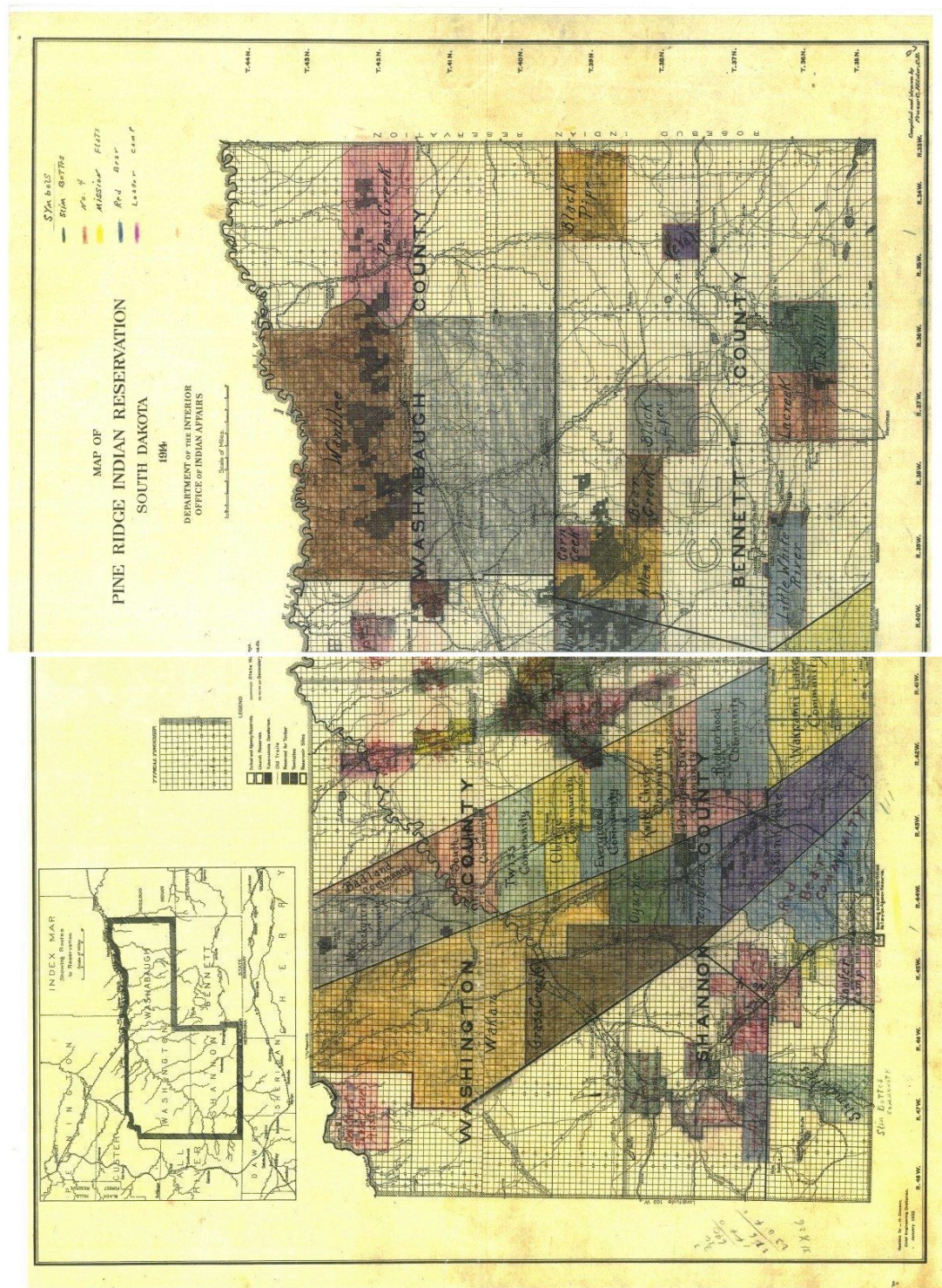
Figure 3.2: A 1914 hand colored map depicting the territories of the *tiospaye* communities. (Map in Oglala Lakota College Archives.)

In all, during the three weeks that we collaborated, we visited and engaged in conversation with about ten *tiospaye* elders, and a few more non-elder relatives from the houses that contributed to the conversations. Our meetings could last anywhere from a minimum of an hour to at most four and a half hours. This vast range of time is very illustrative of the constraints of the town hall-style meeting where those who get a chance to talk may only get a few minutes or even seconds to voice their concerns until a moderator notes it and moves on. By engaging in long, sit-down conversations in their own homes, elders are enabled to talk in Lakota or English at their own pace, which often involves considerable interludes of silence and contemplation. Further, the conversation happens only if the timing is good for all of us, so nobody is inconvenienced. More often than not we would stop by an elder's house just to touch base, explain our purpose, and find a better time to come back.

Participant Selection

The people selected to be included in this project are not just validated as elders by their age as is done in dominant American culture, but instead they must also be known native speakers of the Lakota language, as well as people who self-identify as a member of a *tiospaye*. Throughout the history of the reservation, the ability to speak Lakota has been a defining characteristic of being "traditional," and is mostly associated with full-blood natives.

Starting on our first day, Calvin exhausts his list of known elders in the Porcupine District by identifying eight people located in four different *tiospayes*. By using what Chambers (1994a:959) terms a snowball method, we start with the community figure heads personally known to Calvin and grow the list organically as each new participant recommends new people to talk to. By doing this, our list grows within a few days to roughly seventeen people from

seven Porcupine District *tiospayes*. By continually introducing the list to each new participant, he or she can confirm or deny the suitability of each person's inclusion on the list by validating their status in their respective *tiospayes*.

The snowball list, although seemingly harmless, is very sensitive information because of the radical orientation of the research. Even in less seemingly confrontational research agendas, Lakota people are generally hesitant to be identified or associated with their responses out of fear of political retribution from the tribal IRA government (Pickering 2000:xiv). Because of the deep kin connections on the reservation and the relatively small population, people tend to know a significant number of family lineages to the effect that one person's dissenting comments can have negative impacts on relatives working for the IRA or BIA, which is a large number of the employed people on Pine Ridge (Pickering 2000:xiv). For this reason, all of the participants mentioned in this thesis are intentionally not referenced in any way that could reveal their identity.

Although I have named Calvin openly in this chapter, I do so because he is fully aware of the nature of this thesis, and furthermore is entirely open about his activities on the reservation. He hosts a website maintained by Village Earth (found within villageearth.org) advocating for *tiospaye* activism, and he also has extensive paper documentation validating the legality of his activities on the reservation from the tribe itself. Although he is masterfully adept at navigating and understanding the legalities of his activities through years of community development and entrepreneurial activity, most of our participants are not as acclimated to the bureaucratic environment or familiar with particularities of the projects intentions.

Researcher's Role

Heeding the concerns of post-modern and feminist social scientists since the late 1970s, I consider it imperative to admit my interpretive bias and influence on the research landscape (Arnold and Fernandez-Gimenez 2008:74; Rose 1997; Tuhiwai Smith 1999:137; Pain and Francis 2003:53). In this project, I see myself primarily as a facilitator of transportation, secondarily as a recorder of information, and third as an analyzer of methods and data. Because I am very obviously an outsider on the reservation – a young, white, middle-class, American male anthropologist-in-training with very little previous knowledge of or experience with native communities – my interpretations of the experiences presented in this thesis are most certainly a product of my positionality.

Influenced by the activist anthropology advocated by Speed (2006) and Hale (2006), I consider it important to situate my research not as an exercise in positivist scientific inquiry, but rather as an applied political endeavor that favors and aligns heavily with the objectives of my collaborators on the reservation. Because I personally value and advocate the positions of the *tiospaye*-minded elders on Pine Ridge, I cannot reasonably assume an unbiased analysis of the activities on the reservation. Any other person engaged in this project could do no different, as the participatory methodology is built on a critical self-awareness that distinguishes it from conventional research (Arnold and Fernandez-Gimenez 2008:70; Chambers 1994b:1254). Further, as Rose (1997:305) argues, "all knowledge is produced in specific circumstances and that those circumstances shape it in some way." My biographic positionality, as well as the academic lens of anthropology that has significant culturally constructed biases, undeniably colors the knowledge I am producing through this thesis.

Although I am sympathetically aligned with the participants in this research, I do not occupy the same research space that they do. Where I can guess and suggest and analyze project data to my content without life-altering retribution, the local participants have to live with the social and political consequences of the research process and results. Further, my attitude and behavior during the fieldwork can have a very strong impact on the knowledge and narratives offered by participants. This makes an attention to my impacts on the experiences of the project a primary site of inquiry.

I do not pretend to have the ability to create a neutral, unimposing environment with my presence, yet I do have a certain responsibility to make my presence as low-impact as possible by building a positive rapport with local informants. I have done this throughout my fieldwork by being patient and submissive to the cultural preferences of the informants. In my interactions with the Oglala elders, I casually downplay my constructed authority on knowledge as an academic with humor and reciprocity: laughing at jokes, telling jokes, accepting gifts and giving gifts in return, and helping people with their daily labor before we engage in my research project.

Following Nadasdy's (2003:103) suggestions, I am attentive to not be aggressive in my friendliness or enthusiasm for the project, as this kind of overbearing personality can put people off and even force a emotional response by the informants. Basso (1996:85) notes that in native communities speaking too much can be a sign of arrogance and an insult to the imagination of others, so it is best that I stay relatively in the background while the elders converse in their patient and contemplative manner.

All of these self-conscious behaviors are a way to build a relaxed and trusting rapport with local people in an extremely short time-span (Chambers 1994b:1256). Classic

anthropological research advocates for extremely long research-relationships so that rapport can be built over a year or longer (Chambers 1994b:1264), but because of my time constraints as a master's student with only a few weeks in the summer to collaborate with Calvin on the reservation, rapport must be built on-the-fly.

Conclusion

This thesis is, ultimately, an exercise in participatory methodology as theorized in the previous chapter. The methods as described above has allowed for the project to be guided by the voices and concerns of the local participants. One Oglala full-blood remarks,

> [l]and, language, culture, history, and roots are what makes you Lakota. In order to be Lakota you have to have land, to speak Lakota, to practice culture. You also have to be part of a *tiospaye* – you have a history as part of the community. You are with your *weunotakuye* (relations of my blood). (Robertson 2002:138)

The following chapter will draw on these themes and further explore the process of participatory interaction to reveal the narratives of the reservation landscape.

Chapter 4: Mapping Through Narrative

The prevailing themes that arise out of our conversations with Porcupine District's Lakota elders are largely land, language, history and roots, and so the conversations will be organized as such. These themes, originally expressed in narrative but filtered through my notes and memory, are the results of the participatory mapping process more than the markings on the map.

These themes will be discussed primarily by relating the knowledge of our informants as it was communicated through the participatory mapping process, with literary supplements for context. To do so, historical evidence will add to the perspectives of local stakeholders, including Calvin and other anonymous Lakota elders, to weave a comprehensive story that reflects the testimonies and positionality of the people involved, as filtered through the lens of an outsider anthropologist.

Language

Language is likely the single biggest influence on the nature of the conversations engendered by the project. Much to my pleasure but disadvantage, roughly half of every conversation that I attend with Calvin is in Lakota. In many ways, my very presence in the circle of elders is a hindrance to the fluid Lakota dialogue, as every now and again people will notice my presence and generously feel the need to summarize some of what is being said. On the other hand, the elders involved are very passionate and excited to communicate their perspectives to outsiders respectful and patient enough to listen.

To keep the conversations as casual as possible, we have not used any recording devices. Although the conversations seem to be a great resource to have for future generations, Calvin is

very hesitant to allow any recordings for fear of alienating people and seeming too academic or formal. He does not value the conversations as historical events to be preserved for future consumption and education, but rather as small, informal acts of networking that could allow the Lakota speaking elders to reconnect and start planning the future of the project.

Upon driving up to an elders house, usually located up a narrow, routed dirt road most would consider impossible for a compact car to navigate (indeed I did get the oil pan stuck on a rock once or twice), I park and sit in the car until Calvin negotiates our presence on their property. In a minority of cases, Calvin remarks to me that the place to which we are going is generally not welcoming of or used to white people, as some Lakota on the reservation are either staunch separatists or American Indian Movement (AIM) members that harbor negative feelings against white America, for obvious reasons. Further, there has been a feeling of insecurity and paranoia in the districts of the reservation since 9/11, as people believe that CIA or FBI agents are spying on local political actors bent on revolution. Mostly, however, my white presence is a surprise because some people do not travel off the reservation often, and so they do not interact much with the white world. It is a constant concern that I will put people off or fluster them if I act too forward and conventionally white. This is an extremely important consideration in the interpretation of the fieldwork performed.

On the topic of language, many interactions stand out as exemplars of the centrality of Lakota language to the project. Upon entering one elder's house from the Knife Chief *tiospaye*, I am greeted by his whole family and several other people living in the same residence, totaling eight people ranging from maybe three years old to beyond sixty. The elder man of the house is likely over sixty years old, featuring a very strong and tall build, and he sports the long, braided hair characteristic of many full-bloods on the reservation.

The walls of his log cabin are eclectically decorated with deer antlers, enamelware, and Lakota culture-themed paintings on old, buckling wood veneer walls. In the corner of the room, as is common for all log cabin homes built in the same era (sometime between the 1880s and 1940s), stands a cast iron wood burning stove. On top of the stove sits a small, loose pile of sage, smoldering till the room becomes saturated in its savory scent, and increasingly obscuring the living room with smoke as the early morning sun pierces through the windows. As if intending to be a perfectly ironic anachronism – an extremely poignant slap to the face for any anthropologist determined to draw sharp distinctions between "traditional" and "modern" Lakota – there sits a large amplified speaker cabinet with a messy bundle of old school Nintendo controllers spilled over top. Above that, anchored on a two-by-four screwed into the wall, sits a brand new flat screen television. Considering that the house does not have running water, I am amazed at the proliferation of relatively modern electronics.

Nobody in the house except the elder man can speak Lakota, yet Calvin and the elder speak with each other in Lakota for roughly an hour as we sit around the stove. It turns out that many of the native Lakota speakers rarely get opportunities to communicate with anybody else in their mother tongue, as residences on the reservation are very widely spread out (except in cluster housing areas), and often people in districts like Porcupine lack any reliable transportation beyond walking and hitchhiking. Although in hindsight it seems foolish, at this point in the day I am unsure as to whether the man speaks any English or only Lakota (later he tells me that he only speaks Lakota for about 30% of his day, where the other 70% is Lakota thought translated into English as a foreign language).

The conversation begins by Calvin spreading the map on the floor as both men kneel down to closely inspect its elements. From the start, they reference the numerous places that are

recognizable from the aerial projection and begin to edit the names digitally printed in English on the map to their Lakota analogues. Over the next four hours, the map is occasionally acknowledged, referenced, and edited as needed. I often glean the meaning of the conversation through hand gestures and the admixture of untranslatable English words injected into the Lakota syntax, among them: "straight line" and "eminent domain". Clearly the conversation has quickly gravitated towards issues of land tenure and land seizure, but the details are not clear.

The elder edits the name of the *tiospaye* in the center of the district from "Evergreen" to "*Hocokata,*" then the "Badlands" *tiospaye* in far north to read "*Makozita,*" and just to the east of that another unmapped community named "*Sunka Ska.*" He further adds seven more community names to the map, all of which have lost their original Lakota *tiospaye* name and instead exclusively use English names. Many of these latter communities also lack any Lakota speakers, so they are essentially "off the map" in terms of this project.

One would think that the status that the Lakota language lends to people should ensure its longevity, but Calvin and the elder estimate that there are maybe only about 110 Lakota speakers left on the entire reservation, and almost all of them are elders with only a few years left to live. They estimate that there may be only 15 male speakers of Lakota left in Porcupine District, and so it is likely that close to all of them have been identified on the snowball list.

There are likely many more native speakers that have lost their language, and certainly even more Lakota-speaking women that were not identified. In all, only two Lakota women were added to the list. For example, one full-blood Lakota woman I conversed with told me that she was raised speaking only Lakota in a traditional household, but the boarding school experience ubiquitous in her generation forcefully educated the Lakota out of her. Today, she is

no longer fluent in Lakota and remarks that she is sad to see that her children are similarly indoctrinated by dominant American culture from white school teachers that teach at the reservation schools.

During this meeting at the Knife Chief elder's house, the men enthusiastically suggest that the mapping project can be a vehicle that can communicate to all of the Lakota speakers of Porcupine District, and other Districts as well, that the native speakers need to organize and seriously confront the dwindling future of their language. Even the younger members of the household cannot speak their father's language, and they openly admit that this is a huge loss for the community.

During a different conversation on a different day, another elder from the Butte *tiospaye* echoed these sentiments, as he talked extensively on his feelings that the loss of the Lakota language amongst the youth has created a huge generation gap. This elder, also a man likely over 60 years old, has a three-generation family living in his home, yet he is the only fluent Lakota speaker. He notes how the loss of the language is also a loss of the culture in general, as it becomes a barrier to the intergenerational passage of knowledge. He is worried that because his children and grandchildren communicate exclusively in English, they will not be able to take control of their own destiny, but be subjugated to the cultural whims of the dominant society. By this he means that the Lakota language is intimately related to a Lakota ethnic identity, and to lose one is to lose the other.

According to many of the elders, young people on the reservation are a lost generation who have never learned the customs of their Lakota ancestors, often because the language barrier can mentally distance relationships between young and old people, and the default to English

automatically destroys some of the meaning of the knowledge encoded in stories about history and the land. Anthropologist Tim Ingold (2000:147) argues that an indigenous language, which grows and adapts as culture and lifeways change, is really "a way of living in the land." The language is shaped by how people materially interact with the world, and conversely the language influences the way the world is perceived. In the minds of the elders, the fact that the oldest generation of full-blood Lakota speaks a different first language than the youngest generation is a massive barrier to continuing the symbolic and material traditions of the Lakota culture.

By prioritizing Lakota language speakers into the mapping project, it is Calvin's hope that the knowledge encoded into the Lakota language and traditional culture will be revitalized. Without the Lakota language it is hard to understand the roles and structure of the *tiospaye*, as often English can bastardize Lakota concepts, much like how the title of chief was imposed onto the position of *itancan* as discussed in Chapter 1. Although focusing on Lakota speakers is dangerous in that there are relatively few left, this project can serve as a social nexus to give new meaning and value to the language through its undeniable necessity in the continuance of tradition.

History

As shown by our experience in Knife Chief, mapping is really much more than cartography. Map-making as an inscriptive practice is an occasional by-product of the cognitive mapping exercise that attempts to record the memoryscapes of the Lakota participants. As Basso (1996:xv) remarks about his own mapping project among the Western Apache, making maps is

really just talking in peoples' homes about places and the stories behind them. The maps themselves are important, but they are secondary to the narratives encoded onto them.

A conversation with an elder from the Butte community started halfway through a typical hot and windy day on top of a hill at the end of a dirt road. After waiting around for ten minutes or so for the man to finish the work he was already busy in, he finally surfaces from his shed. A short, kind-faced man of 70 years old with a ponytail, blue jeans and work boots, greets us with a wide smile. Staying outside this time instead of hunkering down in the living room, we anchor our map with my hiking boots and a water bottle to keep it from blowing away into the endless rolling plains to the east.

After Calvin introduces the project and guides the elder through the markings made by other participants, the elder expresses full agreement that a *tiospaye* model of governance needs to be reinvented by the elders of the reservation. This time, unlike before, the map becomes less of a focal point, except for a few general confirmations that the previous inscriptions added to the map are generally correct. There is not much concern to this elder where the lines are drawn between the *tiospaye*s, or what houses belong to which territory, just mainly that they exist in their general locations. However, referencing the places projected on the map inspires our conversation towards the political history of the reservation, as the elder describes how the landscape is encoded everywhere with stories passed down through oral tradition.

He learned about the history of the land from his grandfather, and that tradition goes back further than anybody can trace. The history as he has learned it is a history of colonialism, from his grandfathers descriptions of his lineage settling on the reservation after warring with the U.S. government in the 19th century. To our informant, the land is a constant and living reminder of

the transgressions and evolution of America's violent political involvement with the Lakota people. He attributes most of the current social and economic problems experienced by his people on the reservation as stemming from the Dawes Act of 1887. As he understands it, this act is manifested today in the majority non-indigenous landholdings on the reservation, and is reinforced by the policies of the IRA tribal government. By acreage, white ranchers occupy most of the land (1.5 million acres), after that the tribal government (830,000 acres), and coming in last (at 800,000 acres) are the landholdings of the descendants of the original allottees of 1887 (Robertson 2002:45).

Our informant originally grew up belonging to a now extinct *tiospaye* in the Badlands at the north end of the district, but like many others, was forcibly relocated to his present area in the south of the district after the U.S. government seized his family's lands so it could use the land as an aerial bombing range for World War II in 1941. In exchange for their immediate eviction from their allotted lands and the seizure of their chickens and other smallholder farming possessions, he recalls that the government compensated his family with a bag of groceries.

Although the historical injustices experienced at the hands of the federal government proves to be a popularly contentious topic common to most of our interactions with elders, even more so is the injustice of the reservation tribal government, often referred to as the OST (Oglala Sioux Tribe) government, IRA (Indian Reorganization Act) government, or the New Deal government. As pertains to our informants, the IRA is usually depicted as a colonially instituted puppet government with corrupt leaders, inefficient policy, and a strong favoring for white or mix-blood people. It is common for our informants to invoke the official rule of the land as agreed on in 1851 and 1868 treaties of Fort Laramie, both documents that codify the legal basis for Lakota territorial sovereignty (Robertson2002:2). These treaties, considered to be the "old

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deal" between the *tiospaye*s and the government, was agreed upon by both parties and sealed according to Lakota custom by smoking the sacred pipe *cannupa* (Robertson 2002:2), and so many "old deal" Lakota today still consider to be binding. Tellingly, *cannupa* is the first word my Lakota informants teach me, as it embodies honesty and trust, a core Lakota value.

Although the treaties did modify Lakota land tenure and political hierarchies, within these treaties the *tiospaye* is considered to be the full organizing principle of the Lakota people, not an American-style representative democracy. The IRA government, instituted by popular vote in 1936, is not based on any traditional Lakota style of governance, and most often favors the interests of capitalist-oriented production and land tenure (Robertson 2002; Biolsi 1992). As a perfect contrast to the intentions of the *tiospaye* mapping project, the IRA government is organized around official meetings emulating the U.S. representative government, with no formal recognition of the existence of the *tiospaye*s.

My field notes are replete with stories of injustice committed by the IRA government against informants or their family members and friends. One informant, for instance, while attempting to ask tough questions regarding the IRA's control of reservation housing, was physically removed from the office building. Another man reports of knowing that IRA members fund their relatives to relocate off the reservation, giving them tens of thousands of dollars to get set up in places like Rapid City or Denver to earn money while many others – mostly full-bloods far away from the town of Pine Ridge – sit in poverty.

Many of the issues of government are commonly associated with race, as the IRA is perceived to be a government controlled by the reservation's mixed-blood population. An elder from Knife Chief tells us an allegorical story regarding the mix-blood/full-blood relationship that

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is passed down to him from his grandfather. In the story, the two races, full-blood Lakota and whites, are construed as different animal societies: the whites are two-legged, talon-bearing birds, where the full-bloods are four-legged furry creatures like wolves and bears. These two societies have always been separated, but they will frequently visit each other to spy on what the other society is doing. One day, a bat (symbolizing the mix-bloods) comes along and is spotted by both animal societies, but neither knows quite what to make of it. The bat has wings and can fly like the birds, but is also furry like the wolves and bears. Because of its inability to fit either society, the bat flies around only at night so that neither society has to deal with its strangeness; the bat is even said to sleep upside down so that nobody will recognize it during the day.

Although very different from western fables, the short allegory illustrates how the mix-blood person has some qualities of both races, and intends to opportunistically use whichever quality it can to get ahead. If there are government handouts, mix-bloods will assume the identity of an Indian, and when there are jobs available, they will assume the identity of a white man to look more employable. Although this characterization is obviously situated in a very polarized world-view that is politically inappropriate in dominant American society, mixed-blood and full-blood Lakota people have been dealing with these racial tensions since before the reservation system. Back then, mixed-race people (*ieska*, or "interpreter" in Lakota) assumed the role as traders and translators and formed their own bands separate from the Lakota *tiospayes* (Price 1996:21).

Today this perception has become naturalized through the deep history of economic and political inequality between the races (Pickering 2000:77). However, as Pickering (2000:82) notes, the distinction between the races aren't really predicated on skin color or even genetic categories like "blood quantum," but rather on a person's cultural behavior. If they are perceived

as acting white, they are white; if they act traditionally Lakota, they are seen as Lakota. This

point rings true in the case of the story-telling elder, as he unabashedly tells the above story

while cohabiting with at least one mixed-race man, and another seemingly white man with a long

white beard, blue eyes, and light skin who speaks a little Lakota. This suggests that these men are

not considered to be dubious outsiders like the bat, as their behaviors are acceptably Lakota.

However, since the turn of the 20th century, mixed-blood people have been more heavily

recruited into all employable positions from government to education (Robertson 2000:29), have

favored more conventional agriculture and ranching-based land tenure patterns (Robertson

2000:110), and were never issued allotments in the allotment era. Because of this, mixed-bloods

are considered to be in a different socio-economic class more closely associated with the IRA

than full-blood people (Roberston 2000:138). But regardless of who is staffing it, the IRA

government is characterized by our informants and many scholars alike to be an institution of

indirect colonial power (Biolsi 1992; Pickering 2000:95; Robertson 2002).

While talking with a few elders from the Butte community, one a man and the other two

women, attention was eventually turned to their "back yard" – the hundreds of acres of hilly

plains baking under the unobstructed summer sky. Like many residents of Porcupine District,

their back yard is mostly inaccessible, as barbed wire cattle-retaining fences adjoin a few yards

behind their houses. Calvin mentions that these landscapes are problematic on the map, because

they appear to be plain, empty landscapes: no houses, no official access, and so seemingly little

cultural relevance. A map having such massive amounts of *terra nullius*, or "empty space",

makes the land extremely vulnerable to tribal and state powers that desire to capitalize on all

unused land. There is usually no time or interest to ask locals about the character, meaning and

history of their land, so oil lines, cattle ranches and other such things penetrate it without reflection.

However, if you hop the fence and hike up the hill, down the valley, and up another hill, maybe an eighth of a mile away from the house, you can find the site where ancestors fled from the massacre at Wounded Knee. The elders of the house claim that there is a wealth of archaeological deposits still left in the ground over there, many of which they have found themselves. They first learned about the massacre at Wounded Knee from their parents, and it was their parents who first showed them the meaningful places associated with the event that influenced so much Lakota history to follow. On this hill, the elders know of a place where scaffolding stands that held the dead bodies of slain Oglala warriors fleeing north towards the Stronghold Table in the Badlands.   The custom was for slain warriors to be rested on a wooden scaffold until the sticks holding their bodies up gave way and they crashed to the earth. Often, the carrion would have picked their bones clean by then, so their flesh would be distributed into the sky via the wings of birds.

Additionally, our informants have discovered women's beads, hammers, and other such objects on and around the old gravesites. None of these things have been removed as they are considered to be sacred, and so is the land beneath them. Since it has been over a week since anybody has inscribed anything on the map, and feeling the need to incorporate this amazing story onto the map featuring only a few straight lines and some Lakota place names, I decide to break the rules and trace the escaping party's route on the map. However, after doing so, I realize that there are conflicting interests in my editing of the data.

To the project's benefit, the land is no longer *terra nullius*; it is sacred, used, historical, and embodied into story. On the other hand, the local knowledge as codified by the map is now available for public consumption. Like all of the inscriptions made, this one carries with it real world consequences with which the local people will have to deal. If the map is ever published, their back yard becomes an archaeologist's dream: a literal treasure map. In the process, the sacredness of the site is disturbed, and the colonial acquisition of local Lakota history and culture is transferred into the hands of outsiders. For this reason, I decide not to include any pictures of the map containing sensitive information without a local informant's consent. The stories of their history are essentially cultural property, and should not be distributed without proper permission.

Land

The Lakota lands embody a history of displacement and survival, from the continual shrinking of reservation boundaries throughout the 1800s; the illegal seizure of the Black Hills by the U.S. government in 1876; the sell-off of Bennett county in the early 20th century; losing the Badlands to the military and then the National Parks Service in the 1940s; and the ever-present incursion of cattle onto leased out allotted lands. Needless to say, the Lakota cultural connection to land is intimately tied to the political history of the reservation.

As expressed by our informants, the ever encroaching forces of colonial acquisition and violence continually stress the people on the reservation who prefer to have open access to land for the purpose of maintaining sacred sites, subsistence, the use of natural resources like wood and water, and for culturally appropriate housing. The traditional land tenure of the Oglala people has changed with the political economic landscape of the previous five hundred years.

From hunting and gathering fur traders in the 18th century (Wolf 2010:161) to subsistence cattle ranchers until the 1920s (Robertson 2002:57,123), the Oglala have resiliently adjusted their economy and land tenure to maximize their survivability in the face of rapid change.

Yet for those who maintain Lakota traditions, the sacredness of the landscape has not changed much. The Lakota word *makozita*, mentioned previously by an elder to name the Badlands *tiospaye* in the north of the district, is a word that denotes a sacred land. These lands are places that people should not live permanently, but only for short periods of time for ceremonial purposes. All visits to sacred sites require offerings of tobacco, and should absolutely not be exposed to destructive industry. To many Lakota, the Black Hills and the Badlands are both *makozita*, and they have both succumbed to the violence of explosives through mineral mining and military exercise, respectively. Many stories we collected reflect very colorful and unique experiences in these areas, such as multi-day vision quests, the sightings of ancestor spirits, run-ins with supposedly extinct spotted hyenas in the remote Badlands canyons, and a reservation favorite: bigfoot (as in the American yeti, not to be confused with Chief Bigfoot as mentioned in the massacre at Wounded Knee).

Although the Black Hills are too far away to be represented on our map, as it is about 100 miles west of Porcupine and centered on the Wyoming state border, it is a recurring point of conversation when the topic of land comes up. The Black Hills are an anomaly in the otherwise bucolic landscape – beautiful jutting rock features covered in lush pine forest – which when seen from above either looks like a human heart or a turtle, pending on the viewer. According to one elder, the Black Hills contain the site of the Lakota genesis, where the White Buffalo Calf (or Cow) Woman emerges from Wind Cave to seed the societies of humans and buffalos in symbiosis.

Many elders in Porcupine district express great concern over the fate of the Black Hills, as its use and occupancy is constantly trending in the news. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the gold rush period of the 1870s illegally stripped the Black Hills from the Great Sioux reservation (Robertson 2002:20), and since the 1950s the hills have been mined for uranium and other precious metals. Pickering (2000:132) summarizes:

> In 1962, two hundred tons of radioactive tailings washed into the Cheyenne River, polluting well water on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Disproportionate occurrences of miscarriage and other health effects were reported. The Lakotas had no control over these uranium operations taking place on lands illegally confiscated from them more than a century before.

Multiple conversations with elders gravitated to these issues of water rights, pollution, and health. Near the town of Porcupine, an elder tells me that three sites in his district have been flagged for mineral poisoning by lead, zinc and uranium. Calvin, for instance, reports that water near his home has three times the acceptable level of uranium as set by NEPA (the National Environmental Policy Act), resulting in his inability to drink from the aquifer below his residence. People on the reservation attribute these harmful and poor tasting minerals to the mining activity in the Black Hills, hydraulic fracturing upstream in the watershed in North Dakota, and the Big Bend hydroelectric plant east of the reservation on the Missouri (see Lawson 2009 for more on the Big Bend dam and its effects on native communities).

Even though most of the *tiospayes* have settled along the riverbeds of the reservation, the non-potable surface and subsurface water has forced many rural homesteads in the districts to resort to buying plastic jugs of water from far away grocery stores for their drinking, cooking, and personal hygiene needs. Others, particularly elders, cannot afford such conveniences and so are forced to consume radioactive water. Two of our informants offered stories of friends and relatives who are suspected to have died as a result of uranium poisoning through well water.

Although many informants bring up the mining and water pollution issue as their most urgent concern, the most prevalent topic instigated by the introduction of the map is land fragmentation. Many Lakota people in Porcupine District, like their ancestors, attempt to utilize the land for as much of their subsistence as possible. According to an extensive household survey conducted on Pine Ridge by my graduate advisor Kathy Sherman, more than 80% of all traditional households (i.e. the ones included in our project) routinely use wild natural resources for subsistence or other culturally based activities (Ross *et al.* 2011:152).

However, because of constraints brought about by the allotment process in the 1880s, there is no open-access communal land tenure that would allow the free harvesting of wild resources. Even during the early 20th century, before the imposition of the IRA government, the *tiospayes* could communally graze their small herds of subsistence cattle, which replaced the decimated buffalo (Robertson 2002:57). But over time, much of the land that was allotted to Lakota individuals but held in trust by the BIA has been aggregated and parceled for lease to private cattle ranchers.

Our conversations show a strong desire to remove the parasitic ranching industry from the reservation. One elder suggested that all of the cattle be removed from the allotted lands and the fences taken down so that buffalo and elk could roam free throughout the reservation. The traditional Oglala people have opposed allotment and its subsequent abuse by cattle interests since its genesis in the 1890s on Pine Ridge. In 1894, 80% of the adult male Oglala population vehemently rejected allotment, yet the federal government enforced it anyway in an effort to settle and convert the Lakota's nomadic hunting and gathering lifestyle (Robertson 2002:108). Indeed today, in spite of over 120 years of allotment and displacement, hunting and gathering

activity is still a mainstay of Lakota culture (Pickering 2000:51), and a necessary subsistence supplement in an area with an extremely depressed cash economy.

Although the full-blood Lakota never had much success with capitalist oriented (i.e. not subsistence based, but for sale) agriculture or animal ranching, they consider small-scale subsistence gardening to be a very traditional supplement to hunting and gathering (fig. 4.1). In fact, those elders with whom we are in communication who do not garden their own vegetables are in the slim minority. Corn; red, white, and yellow onions; cherries; squash; watermelon; cucumbers; carrots; bell peppers; tomatoes; carrots; beets and chickens are all reported supplements that make up for the food desert that is Pine Ridge.

Living on the reservation – where the closest grocery store can be a one-hour drive and even then only supplying a very weak selection of unhealthy, packaged food – requires a significant amount of local capacity and community sharing. Many of the people in Porcupine District young and old grow food to feed their immediate families and then redistribute the rest to the neediest members of the *tiospaye*, often the elders.

Unfortunately, access to the vast plains on Pine Ridge is harder than it seems. Although the full-blood Lakota were allotted tracks of land by the government for farming purposes, the people who settled in the northern districts like Porcupine generally did so along river valleys, making their plots extremely small at their home site, and then randomly fractionated across the reservation for their remaining acreage (Robertson 2002:61).

Figure 4.1: An elder's home garden adjacent to the rolling plains

After a long day of fruitlessly driving to six houses scattered across the district, we finally encounter a *tiospaye* elder, possibly the oldest we have met so far. He sits in his small home in the middle of a strange and unnatural, densely populated micro-village called a cluster housing development. These are essentially the ghettos of the reservation, as one elder tells us that the cluster housing development model is the foundation of much of the gang-related problems on the reservation.

The old man tells us many stories about his family, the economic problems of his community, and its relation to land access. He, like many other full-bloods technically owns over 300 acres of allotted land passed down to him from his grandfather. However, because of the imposition of cluster housing development, similar to the one where he lives, he has no

access to it. Granted that someone can even locate their allotted lands in the suspiciously labyrinthine BIA bureaucracy, access to it might be restricted because of its leasing to a housing cluster or a cattle rancher. As the government holds allotted lands in trust, it has the power to lease lands out as it sees fit. Even those who have lands not under lease are negatively affected by adjacent ranched lots, as the landowner is required by tribal law to fence their own land if they do not want cattle to graze it (Robertson 2002:179). As the average resident has little spare income for acres of fence construction, this rarely happens, thereby defaulting their lands into the land use pattern of their neighbors without recourse or compensation.

The elder tells us a personal story about how he was engaged in a three year long legal battle over access to his allotted land. Although clearly in a poverty situation, he was required to constantly travel across the state of South Dakota to Pierre to engage in legal exercises that eventually added up to his exhaustion and quitting of the legal process. This is a typical example of a system built to fail its "beneficiaries," a continuation of the colonial cultural conquest.

Starting in the 1960s and 70s, the federal Housing and Urban Development (HUD) program started to build extremely cheap and dense housing structures on reservations across the country, including every district on Pine Ridge (Robertson 2002:46). Even though the residents of Porcupine District fought hard for years to halt the development by voting against it thirteen consecutive times, the district representative ended up siding with the minority pro-HUD constituency which favored cluster housing development (Robertson 2002:204).

The imposition of cluster housing is not just an affront to culturally foreign democratic representation mandated by the IRA government, but also an offense to cultural values associated with land use and space. Ross *et al.* (2011:157) note that 62% of residences across

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the reservation would prefer not to live in cluster housing, and instead would prefer to homestead on their own family allotments in the more open, natural, rural setting that might allow land access. Although many technically own their own land, only 23% actually live on it (Ross *et al.* 2011:157), and so the rest are forced into renting federally-owned rural homes or a HUD house. Further, local people are forcibly entered into these housing arrangements because no private housing market exists on the reservation (Pickering 2000:7). Many of the HUD clusters have been built in the area of the old *tiospaye* settlements (Pickering 2000:8), thereby extending their negative social impacts whether one technically lives in it or not. Even though this dislocation is culturally inappropriate and clearly causes social problems, many Oglalas have no recourse to it, as there is no other affordable option available. Today, there are over 1,500 people on the reservation's housing wait-list, many of them landowners (Robertson 2002:207).

Our elder informant mentions that *tiospayes* have started to incorporate themselves in an effort to find ways of making money as a conspicuous reactionary act to land access. Although this may have short-term economic benefits, the imposition of a market-style shareholding corporate design goes against the traditional Lakota values of the *tiospaye*, as decisions are made by shareholders and not by merit-based, community-assigned authority. By incorporating, the option to sell shares to the highest bidder opens up a new phase of neo-liberal style land-grabbing that will permanently dispossess the *tiospayes* of land and power in exchange for short term economic gains. However, as the elder notes when he sees some of the *tiospaye* names inscribed on our map, many *tiospayes* have splintered and sold their land in the recent past as a final act of survival; it is better to sell the land to buy food than keep the land and starve to death.

In this fashion, both the Butte and Birdhead *tiospaye* landholdings have been reduced to nothing, thereby scattering the community and causing the *tiospaye* as a viable social network to

go extinct. Later, another elder from the remains of these *tiospayes* confirms this by voicing an augmentation to the boundaries on the map. The Birdhead and Brotherhood communities have recently combined into the larger Brotherhood *tiospaye*, which originally consisted of over 30 or so families, each with their own headman, but now even this has dwindled to just a few as the members scatter and aggregate into other *tiospayes* with more accessible resources.

Roots: The *Tiospaye*

Surprisingly, my last day working for Calvin on Pine Ridge is a solo mission. Calvin, occupied with family business, requests that I find my own way around the reservation to talk with three elders in the district. Although I have been building my confidence and skill at navigating the land and its culture, I am still an absolute novice.

Calvin, in the local fashion, gives me directions during our spotty cell phone conversation using vague landmarks that only a local would know: go down the highway; there is a tree on the right; past that, where there is a flag erected in anticipation of a sun dance, there is a dirt road that we have passed before as a rabbit ran by. Once on the dirt road there is a nexus of five smaller dirt roads stemming off from that, and the end is in sight for only one of them. This house is at one of the five roads; and watch out for dogs.

Although I have the large map with me, its massiveness does not lend well to driving and navigating at the same time. Furthermore, it mostly contains open space with a road bisecting the landscape only every few miles. Simply put, it is not a great tool for reservation navigation.

Out of the three houses I am sent to find, I find two, and only get in contact with one (the other was out that day). The third is lost in the indiscernible hills. As noted before, my presence on people's land is usually negotiated in Lakota, but this time I am only represented by my own

appearance and my disgustingly bright red rental car. I arrive in the driveway of my last contact

and wait around until somebody shows up. I look around, noticing a lot of random but useful

junk lying around the yard – a common sight in a place where having a lot of random parts could

save you an all-day drive to the store. There are at least five gutted cars sinking into the earth,

and next to these is a massive home garden filled with food. It is still early morning, and the dew

hangs lightly on the scrap metal in the grass while a dark summer storm rolls in from the west.

Eventually a man arrives, busy with a woodworking project. I ask for my contact person

by name, trying to be as polite as possible, and he claims to know the man that I am looking for,

but tells me that he has bad news – not the kind of man a young and vulnerable outsider should

be searching for. I awkwardly stand around wondering what I should do next, and the silence

persists for a few minutes as he loads his truck with reclaimed wood. He turns out to be a joker;

this is the man I have been looking for from the start.

He instantly puts me to work, never asking what it is that I am there for, just knowing that

I was sent by Calvin. Work first; questions later. The Lakota penchant for silence usually makes

people like me eager to fill the void with idle chatter. However, having learned a thing or two in

my travels, I choose not to dominate the silence with my speech. Instead, we load a truck bed of

two-by-fours and other miscellany scraps into the truck and off-road the load up a few grassy

hills to a burial mound overlooking the entire Porcupine Creek valley. From this point I can see

many of the places I have visited in the past three weeks, with each place encoding different

aspects of Lakota knowledge, emotions, dreams and histories.

On top of the hill, we instantly start rebuilding an old dilapidated wood fence surrounding

two graves. While working on the project, a conversation finally strikes up and I make it known

to the man and another already on the hill that I am a graduate student in anthropology. He seems accepting of this, but generally unimpressed. He mentions how every time students are sent to help him out, they are weak city kids with no labor skills, and so he ends up wasting more time teaching the kids how to do simple rural tasks like swinging a hammer than he does actually getting his work done.

Feeling a little ashamed but fully in agreement with his assessment, I briefly wonder why I chose anthropology instead of a life of manual skill and labor like my father. At the time, no good answer comes to mind. But trying to recover a little credit, I offer that I have built my own fence before, as well as a bed frame, and have created my own home garden while living in Southern Appalachia (an innocent fluffing of the truth – my wife did most of the work), and furthermore I am not entirely useless. The fact that I can even recall every building project I have ever done, let alone count them on one hand, should automatically qualify me as another inept waste of time like my "charitable" predecessors. On the first piece of wood I grab to start building, a massive splinter of wood lodges into my soft, white, suburban skin; I silently internalize my pain as I embarrassingly try to save face and work through the injury.

My blood soaks into the dry, gray, knotted wood as I build the fence, and nobody seems to notice. I make good on my bluff of being skilled in labor and successfully help him repair his fence: two new fence posts and four two-by-fours to connect them. Upon hammering in the last nail, a motorcade of cars new and old flood the grassy knoll, and at least three generations of the man's *tiospaye* appear as if they were hiding behind the bushes. Not much is said as I once again stand there not knowing what could possibly be happening. Getting even more suspicious, a line of Lakota men and women in military uniform arrange themselves on the field, M-16 rifles at

shoulder, and begin a veteran's memorial service for the deceased framed by the newly built fence. Gunshots are fired at the sky, and I finally realize that it is Memorial Day.

I am then surprised to find a little girl handing me a brown paper bag, as inside is a full lunch that somebody packed for me: a white bread and hamburger meat sandwich, two cookies, and a bottle of water. It turns out that I know at least two of the women in the crowd from my tenure on the mapping project, and it suddenly dawns on me how connected this land is through the *tiospayes*. As an outsider, everything appears to be open space, the same *terra nullius* that the colonists first saw that justified their European expansion. But to the native Lakota, the land is a tight network of family, history, and culture. And much to my pleasure, everybody there welcomed me with smiles.

After this unexpected, hours long detour of work and family time, the two of us get down to mapping. It has been over a week since anybody has marked the map, and I am getting worried that the mapping process isn't going as planned. In fact, it likely is going as Calvin planned, but different than what I expected. By this time I imagined that the map would be full of place names and routes of travel and significant historical markers. I figured everybody would be eager to draw lines that would indicate, "Yes, our *tiospaye* ends here, and these houses are all included."

Feeling apprehensive because of the map, and without Calvin to guide the methods, I describe exactly what I am looking for as was stated by the original objectives of the project. I ask the elder to tell me where the *tiospayes* exist, and he obliges, giving me exactly what I have asked for. The map now shows distinct boundaries between the residences of one *tiospaye* and the next. His edits show the elimination of the Birdhead *tiospaye*, the overlap between the

Brotherhood and the Butte *tiospayes*, and an overlap between the Knife Chief and *Hocokata*

tiospayes. Further, he was able to eliminate some households that have been razed or

abandoned, as well as added a few that have been built since the production of the map (fig. 4.2).

However, the elder mentioned something concerning: the boundaries for all of these

things do not actually exist. Even the district boundaries, which control voting and resource

distribution on the reservation, have no survey markers to define them. It is all just a floating

approximation.
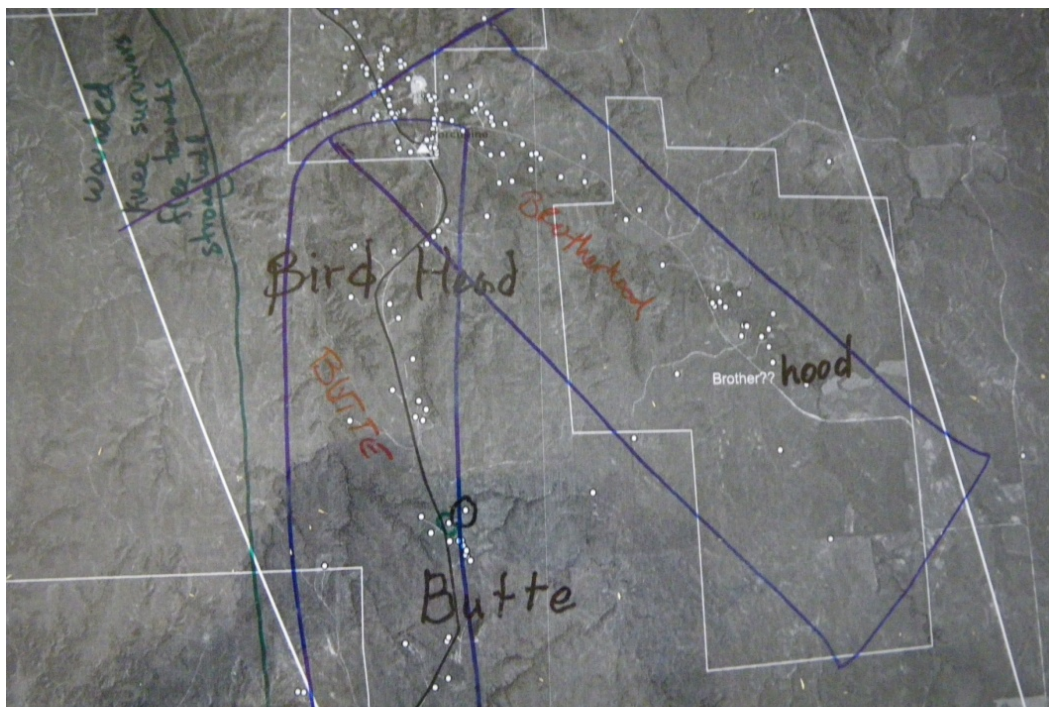
Figure 4.2: Sketch drawings of *tiospaye* boundaries, overlapping each other as well as the white district boundaries towards the outside.

Conclusion

Ending our research on an ambiguous note, the project is now presented with a problem: how is the map going to deal with the narrative emphasis that has overwhelmed the spatial abilities of the map? And further, if what the last elder said is true, what are the implications of bounding the *tiospayes* on a map if the boundaries do not really exist, and can shift or go extinct as populations migrate and change affiliation.

It is clear through the conversations presented that the elders want the *tiospayes* to bring representation to the underprivileged parts of the reservation. The social and environmental concerns that are consistently expressed through the mapping process validates the traditionalist's arguments that their current form of organization is not serving their needs, but instead the needs of larger development interests that do not benefit local people or serve Lakota values. Gangs, pollution, and displacement: all of these things and more are seen to be problems that can be locally mitigated or influenced by a greater capacity at the level of the *tiospaye*.

The next chapter will analyze this problem by situating the general process of map-making within the context of world history and power, and illuminating the distinctions between the inscriptive "map-making" practice that I set out to perform and the narratological "mapping" process that constitutes the above knowledge generated.

Chapter 5: Western Map-Making versus Indigenous Mapping

After reviewing the narratives that have been produced by the mapping project, understanding how exactly this project could be considered "mapping" and not just story recording is elusive. Although it has been discussed a bit, the map has not been the pivotal data drawn from our fieldwork, as our open-ended participatory approach has allowed locally constructed data to emerge in its favored form: the narrative.

This chapter will provide an analytical perspective that addresses some of the cultural and historical elements influencing the data recorded by the *tiospaye* mapping project. The first half of this chapter will be a theoretical discussion framed by concerns relevant to a post-structuralist political-ecological perspective, which emphasizes the consideration of power relationships as they pertain to different agents within a framework of inter-scalar networks. Through this framework, this section will theorize how the Western practice of mapping and the technological artifact of the map are fundamentally intertwined with the rise of capitalism and the state, which are systems that have acted in tandem to dominate Indigenous ontologies and the traditional governance of cultural landscapes over the past five hundred years.

Secondly, through a synthesis of recent case studies and theoretical works, this section constructs an understanding of Indigenous performances of mapping. As related by the literature, this chapter argues that Indigenous communities apply a "relational" or "dwelling" perspective, as theorized by Ingold (2000), to the practice of mapping in their respective efforts to resist the Western spatial hegemony mentioned above. Further, this discussion will present the benefits and detractions of how mapping is performed by Indigenous peoples, which in the following chapter is related specifically to the *tiospaye* mapping project.

It is imperative that any social analysis focuses on the dialectic of and defamiliarization of assumed modernist categories which frame the natural and social sciences (Hornborg 2009). This imperative of defamiliarization is the guiding force of the following dissection of the ideo-technological complex of Western map-making and the socio-economic system of state capitalism which drives its utility. By focusing on the social history of the map and its roots in a colonialism predicated on the domination of non-Western lands and people, the perspective advocated in this chapter re-situates the familiar power struggle between Western and indigenous people as one of a less familiar struggle between active productions of western and Indigenous perceptions of landscape. By exposing the history and potential of the map, our primary tool of inquiry, it can be better understood as a tool of power with the ability to advocate or destroy indigenous perceptions of landscape.

Science, Map, Capitalism and State

Before the discussion of power can be applied to the contemporary issues facing indigenous peoples, it is necessary to situate these contemporary problems as merely the latest iteration of a centuries-long conflict concerning the historical nexus of scientific epistemology, the artifact of the map, capitalism and state-style governance. It should be noted that the intention of implicating science, and subsequently all other Western traditions, as a destructive power is not also an intention to disprove the tenets of its philosophy or its obvious merits. Rather, following in the tradition of other anthropologists/sociologists of science (i.e. Sillitoe 2007; Turnbull 2000; Nadasdy 2003 and many others), the goal is to reveal the hegemony by which cartographic science has come to dominate other non-Western modes of thought and governance. Further, this thesis as a whole suggests, along with Ross *et al.* (2011), that the supplemental integration of science with indigenous modes of knowledge is occasionally

possible and beneficial, but only if such a merger facilitates the desires of the indigenous communities considered.

So what is science, exactly? Ross *et al.* (2011: 47) offer that:

> […] science is best conceptualized as an elaboration and a formalization of generic human faculties and aptitudes related not only to 'natural history intelligence' but also to more basic processes, such as empiricism, quantification and the perception of number, induction and deduction, causal inference, abstraction, hypothesis-building, experimentation, the separation of human subjects from an environment of objects, and the compartmentalization of various experiences of the world.

This construction of science reveals that the cognitive "aptitude" found in science is something common to all humans, yet the cultural production of these "faculties" is what leads to a complex and unique relationship between adherents of science and the external environment. Escobar (1999) argues that what natural scientists refer to as purely natural, such as a forest, is actually a pluralistic product of culturally mediated perception and the realist nature that is independent of the observer. Essentialist categories like "nature" that have been used by anthropology, ecology, geography and other science traditions are themselves a product of the modernist discourse which only have relevance in the cultural context in which science is hegemonic.

Culture critics like Rundstrom (1995) argue that the cultural relativism inherent to the scientific method, namely "empiricism," is the quality that distances science from any sort of compatibility with other forms of indigenous knowledge production. Others such as Sillitoe (2007) agree that while science and indigenous knowledge are so distinct that they are often incommensurable, science itself is still a spatially localized production of knowledge that is steeped in various European and Middle-Eastern folk traditions. Furthermore, science continually incorporates various new elements of world-wide folk knowledge (Sillitoe 2007). Although this is certainly true, it will be later shown through a discussion on the process of map-

making that science's method of knowledge incorporation does not actually preserve the *process* or *nature* of indigenous knowledge systems, but rather is active in its destruction through science's very methodology of reductionist incorporation.

Regardless of how deconstructivists reflect on science, advocates of science validate it as a fundamentally universal set of truths, and therefore assert that science contains an inherent "placelessness" (Ingold 2000:228). As revealed by Nadasdy (2003:61), even early (and many contemporary) anthropologists such as Bronislaw Malinowski argue that all systems of knowledge are a mix of empirical "science" and irrational "magic," thus proving their similarities and mutual potential for incorporation. However, Nadasdy (2003) counters that even though the traditions of science and indigenous knowledge have elements of empiricism, the *meaning* and *production* of the knowledge is fully embedded within their fundamentally incommensurable, and place-based cultural contexts. Turnbull (2000) adds that the true fundamental difference between indigenous and scientific knowledge is the *power* unique to science that gives science a greater ability to continually re-localize itself in new places.

Maps and Power

As this chapter is ultimately concerned with theorizing mapping and space, it will now be argued that science is the epistemology that facilitates the practice of map-making for the intention of supporting the capitalist nation-state. As Bourdieu argues, the legitimation or marginalization of accepted forms of knowledge must be examined through the social and historical factors which gives rise to this power (in Nadasdy 2003:11). This chapter does not have the scope to relate the full historical process that resulted in the rise of capitalist economics and the modern nation-state. However, it should suffice to say, following Ross *et al.* (2011:61,

70), that science as an epistemic discipline co-evolved in Europe with the rise of capitalism and the nation-state in an effort to comprehend and politically control freshly colonized lands and people, resulting in the nearly unidirectional flow of natural resources (land, trade goods etc.) to Western nation-states.[6]

The scientific tool of the map, as conventionally construed by modernists, inherits the universalism that science bestows it (Turnbull 2000). It is popularly held to represent a true depiction of geographic reality, and "objectively" relates the space in which all things exist (Turnbull 2000). Identical to the way science is described above, the modernist map is intended to be accurate no matter where the observer is situated – i.e. the map itself is assumed to be placeless and not contingent upon subjective perspective or cultural relativities (Ingold 2000:223). However, the post-structuralist critique argues that the very existence and form of the map itself is predicated on covering up its own history as a technology of power brokerage in the early colonial capitalist context (Ingold 2000:230). A brief political history of the modern map will illustrate this connection.

Cartography as a science evolves in lock-step with the rise of the modern nation-state not as a peripheral byproduct, but as the central instrument that the state uses to codify spatial information (Turnbull 2000). As modern states form and gain prosperity in 16th century Western Europe (primarily England, France, and Spain), the map provides a flat physical projection by which independent states can rationalize and quantify both known and unknown areas of the

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[6] There is a tendency for political ecologists, even those who accept individual agency within the world system, to enact the "populist discourse" which characterizes everything capitalist as draconian, and everything local as heroic (Hirons 2011: 351). It is possible, argues Hirons (2011), that symbiotic relationships can be created between local ecologies and global capitalist consumption. However, Hornborg (2009) sees the inter-scalar material flows of money, technology, and natural resources as ultimately leading to an unsustainable socio-ecological system predicated on the fetishization of technology and progress. He proposes that the capitalist growth in the core areas can never benefit peripheral social-ecological systems, as development in itself is a "zero-sum game," not a cornucopia model which promises development and material prosperity for all (Hornborg 2009: 245).

world (Turnbull 2000). This is necessary to enforce new rules on the taxation of strictly bounded parcels of land that would be the source of funding for new colonial governments (Turnbull 2000). The Mercator's projection of 1569 provides the scientific projection of relatively measureable grid lines of latitude and longitude that leads to the fixed bounding of political entities as they are known today (Turnbull 2000:113).

By using scientific maps, multiple states independently increase their authority and craft a new form of territorial ownership across Europe. The use of maps to define and bound personal and state property is first noted in 15th century England (Turnbull 2000:103). In 16th century Germany, maps show a transition from un-measureable intersections of land use to solid, exclusionary boundaries due to satiate the desire of large private estates that wish to show exclusive rights to natural resource ownership (Ingold 2000:386). In Renaissance-era Spain and Portugal, maps are implemented by the state to control and standardize the previous "portolan chart" system of sea-born way-finding, which is a highly localized and experientially based knowledge system (Turnbull 2000:107). In 17th century France, evolving desires for bureaucratic development, resource assessment, and taxation are satiated by a "cartographic solution", which ends up creating the first national map of France (Turnbull 2000:113).

This brief history intends to illustrate that the era of the early nation-state is not merely a time of political revolution, but an epistemological revolution by which independent state powers grow and change the way that landscape is ultimately cognized and interacted with. Following these historical developments, the practice of abstractly bounding "territories" for the purpose of state administration of resources and tax levying is expanded to increasingly colonized lands of indigenous habitation, such as the Asian Pacific and the Western Hemisphere (Dove *et al.* 2007:139).

Linguistic Habitus and Abstract Space

Not maps themselves, but the actors utilizing this technology, gain extreme amounts of power in the ability to reproduce the dominate mode of communicating about space and place across the world. As Rundstrom (1993:22) notes:

> [i]f maps are intended to provide distinct advantages for the people that make and use them, then the people who make them, not the technological instruments themselves, must be held politically and socially accountable on matter of equity, equality, access, and application.

The map itself confers power through the subjective and culturally mediated *manipulation* of the data encoded onto the map by its users and producers; it is its *use*, not its objective *truth*, which renders the map a tool of power (Nadasdy 2003:140).

The new scientific maps post-16th century encode a novel power of rhetoric over land through the constructed language of "territory," "property" and "boundaries" specific to the hegemonic commodification of environment based on flows of consumable resources and land tax – in a word: capitalism. Bourdieu constructs the theory of habitus to show how it is the adherence to hegemonic conventions – in this case territory, property, and boundary – crafted by powerful state agents and reified through every local actor which legitimates or marginalizes all other forms of perception (Bourdieu 2001:534; Nadasdy 2003:5). Fairclough's explication of discourse complimentarily reveals the realities of hidden powers, which pervade essentially all personal social interactions and even most institutional interactions, even language itself (Fairclough 1989:49). The map itself is the tool which obscures the underlying reality of *why* landscape is bounded into territories, and instead merely reveals *where* geographic "realities" exist (Sletto 2009b:445; Nadasdy 2012:521; Bryan 2011:42).

The map, and by extension, science, cannot be divorced from this rhetorical process. Deconstructing the rhetorical elements of "territory," "property" and "boundary" serves to show how the idea of linguistic habitus plays out in the active spatial re-organization of the world. Relating back to Rundstrom's (1993) quote, it is the subjection to the structure of relationships imposed by state rhetoric through the spatial model of the map that creates a significant amount of historic inequalities between the West and its colonial relations. This problematic structure is enforced through acts of violence on the lands, bodies, and imaginations of subjugated peoples. State power is fundamentally predicated on territoriality, which is the process of maintaining spatial exclusivity through acts of political coercion (Nadasdy 2012:504).

As theorized by Foucault (in Sletto 2009a:256), the state necessarily needs to spatially re-organize its colonial holdings in a scientific way to maintain surveillance over its property. This is done with numerical house addresses, a measureable grid as provided by the cadastral map, and ultimately the inscriptive practice of boundary making, which ultimately sustains the legitimacy and economic viability of the state. Nadasdy (2012:505) elaborates that "internal boundaries allow for the delegation of authority and the rationalization of jurisdiction among different levels of government, the coordination and delivery of government services, the management of people and resources, and so on."

Boundaries, or formal demarcations of space, are abstract points and lines drawn on the map that constitute the ontological and epistemological structures of Western geography (Pearce and Louis 2008:113). The very act of marking the map with these boundaries is a political process (Ellen 2007). Boundaries appear to just organize space for the sake of manageability, but in fact they create an explicitly political distinction between lands and peoples which results in the imposition of specifically European notions of land tenure (capitalist) and group identity

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(e.g. indigeneity and nationality) emanating from the historical process discussed above (Nadasdy 2003; Peluso 1995).

Sletto (2009a:256), employing Antonio Gramsci's construction of hegemony, further argues that the process of boundary-making, of abstracting spatiality to the point where the idea of it becomes hegemonic, is exactly what reproduces the inequalities between Western power-holders and indigenous people (and even between subjugated groups of people) that Rundstrom (1993) refers to. Roth (2009) argues that it is this epistemological imposition of abstract space, which simply is a visual representation of the relations of power dominating a landscape, which then becomes the hegemonic ontology of the landscape itself. In sum, the demarcation of space creates the culturally relative abstraction that appears on the map, and this is an intentional political act to control land and impose a form of land tenure on the people that dwell within it.

How Map-Making Threatens Indigenous Life-ways

The power of map-making has been adequately described in generalities, and so now it serves the subject of this chapter to relate how map-making has come to severely and violently affect the organization and very identity of indigenous people worldwide. As has been mentioned, it is generally accepted that western cartography and indigenous constructs of space are fundamentally incommensurable, as their respective ontologies arise out of entirely different cultural and historical contexts (Turnbull 2007). Although it may seem strong to suggest that the practice of Western cartography is central to the colonial experience of the past 500 years, Pearce and Louis (2008:110) defend that "[t]he history of the mistranslation and misrepresentation of indigenous cartographies into Western cartographies virtually defines the history of Western colonization and coercion of indigenous peoples."

Although the qualities inherent to indigenous relationships with landscape is discussed in the following section, the novel territorial rhetoric inherent to the West will be elaborated first to show how it has steered indigenous lands and lifeways towards emulating that of the nation-state. It is argued here that the imposition of sovereign, nationalist governance as geographically outlined on the map has attempted to subsume previously existing structures of indigenous identity, community, kinship, and land use, like that of the *tiospaye*.

As waves of successive colonial Europeans flood indigenous-occupied lands, the architects of the colonial governments arbitrate rights treaties with many loosely affiliated communities of people which are automatically transformed into "sovereign" tribal-nationalist bodies (Thom 2009:191). This practice imposes a Euro-centric governmental template that delegitimizes all previous forms of non-territorially oriented governance structures (Nadasdy 2012). Although it is conventionally argued by both Westerners and indigenous people that tribal sovereignty is emancipation from Western domination, in fact the template of sovereignty is really a reproduction of the Western style of state autonomy composed of bounded territory and a bureaucratic structure that delegitimizes indigenous paradigms of social organization and land use (Ross *et al.* 2011:83). Nadasdy (2012) adds that the adoption of nationalism by indigenous people does confer some political gains of self-determination, but ultimately relies on the hegemonic rhetoric originally advocated and mandated by the colonial institution, and so continually reifies the inherent backwardness of indigenous tradition.

The concepts of the "nation," "state," or even "sovereignty" were and are mostly inappropriate to the governance structures of indigenous communities, and yet they have become the only available templates for indigenous communities to organize and represent themselves (Nadasdy 2012:501). This template has become hegemonic in that the existence of a community

cannot even be considered anymore without permanent and demarcated landholdings defining the identity of the community (Nadasdy 2012:528). Where governance previously implied the organization of shifting groups of socially (not necessarily genetically) related individuals, it now implies a fixed territorial occupation emanating from a formal power structure.

The formalization and fixity imposed through territorialism onto cultural landscapes automatically encodes a distinction between previously ambiguous groups of individuals. Thom (2009:189) states that boundaries have become the primary colonial tool for the division of communities occupying colonially dominated lands, and as a result internal fractionalization creates an "us" and "them" mentality. However, as evidenced by the testimonies of numerous contemporary indigenous people, social kinship is the only real "boundary" to where an individual may live and subsist according to tradition (in Nadasdy 2003; Nadasdy 2012; Thom 2009). Unfortunately, as solid lines are abstracted onto maps and people are forcibly moved onto bounded tracts of land such as the Pine Ridge reservation, what used to be a wide-spanning and continuous network of relationships is transformed into a nation-like tribal body of exclusivity. As related by Nadasdy (2012:523), the imagined distinction between closely related indigenous groups in Canada has arisen only within the past 50 years due to the continual renegotiation of reservation boundaries between First Nations indigenous people and the Canadian government. Without the imposition of these strict boundaries, internal territorial tensions could not exist, and yet the dominate Western structures would not be able to efficiently divest government subsidies which it itself has created a market for (Bryan 2011).

The distinction between "indigenous" and "non-indigenous" identity is at the very heart of the matter of imposed territorial sovereignty. In this continual battle for legitimacy and the right to survive or thrive in a colonized land, indigenous peoples have to invert their own

understandings of who they are and put it in contrast to those that they clearly are not: Europeans. To do so, they are implicitly coerced to assert territorial authority over a particular tract of land as an indigenous person belonging to a particular tribe or community, which is really an "interpretive hegemony" (Rosen-Carole 2012:136) stemming from the process of colonization. Tribal affiliation, territorial occupation and the genealogical inheritance of land are all themselves colonial models used to perpetuate the unequal relationship that is the colonizer and the colonized (Ingold 2000:151).

For an indigenous person, corporation, or tribal government to enter into a territorial contract such as a land-claims agreement with a state government is the first step in the discontinuity of traditional indigenous land tenure (Ingold 2000). The circumscription of the landscape, and the likely displacement from large swaths of previously tenured lands is the result of the demand on an indigenous community to admit the historical ownership of a definable space (Peluso 1995). However, traditional indigenous land tenure systems are not based on the capitalist notion of exclusive property rights, and so the rhetorical elements reinforcing the hegemonic notion of a historical continuance of land ownership erroneously translates indigenous notions of land tenure into that of the state's cartographic model. As Bryan (2009:41) states, "…indigenous property rights emerge from within the socio-technical practices associated with neoliberalism [read: capitalism] through which reality is remade in the image of the map – and not the other way around."

Indigenizing the Map

Anti-essentialist categories representative of "relational" perspectives such as those held by indigenous people can be used in place of the essentialist, hegemonic Western landscape.

This section offers Ingold's (2000) theory of "dwelling space" and the "relational perspective," and additionally Basso's (1996) emphasis on the indigenous perception of place, as a contextualization of the novel ways that indigenous people are actively and reactively mapping their lands in the face of colonialism. By incorporating contributions by anthropologists, geographers and indigenous people who articulate this "relational" perspective, the activity variously referred to as "process mapping," "counter-mapping," "participatory mapping," or simply just "mapping" is discussed to show its potential for empowerment that conventional map-making cannot accomplish.

The Dwelled Environment

Ingold's (2000) "dwelling perspective" is a model that explains the natural or un-colonized relationship an indigenous person has to the environment in which they dwell.   In short, dwelling space is the alternative to the abstract space that characterizes the Western map (Roth 2009). Instead of abstract boundaries ascribing identity and meaning to people and places through exclusionary and arbitrary geographic relationships, dwelling space is created by the intimate relational interactions between people, histories and the regions they inhabit (Ingold 2000). Landscape, it is argued, is continually created and given meaning through its relationships with people, animals, spirits and other living beings (Ingold 2000:149; Basso 1996). The movements of these human or non-human beings, then, create space as they travel along paths of the landscape that connect meaningful places (Ingold 2000:228).

Ingold (2000:237) relates a scenario describing how travelers in a new, unknown territory are only able to understand where they are and where they need to go by defining their location, as in an absolute numerical co-ordinate system on a conventional map or GPS unit. Conversely,

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a person steeped in the history and patterned movements of a known region will primarily know where she is and where she is going in relation to the knowledge of histories, stories, patterns of movement, and the meanings that exist in a known *place*. Place, as Basso (1996) defines it, is an experientially based relationship between an individual and landscape mediated by the creation or continuance of local knowledge.

Ingold's scenario implies why outsiders or colonists initially compose maps of abstract space onto to the unknown territories through which they travel. Colonists do not *know* the land before they map it, and so land becomes organized from an entirely non-relational perspective. Without any elements of narrative history or knowledge known to exist within a region, a map created as such has none of the elements of place, but only cartographic space. It is obvious why a map like this is more meaningful to an outsider group, and further illustrates how the map becomes an ideological imposition on those who already know a network of places. Rundstrom (1998) argues that the colonizing state has no use for localized value associations or narrative renderings of place because the state itself cannot relate to such knowledge with the suggested placeless objectivity foundational to science.

In contrast to the Western cartographic space, dwelling space is

[…] not so much a stage for the enactment of history, or a surface on which it is inscribed, as *history congealed*. And just as kinship is geography, so the lives of persons and the histories of their relationships can be traced in the textures of the land. [Ingold 2000:150]

Basso (1996:6) agrees that the making of place is the making of history itself; the stories and perspectives that constitute local narratives are what also constitute the lived realities of those who hold the local knowledge. This history, continues Basso (1996:31), should not be confused with the strict chronological histories that reify scientific linear temporality. A history of place

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renders events past as events still actively creating the reality of the landscape today (Basso 1996:31), and so the history itself is a dynamic nexus between humans, non-humans and landscape (Ross *et al.* 2011:31).

Additionally, Ingold (2000:140) asserts that natives of a region know where they are, not by abstract location (longitude and latitude, or the birds-eye-view of the map), but by narrative histories of paths and journeys along the landscape, traveled in the present day as much as by ancestors. In this way, as Ingold is quoted above to say, "kinship is geography." To an indigenous person, telling a story about a place is a narratological retracing of movements: steps and meaningful events of a journey that a friend, an ancestor, or they themselves made in the past (Ingold 2000:232). The dwelling perspective holds that indigenous mapping is not map-making *per se,* but instead relating these condensed narrative histories of place (Ingold 2000:220).

The dwelling perspective is not unique to indigenous people, but what is unique is an indigenous sense of self, an individual's very identity, which is intimately intertwined with these socially shared interactions with place (Basso 1996:7). Ingold (2000:148) argues that the real distinction between an indigenous and non-indigenous person lies in this mutual co-creation of meaningful places and identities that also have ancestral relevance. This is not to suggest, however, that indigenous people need to actually occupy their "traditional" territories to be considered indigenous (Ross *et al.* 2011:24), much like the Lakota people currently occupy a land different from where they resided three hundred years ago. It is the individual symbolic relation to the land that defines one as indigenous, not the occupation or ownership of territories.

However, Nadasdy (2003:95) contends that from an Athapaskan perspective, the language group north of the Siouan Lakota, the very act of doing or of experiencing and reproducing knowledge on the land through ceremony or ritual acts like hunting is the only way that people can truly know anything completely. Second-hand knowledge is useful and, in cases of displacement, often the only option for people to socially reproduce knowledge. Regardless, first-hand experience of interacting with landscape, engaging in movement and retracing the paths of ancestors is the only true way of gaining fully validated Knowledge (Nadadsdy 2003: 95). It is this participation in the continuance of the knowledge tradition that separates the indigenous from the colonizer (Nadasdy 2003:75). William Tallbull, a Cheyenne, similarly argues that, "white people do not know how to preserve sacred land, or even why it should be preserved, because they do not understand *the idea* of sacred land, let alone the most basic elements of Indian religious thought," (in Rundstrom 1993:23).

As is suggested by the discussion on Western notions of territorial exclusivity, indigenous perceptions of land is not ordered by abstract boundaries, but through the "kinship is geography" system. Thom (2009:185) explains that, "[t]erritory, from a perspective of dwelling, is not so much a commodity of real-estate or a base area of jurisdiction, as it is a way of ordering kin relations and relationships of sharing." This relationship of sharing, or reciprocity, constitutes the entirety of boundaries in the indigenous sense. Boundaries are not fixed lines on maps, but instead a gloss for porous and shifting relationships of people (human or not) and land that informally enforces an adherence to local ethics of equitable redistribution of land access and its resources. In this way, Indigenous boundaries are the exact opposite of Western boundaries built on the capitalist notion of permanent property ownership and wealth accumulation.

Using the case of the Pemon of Venezuela, Sletto (2009a; 2009b) contends that boundary making is actually traditional to their indigenous ontology; however it is the *meaning* of the boundary that is foreign or colonial. The rhetorical contrast frequently presented in the literature, as is also done in this thesis, that indigenous people do not construct boundaries is really just a heuristic to demonstrate that they do not construct fixed lines of precise exclusivity, but rather thrive on "porousness, flexibility, and change according to social situation," (Sletto 2009a:268). In fact, some and likely all indigenous communities do create temporary or limited abstractions of bounded areas, such as sacred landscapes like the Black Hills or the Badlands. These boundaries, however, are described as more analogous to sign posts than as fences (Thom 2009:181,187), and even these boundaries constitute a minor part of indigenous spatiality.

Process Mapping

Considering the vast differences in not only spatial ontologies, but also power structures between Western and indigenous people, this chapter calls for a discussion on how indigenous mapping should be done, as well as its potential effects. Many local communities, geographers and anthropologists advocate for a participatory methodology of mapping that favors the spatial constructions and *de facto* empowerment of the local community (Chapin *et al.* 2005; Dove *et al.* 2007; Fox *et al.* 2008; Parker 2006; Pearce and Louis 2008; Rundstrom 1998; Sletto 2009b; Thom 2009 and others). The specifics of participatory practice are elaborated in chapter 2, but to summarize, community mapping is based on the simple assertion that mapping is not *of* or *for* a community, but *by* a community (Chambers 2007; Parker 2006:477).

As discussed using Ingold's (2000) dwelling perspective, indigenous mapping is a *process*-oriented narration of place, not a *product*-oriented project of cartography. However, this

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does not suggest that there is no cartographic artifact following the process. Rather, the process itself is ultimately the focus of the practice because it is what reveals "entanglements of identities, social relations, landscape, and power in places…" (Sletto 2009b:444). Because of this, Rundstrom (1993:21) has labeled the unique practice of indigenous people mapping their own lands and histories as "process mapping". This process is a never-ending exercise involving the entire community, just as the social entanglements of all people within communities continually redefine place (Ingold 2000:231).

Unlike scientific maps, indigenous maps can grow through narrative, gesture, and song on mediums as diverse as "stone, wood, wall, tattoo, leaf or paper," (Pearce and Louis 2008:110). The mapping not only relates history, as discussed above, but also the dreams and imagined futures of any individual involved (Brody 1982; Sletto 2009b). Because of the integrative and decentralized nature of the mapping process, the map becomes a site for the "complex cultural productions informed by contested processes of place-making and by tensions regarding the meaning of authenticity among indigenous actors," (Sletto 2009a:253). This very quality is what makes mapping a tool for empowerment; it is a method that is able to contest and reformulate individual and community perceptions of identity and indigeneity through a decolonized medium. The mapping process should be understood more as a performance art than a science, or like a song that weaves local histories of power, politics and place to contest hegemonic power.

However, Peluso (1995) argues that the map is primarily a source of power for the powerful. As Western society has already inscribed on maps of all scales for the entire world, mapping is a forced reaction by indigenous people to negotiate their own understandings of their communities to contest what has already been ascribed to them (Parker 2006; Peluso 1995).

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Because the map becomes an indigenized medium for protest, some mappers refer to "process mapping" as "counter-mapping" to highlight the explicit political intentions of the process. However, the political aspect of these projects might not be the primary intention of the project, but instead may be intentionally social and accidentally political. Many project goals are often related to maintaining or reorganizing subsistence practices, social relations or land stewardship systems (Nadasdy 2003:59), much like the *tiospaye* mapping project. In many case studies, elders in indigenous communities use mapping as a means to transfer and reify traditional knowledge to younger generations that have been strongly inundated by Western hegemonic spatiality (Sletto 2009a:268).

Criticisms of Mapping

Regardless of whether the intention of mapping is social or political, the process of mapping is sometimes criticized as a negotiation that eventually defaults to the linguistic habitus of the state: territory, property, and boundaries. As the starting point for many projects are responses to the previous 500 years of abstract mapping (Parker 2006), counter-mapping is often immersed within the hegemony that it contests. This, however, is an unavoidable concession that could either result in the utter destruction of an indigenous ontology through the process of inserting it onto the map, or conversely a political victory.

Nadasdy (2003:234) argues that just because indigenous people do not prescribe to a property-based land tenure system, the bounded entity in question cannot be defended from outsiders. Indeed, this is the indigenization of the language of property, as today's indigenous people must speak in the hegemonic discourse of the state to gain any victory. History shows that indigenous communities are intentionally left off of or misrepresented by maps with the

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intention of displacing them; the only way to represent their very right to exist, let alone hold property in a capitalist fashion, is predicated on re-inserting themselves onto the map (Fox *et al.* 2008).

Ingold (2000:133) remarks:

> To observe that people face a genuine dilemma in articulating their aspirations within the hegemonic discourse of their erstwhile oppressors is not to question the worth or the integrity of their political project. They may indeed have no alternative.

However, the political gains won through the hegemonic discourse of the state do not absolve the unintentional subversion of indigenous ontologies. Often, this is a problem that most theorists or communities have not been able to ameliorate, and indeed, neither has the *tiospaye* mapping project. Some of the problems are technical, like how to render indigenous space graphically on the map without creating fixed boundaries (Fox *et al.* 2008; Peluso 1995; Thom 2009); others are methodological, like the pervasive exclusion of women and children from mapping projects (Chapin *et al.* 2005). But the biggest problems are ontological, like the disenfranchisement or codification of local knowledge through the process of mapping it (Nadasdy 2003; Nadasdy 2012; Pearce and Louis 2008; Ross *et al.* 2011).

Technological and methodological problems are of high concern, and are discussed further in Chapter 6 in relation to the *tiospaye* mapping project. The ontological problems, however, carry the most severe and ironic effects of mapping relating to empowerment. The very act of collecting indigenous knowledge and rendering it for the purposes of communicating with the state is to automatically subject that knowledge to scientific validation (Nadasdy 2003:122). Knowledge attributed to subjective experiences, i.e. that which is most highly prized by indigenous communities, is least prized by science, and therefore the state. In this dialogue,

where the indigenous community must convince the colonial power-holder of its rights and knowledge, power only flows in one direction (Nadasdy 2003:141). The very act of "empowerment" suggested by the practice of mapping requires indigenous communities to speak the language of the state, and therefore sacrifice essential processes of knowledge creation.

Nadasdy (2012:500) concludes that the empowerment often ascribed to mapping projects is similar to that of all co-management projects, in that the actions and perspectives of a community are often requested or at least tolerated by power-holders in an effort to show the state's willingness to cooperate. However, cooperation is not necessarily a sharing of power, and so the language of "empowerment" is often just a smokescreen for subjugation. For the mapping process to be truly empowering, not only the map, but the relations between the indigenous community and the state must be rearranged so that the power of policy creation and knowledge validation lies solely within the community, or along structures of power that the community deems appropriate.

Conclusions

This discussion on the differences between Western map-making and indigenous mapping serves to situate the *tiospaye* mapping project within a long and world-wide history of power struggles over land, identity, and self-determination. It is shown through the synthesis of various theoretical perspectives that the history of Western colonialism poses significant threats to the holistic ontologies of indigenous people. By redefining space in terms of abstract political boundaries that serve the purposes of capitalist/nationalist rhetoric, the meaning and history of indigenous cultural landscapes are left off the map.

Communities' under- or misrepresentation on maps entices them to contest their subjugated political relationships with states, as well as reproduce their own cultural identities by mapping their relationships to place. Mapping, a cognitive process inherent to all humans in their efforts to understand where they are and where they are going (re: Ingold 2000), becomes a useful articulation of indigenous identity that is materialized onto various mediums to engage in intra- or cross-cultural communication.

As argued above, the effectiveness of mapping as a mode of authentic, decolonized communication is still up for debate. However, what is conclusive from the presented argument is that there is a strong desire by indigenous people to resist the cultural assimilation and eradication of traditional relationships to place that has been the overwhelming pattern of the past 500 years. Mapping as a medium for communication, as described in the literature and through the case of the *tiospaye* mapping project, has plenty of room for further decolonization if true empowerment is to be achieved by native communities.

Power dynamics inherent to the colonial process must be deconstructed to reveal the present and historical violence that naturalizes the relationships between colonists and indigenous people. The linguistic habitus constituting nationalist/capitalist territorialism is implicated here as the historic foundation that continually dispossesses indigenous people of their lands and self-determination.

It should be recognized that whether or not indigenous communities decide to map their own lands in a culturally appropriate way like that done in the *tiospaye* mapping project, the conventional modernist map will continue to inflict violence on the lands and relationships of

indigenous people. Yet even if indigenous mapping carries inherent contradictions and ironies, it is still better to map than be mapped.

Chapter 6: Evaluation and Conclusion

"The Master's Tools will never dismantle the Master's house." - Audre Lorde

Chapter 5's dissection of the map as an instrument of power begs the question: is the *tiospaye* mapping project asking its participants to make a map, or to map? The basic intentions of the project as outlined by the Non-profit NGO Village Earth and Lakota elder Calvin White Butterfly, to find boundaries and draw them on the map; reveal recent changes in household structures; and to codify new place names and historical events onto the map artifact, suggests that the project is intending to engage in Western map-making. However, given the heavy consideration to local constructions of knowledge provided as evidence in Chapter 4, the results of the mapping project suggest that it is very much following in the tradition of indigenized mapping by answering fundamentally geographic questions through local constructions of narrative.

Below, I provide a subjective evaluation of the project's major axes to answer the question of whether the project is successful according to its own criteria. Can mapping the *tiospayes* contest the hegemonic power structure of the reservation and provide a path to empowerment? Put another way, Audre Lorde's aphorism is put to the test: can the master's tools ever dismantle the master's house? In many ways they can, but only if used carefully.

Evaluation

The *tiospaye* mapping project is not set up with any specific set of measurable indicators to gauge success. As discussed in Estrella (2000:9), there is no universal set of indicators that can satisfy all participatory projects, but there are many questions that can be designed to

evaluate the beneficence of the project outcomes. One strategy relies on strict, quantifiable indicators encoded into the acronym "SMART": "…*s*pecific, *m*easurable, *a*ction-oriented, *r*elevant, and *t*ime-bound," (Estrella 2000:9). Alternatively, the acronym "SPICED" relies on indicator qualities that are looser and less quantifiable, but possibly more locally relevant: "…*s*ubjective, *p*articipatory, *i*nterpreted, *c*ommunicable, *e*mpowering and *d*isaggregated."

As discussed in Chapter 3, I cannot claim to be a neutral observer or evaluator of the project itself, nor have I been assigned by the project to fill this position. Ideally, project designers and participants will create these indicators themselves, and better yet, before the project begins. It is not clear if this will ever happen, or if it even needs to. However, the research and case studies referenced in this thesis have provided a few "spiced"-style indicators that deserve discussion.

As Speed (2006:73) critiques, in projects that are activist in origin, as the *tiospaye* mapping project is, applying indicators that measure the "practical effectiveness" of such a project are usually meaningless: "In political activism, the immediate benefits are often hard to see and impossible to measure. Rarely is this interpreted to mean that they do not exist." Instead, Speed (2006:74) suggests that a better form of evaluation focuses on that which the discipline of anthropology can actually answer: does the research critically address the colonial dialectic; does the research wholly engage with its participants; does the research maintain its ability to be critical of itself in spite of its political intentions? Hale (2006:113) provides a much simpler indicator of success: "…if the process is done right, the resulting map representing the claim resonates with the participants, connecting with their emotionally charged understandings of identity, ancestral rights, and deeply rooted meanings assigned to material surroundings."

I have decided to evaluate the project based on both process and results, although with significantly greater emphasis on process. Successes and failures of the project that pertain to issues of power and technology in the context of local constructions of culture and place are discussed below to heed the call of Estrella (2000), Speed (2006), and Hale (2006). The *tiospaye* mapping project is still in its infancy on Porcupine District, so any evaluation of results is extremely tenuous and subject to change. However, suggestions for improvement of the project are provided throughout to guide and refine the methods for future iterations of this project.

Evaluation of Power

Who became empowered through the mapping process? This question is the most fundamental and important indicator of participatory projects. In the case of the *tiospaye* mapping project, the answer hinges on how the mapping process is conducted, who controls the narrative and geographic information, and how it challenges the colonial discourse. As far as our research shows, the mapping project can at times bend to the spatial constructions of Western territoriality, especially when influenced by outsiders (like myself). However, it must be considered that the colonial territorial arrangement is the current official land tenure on the reservation, and so dealing with this constraint is a political reality on the reservation (Ross *et al.* 2011:83).

One can take a hardline stance arguing that map-making is a concession to the needs of the state (or tribal) government to demarcate territory and codify information through a map, and one would be correct. However, the short-term concession to the linguistic habitus discussed in Chapter 5 may confer long-term political victories that align with desired outcomes of the project. When the obtainable options are as stark as cultural extinction or cultural survival,

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survival by any means is clearly better. The *tiospayes* are already circumscribed by and consumed within territorial jurisdictions, from the reservation district to the reservation as a whole, and to the county, state and nation beyond that. Securing rights to land use will necessarily require a state/tribally-legitimated land claim that is geographically represented. This is a constraint that cannot be easily avoided, and in fact must be directly engaged with through a common (albeit colonial) tongue of cartography. Mapping the *tiospayes* is a necessary first step in this dialogue to ensure the rights and survival of the local tradition of representation, and so the project can be seen as empowering to the traditionalist Lakota stakeholders.

Although the *tiospaye* mapping project does in some ways intend to speak the language of the state, it is only in an effort to assert its locally-based, self-legitimated system of *tiospaye* governance in a way that the state can understand. In this way, the project does not aim to replicate the design and function of the bureaucratic IRA government, and so does not attempt to reproduce the colonial hierarchical arrangement on a lower level of political scale. The question of how decentralization to the *tiospaye* will work is an important concern for local leaders on the reservation, as decentralization in general can easily become as corrupt as the highly centralized BIA/IRA consortium, as new institutions arising out of systems of oppression and violence may unintentionally replicate dominant structures of political order (Batterbury and Fernando 2006:1852). Regardless, legitimating the *tiospaye* social structure as a functional form of sub-tribal representation is the only locally acceptable way to bring a voice back to the people in a way that they desire; local-level corruption is a risk the movement has chosen to take, and further has systematic feedbacks of social ostracism to control for this.

As for the project of mapping Lakota lands, the methods chosen to institute these changes are a very strong start to an ethical development of local governance. In many other mapping

projects, data is colonized through a rigid framework that attempts to elicit formulaic responses that Western-style researchers, managers or politicians can manipulate (re: Nadasdy 2003:183), which de facto ensures that power and cultural conventions are maintained by those already empowered. The records presented in this thesis show that local people are given the power to determine the time, the space, and the content included in the mapping process. The project is set up to be maximally flexible in hopes of providing access and voice to the most traditionally valued and least politically powerful people on the reservation, being the elders living close to the land and outside of the formal capitalist economy.

The project structure contests the common colonial relationship of dependency by not appealing to the tribal or federal government for help. Granted, it does rely on some outsider help (the NGO Village Earth and myself included), but local ownership of a project does not demand an ethic of rugged individualism, as if all resource deficiencies and historical inequalities within a community can somehow be mitigated without connections to other institutions or inter-scalar networks. To the contrary, the *tiospaye* as a community ethic necessitates inter-scalar connections and resource trade, just as any other resilient social-ecological system; no system can exist operating at only one spatial scale (Berkes *et al.* 2003; Brondizio *et al.* 2009:259).

Questions about the artifact of the map reveal a dangerous aspect of this project. As mentioned before in Chapter 3, I have chosen not to include any information or maps that can reveal the identity of informants for the purpose of protecting them from political retribution. The artifact of the map may encode sensitive data that, if in the hands of powerful antagonists with an agenda towards political conservatism (i.e. the maintenance of IRA dominance), could lead to the systematic break up of local political activity. Pinpointing stories and opinions to

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names or household layers in a GIS leaves the more honest and outspoken activists at the mercy of powerful interests, which would seriously endanger future participation in the project. Indeed, multiple participants expressed a considerable amount of fear because of the violent political past of the reservation, from the genocidal pre- and early reservation era to the more recent IRA thuggery that precipitated the militant American Indian Movement of the 1970s and beyond.

Although there is serious cause for concern, our research shows a steadfast attempt to engage local people and preserve the cultural customs of the *tiospaye* elders. If evaluated purely in terms of process, the mapping project considers the power dynamics of process as its primary site of concern, and because of this it is an extreme example of how locally engaging a project can be. The map, of course, has its issues, but the process allows participants to side step it if they desire in order to map their landscapes in whatever method they deem appropriate, which has most often been narratologically. Through this process, the elders of the *tiospaye* have once again begun the process of networking themselves, and are building ideas as to how they should apply their social institutions to political representation in today's colonially constructed reservation system.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the *tiospaye* has always existed as a dynamic, porous institution of group organization, handling all integrated matters of subsistence and trade economics, politics, and social practice (Price 1996). The question is: does the map have the power to constrain and change the nature of the *tiospaye* institution through the cartographic inscription that may eventually codify their existence to the state? At this point, the map is not used in any official capacity other than to organize local figureheads and start a conversation, so it does not pose much of a threat to the communities "on the map."

In fact, as included in the materials of Chapter 3, a Western-style map depicting the *tiospayes* has existed in the Oglala Lakota College map archives since the early 20th century to little effect. However, the old archival map clearly represents the Lakota communities as if they are static and bounded units of territorial jurisdiction, or something like a sub-district. As far as the project has shown, there is very little willingness by our participants to draw exclusionary boundaries like these, a preference that is entirely consistent with the indigenous spatial perception and land tenure theorized by Ingold (2000) and similar to case studies all over the American continents as represented by Nadasdy (2012), Sletto (2009a; 2009b), and Thom (2009).

Ross *et al.* (2011:97) highlight the imposition of Western spatial perception as one of the most prevalent ways to colonize a collaborative project. Except in the event presented in Chapter 4 where I have inserted too much influence on the map by drawing on it myself, this mapping project has done well to not impose the Western construct of spatiality onto the *tiospaye* system. However, the project's map and narrative data both reveal the spatial overlap and temporal dynamisms of *tiospayes* as they exist on Pine Ridge. As community dissolve and aggregate over time, the map will become increasingly inaccurate, just as the old archival map does not accurately reflect contemporary *tiospaye* tenure. The dynamism inherent to the *tiospayes* is a testament to their traditionalism, as tradition is predicated on change and adaptation to shifting circumstances; it is only when tradition is codified through practices like map-making that it becomes modernized, fragile and non-porous (Ingold 2000:147).

A serious concern for the project, however, is its ability to transfer knowledge across generations. Because it is following traditional patterns of leadership by seeking out primarily Lakota speaking male elders, there is little involvement by monolingual adults, women, or youth.

The project risks its own termination if the Lakota elders and other community organizations do not successfully reintegrate the Lakota language into the younger generation. If the *tiospaye* loses its importance along with the language, the movement will not have much relevance in the future, as the Western model will slowly gain hegemony throughout the districts. This project exists in part to put an end to this trend of Western acculturation and its negative effects like gang violence, cluster housing and privatized access to land. However, it can only start doing so after it is sufficiently organized, networked, and self-enabled to usurp power from the IRA government.

Evaluation of Technology

Evaluating the map is extremely important because it has the power to change the meaning of the data encoded onto it, and so can entirely alter the future of the social struggle on Pine Ridge. Fox *et al.* (2008:207) recommend that technology be primarily evaluated in socio-ethical terms, which means making technological possibilities subservient to social consequences. Perspective, empty space, boundaries and accessibility are all issues inherent to the technology used in the *tiospaye* mapping project.

A primary concern with the use of the map in Porcupine District is its vantage point. The map is a product of high technology, using orthoimagery (geographically correct, over-head projections) derived from aerial photography. This perspective does not always lend well to narrative place mapping, as it represents space so much more than place, and so does not preserve the perspectives and movements that accompany visualizing a story. As Basso (1996:89) notes, perspective is extremely important to preserving and replicating indigenous knowledge, especially of places and events. Being able to technologically model the way that an

ancestor experienced Wounded Knee, for instance, would assist narrative much better than a static, over-head projection. Pearce and Louis (2008) have addressed this issue and many others, such as the seasonality of the map, directional orientation, colors, time of day – all things that encode lived human experiences on landscapes and constitute the memories that fuel storytelling about place. The technology used by the *tiospaye* mapping project does not adequately represent these perspectives, and may be one reason why there was much less interest on behalf of participants in inscribing onto it than there was in just relying on vocal and gestural inscriptions into the air.

Empty space is perhaps the greatest ethical concern of the mapping technology, as blank space has huge ramifications in terms of land use, as mentioned in Chapter 4. Some geographers (Peluso 1995) interpret blank space on a map as good thing because it allows for the flexibility of local changing conditions like community affiliation. However, others (Thom 2009; Sletto 2009b) see empty space on a map as an invitation for usurpation by such things as cattle ranchers, mining operations, or as land surplus. However, eliminating blank space is usually done by drawing boundaries around it, thereby attributing a static land ownership or land classification. Neither of these are good option, as both can lead to dispossession and a destruction of the local indigenous land tenure system.

Thom's (2009) radical cartography approach suggests that indigenous land tenure maps can be better rendered by inscribing something that approximates the dwelling perspective elaborated by Ingold (2000). In one iteration, it may draw lines connecting contemporary households in terms of kinship or social association, as well as historical lines showing the connections between trails and nodes of significance so that landscapes appear more "lived in" than "empty". This too has its own problems, as it is still not an indigenous model, and so in a

way does not follow the participatory dictum of respecting and validating locally defined knowledge and representation; it instead intensively codifies and decontextualizes knowledge.

Thom's (2009:201) solution to his own problem is not to create better maps, but to accurately represent local perception so that when communication between local groups and the state does happen, the local groups are not undercut by their own map production. Preserving the narrative aspects of mapping is possibly the only way to this, and the map then must remain a secondary element that inspires and advocates for indigenous territorial elements of "ambiguity, multiplicity, dynamism and complexity," (Roth 2009:213).

In this sense, the *tiospaye* mapping project has excelled at not overemphasizing the importance of the map, but merely using it as a conversation piece, and something that is available to inscribe on if people desire it. It is a space for recording place names, trails and sites of historic importance, but it is not much of one for recreating indigenous perceptions of the environment. However, if addressing Hale's (2006) indicator mentioned above, that a map done correctly will resonate with the community, the map itself did not much serve to represent the indigenous *tiospaye* land tenure it served to inspire. However, it did at least excite people to reflect on their *tiospayes*, their local landscapes, and histories in a way that they could then project through their narratives. Conversely, oral narratives will not resonate much with a cartographically dominated capitalist state. If the elders want to communicate and want to represent themselves and their flexible traditional socio-political system of the *tiospaye*, some violence to it will have be done through its mapping. The only other option is to resort to the physically violent communications of the past, which some deem appropriate, but most fear.

Reflexive evaluation

I find it extremely hard to weight the positive or negative impacts of my presence in the project. As described in Chapters 3 and 4, I do occasionally notice that my presence is an impediment to the project, as I am very clearly an outsider and do not speak Lakota. Many times while sitting and listening to the Lakota language flow out of the elders' mouths and into history, I wondered if it would instead have been better for a young Lakota to be in my shoes. I have been chosen for the project mostly because of my availability, my access to funding through the university, and my willingness to incorporate the fieldwork into an academic research document (this thesis).

However, it is entirely honest to say that this thesis is not written for the purpose of providing documentation or analysis to the project, but is mostly for my own purposes of academic progression. My usefulness to the project is largely as a chauffeur and an outsider perspective. In all ways, the Lakota people of Porcupine District have been much more useful to me than I have been to them. But with hope, this thesis will be considered as documentation of the beginning stages of a successful indigenous development project, and so may provide some forthcoming value to future generations.

My biggest failure in regards to this research project is not providing any time for community feedback to my analysis. I consider it a major detraction from participatory methodology to be the sole analyzer of this data, as my perspective is incredibly skewed and novice. Because of the time constraints of my academic program, I will have to submit this for publication before Calvin, Village Earth, or any stakeholder can review my commentary for accuracy. I consider it very important to admit this because I want to be explicit that this

document does not contain the interpretation of the people of Porcupine District. In this sense, I have maintained a considerable amount of power in the research process. However, this thesis has never intended to be the official evaluation of the *tiospaye* mapping project, but a reflection on a summer's fieldwork. The project has many years of work ahead of it, and so a true evaluation of impacts can only be done after it has worked through its plan.

Status of Project

Currently, the project sits at a standstill. While back on Pine Ridge in the winter of 2013, I met with Calvin at his new home in the north of the reservation. He informs me that he is moving on to another project for the immediate future collecting and distributing firewood for local residents to heat their homes. The South Dakota winters are brutal, and all the more so when living in a lightly insulated trailer home with plastic windows. The most immediate material needs of the community come before long-term political change, so the mapping project will proceed whenever it is necessary or funded.

Conclusion

The question posed in Chapter 1 is whether or not the *tiospaye* mapping project has any potential to emancipate its participants from the colonial research process by allowing their cultural values to be freely expressed through the participatory methodology. This thesis has highlighted the many impassable contradictions inherent to the process of mapping/map-making. How can indigenous people assert their traditional land rights while using the tools and language that originally threatened them in the first place? And more importantly, how do we, as academics, learn to start listening and learning from the voices and knowledges of indigenous people without colonizing and prescribing inappropriate solutions?

This thesis offers how the Lakota people themselves are attempting to mitigate their own oppression. By reinforcing their own traditions through the mapping process, they are engaging in a form of community development that feels appropriate to their values. Whether or not this process will eventually change the nature of the *tiospaye* land tenure through cartographic representation is not as important as the fact that the process of mapping is currently reproducing the very concept of the *tiospaye* on Pine Ridge, giving it a renewed priority in community affairs.

The process of mapping has become a space for contesting historical violence, government oppression, and environmental injustice through stories about the land and the people who dwell within it. Similarly, it is a space for talking about family history, cultural perseverance, spiritual relationships, and dreams of a prosperous future. As it currently stands, the people of Pine Ridge have no choice but to engage in some form of struggle for the survival of their traditions. If there is any chance of lessening the amount of unnecessary loss in desirable traditional perspectives, it is imperative that the modern global society learn to listen to and accept the desires of indigenous people by exposing the strictures and impositions of our hegemonic territorialism.

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