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Indigeneity and Homeland: Land, History, Ceremony, and Language

Michael Lerma

INTRODUCTION

> *The Great Spirit gave us this country as a home. You had yours. We did not interfere with you. The Great Spirit gave us plenty of land to live on. . . . You are taking my land from me; you are killing off our game, so it is hard for us to live. Now, you tell us to work for a living. We do not interfere with you, and again you say, why do you not become civilized? We do not want your civilization! We would live as our fathers did, and their fathers before them."* —Crazy Horse (Oglala Lakota)[1]

Violent conflict between contemporary indigenous peoples and state actors involves weak groups and a relatively strong state. The history of deception and trickery aside, contemporary interactions tend to conclude badly for the weaker party. Although weaker groups should avoid violent interactions, such activity occurs today. This paper is concerned with groups reacting to political, cultural, and economic domination with rebellious behavior, posing the question "what role does attachment to place, territory, or land play in contributing to indigenous rebellious behavior?"[2]

There are at least two types of attachment to place territory, or land. "Mechanistic attachment" involves assessment of land value based on the worth of potential extractable resources and may involve the encroachment upon indigenous lands by non-indigenous peoples. "Organic attachment" connects a people to a land based on language, sacred history, and ceremony

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cycle, and may provide an impetus for rebellious behavior. First, this paper will explore relationships to place territory or land. Second, a brief review of ethno-political rebellion highlights how attachment to land is not part of the existing explanations. Third, a research design is proposed that aims to shed light on how attachment to place, territory, or land is impacting rebellious behavior. As this paper will show, having an attachment to place territory is a necessary condition for rebellious behavior, although not a sufficient one. Further, attachment to territory is demonstrated to be a sufficient condition for being an indigenous group. Hence, a more complex connection exists between attachment to place territory, indigenousness, and rebellious behavior than past research has illuminated.

Relationships with Place Territory

Indigenous identity is a complex and dynamic issue that plays in the background of this paper, but it is not the exclusive focus of this research. Many factors, including relationship to land, indicate indigenous identity. A non-comprehensive list of factors that have served to identify indigenous peoples also includes blood quantum, a connection to pre-Columbian society, or a set of shared traits generalizable to various indigenous groups. Additionally, there are urban Indian populations and Métis or mestizo groups within indigenous identities. It is also possible to identify indigenous peoples based on their mutual treatment by a colonial actor (a common example would be peoples grouped together on a reservation).[3] Indigenous identity is an integral part of human relationships with land or place territory. Place territories that indigenous groups currently occupy are small remainders of areas they once held autonomously. Indigenous groups possess historical rights to place territory they once occupied, and many indigenous peoples view their claims as morally or ethically legitimate in the face of more powerful colonial actors.

As previously noted, relationships to place territory come in at least two forms that are not mutually exclusive. Indigenous peoples (and all peoples) relate to place territory in *mechanistic* terms when land value is based on economic benefit, where land is a resource employed for utility, and land, as a resource, is equal to what it can produce.[4] An example is the way corporate farming operations treat land that they own, where the relationship is solely based on return for an economic investment. An *organic* tie to place territory has a value deeper than monetary utility. Mechanistic and organic relationships are not "either/or" scenarios in that peoples can have simultaneous mechanistic and organic ties. Land gives life to indigenous peoples in a living relationship.[5]

The environment is respected and revered because it is an important part of many indigenous cultures.

Organic relationships between peoples and land can be described in countless ways. Indigenous peoples in close proximity to their traditional homelands (past and present) have created an interdependent relationship with their homeland, and indigenous attachment is a guardianship lasting into contemporary times.[6] The organic relationship takes on concrete form when we look at some of the general traits of indigenous cultures. Figure 1 below illustrates the organic relationships some human groups have with place territory, ceremonial cycle, language, and sacred histories.

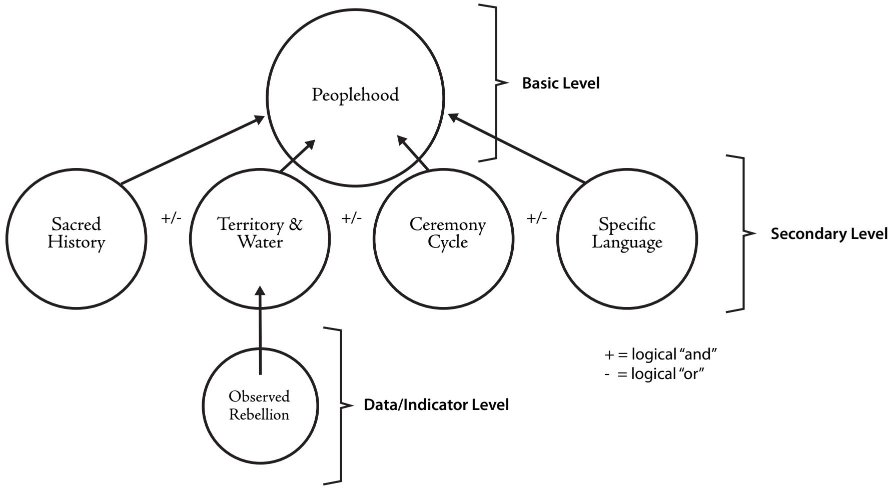

Figure 1. *Three-level view of peoplehood.*

As adapted from "Peoplehood: An Extension of Sovereignty in American Indian Studies" by Holm, Pearson, and Chavis, [7] figure 1 is consistent with concept building and uses basic, secondary, and data-level approaches to link data to theory.[8] The "Basic Level" of figure 1 is a name or placeholder, while the important parts comprising the "Secondary Level" display necessary conditions for "Peoplehood." The "Data/Indicator Level" restates the research question: does indigenous attachment to land, ceremony, and language (also known as organic attachment) lead to observed rebellious behavior?[9]

Organic attachment to place territory indicates sacredness. Attachment and sacredness are especially cogent in particular areas where members of the group know the geographic area associated with the people's origin. Attachment and sacred origin stories are orally transmitted from generation to generation: that is, a creation story explains the origin of a people (also known as a sacred history).[10] Oral tradition, therefore, reinforces organic relationships between place territory and human groups. Specific language and accompanying songs describing geographic areas and creation, for example, further expound attachment and sacredness. The sacred history contains the specific language.[11]

Diné journey narratives, for example, highlight the change in leadership from animal to mountain or Dził Naat'ááh, and language specific to attachment and sacredness outlines a spiritual routine (ceremony cycle) involving qualified members of a people such as the medicine people. Diné sacred history describes methods to heal and protect one's home, and the Diné ceremony cycle describes many examples of how to heal and protect the home. For example, Dził Naat'ááh is the way some contemporary Diné live life following advice from hataałii or medicine singers.[12] Specific Diné language used in songs and prayers for protection and healing are not used in everyday casual conversation. Hence, the Diné sacred history, ceremony cycle, and specific language demarcate a traditional homeland within the aforementioned mountains. Collectively, Diné ceremony, language, sacred history, and place provide a brief example of the necessary conditions for attachment to and sacredness of territory. This example is specific to Diné but also could describe other indigenous peoples' organic attachment to their homeland. If all indigenous peoples possess organic attachment to their homeland, will they rebel to protect their homeland today?

Contemporary indigenous spiritual leaders have a specialized role in developing, preserving, and using sacred history. They also have access to specific knowledge not readily available to all members of the people. Some indigenous cultures believe certain people with special abilities will be able to carry specific knowledge.[13] This is similar to Diné Naat'áanii or regional leaders.[14] Spiritual leaders are responsible for passing knowledge to others in the human group, such as during ceremonial cycles. A ceremonial cycle is linked to the people's spiritual consciousness, situation specific language, creation story, and geographic region. In Diné culture, Naat'áanii were initiated after demonstrating leadership ability.[15] Organic territory relationships explain how forced removals in the United States failed to break organic ties.[16] I fully anticipate that all indigenous peoples express organic attachment to their homeland today. Indigenous peoples capable of carrying out their ceremonies, teaching their sacred histories to their children, and using their specific language within their ceremonies and their teachings could be more likely to rebel if their homeland is threatened.

Many indigenous groups currently possess organic attachment as expressed in the secondary level of figure 1: sacred history, territory and water, ceremony cycle, and specific language.[17] Indigenous philosophy-based organic attachment is probably contained in all indigenous peoples' worldviews.[18] Consider figure 2 below as an alternate example specific to Cherokee philosophy:

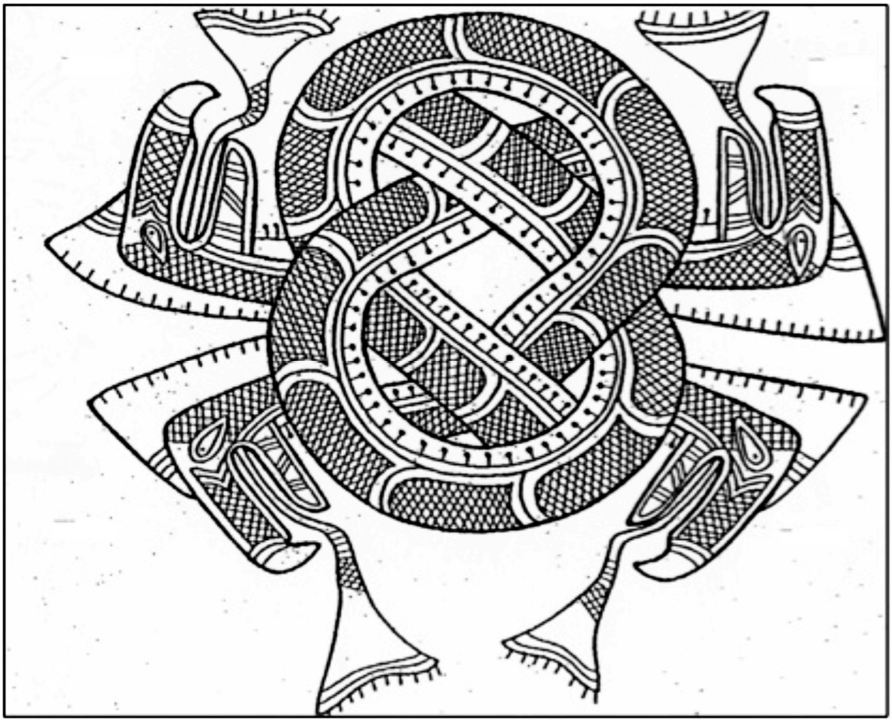

Figure 2. *Cherokee horned snakes (Uktenah). This drawing is from an incised gorget from a Mississippian mound interweaving various snake bodies so that the middle is not distinguished as coming from an individual snake head. It is a very old idea. It is an old time symbol of elements, life, continuity, etc. It is the "organic" symbol. Figure and description furnished by Tom Holm.*[19]

For the purposes of this article, the Uktenah can represent traditional knowledge on interlinking the four aspects of peoplehood: sacred history, territory and water, ceremony cycle, and specific language. Indigenous knowledge vantage points utilize uncertainty in the links (such as those in fig. 2) to actuate self-preservation. Uncertainty may have worked to the advantage of indigenous peoples during colonial onslaught. Simply put, if the colonial actor cannot identify the links between one of the four aspects of peoplehood and the land, then severing the attachment is inexact and incomplete. The links between a people and a territory are inexact and undefined for many today, including researchers. As a result, traditional knowledge of indigenous resistance to colonial encroachment is absent from contemporary explanations of indigenous rebellion.

GENERAL THEORIES OF ETHNO-POLITICAL REBELLION

It should be no surprise that theories on rebellion do not account for organic attachment to land. The phrase adopted by mainstream ethnic conflict researchers for violent reaction to state suppression of an ethnic group is "ethno-political rebellion." An ethno-political rebellion is carried out by an ethno-political group. The literature defines at least six types of ethno-political groups, with one of the defined groups an indigenous one. A nation or state can use its monopoly of influence over political and economic institutions to exclude indigenous peoples from fair access to basic needs. Systematic exclusion of indigenous peoples from access to national political and economic institutions can increase the likelihood of indigenous rebellion against state oppressors. Indigenous groups are often marginalized in dominant society and have historically been at risk for being marginalized. The history of federal Indian law and policy in the United States is a commonly understood example of marginalization.[20] All colonial actor nations in the western hemisphere have successfully marginalized indigenous peoples to varying degrees. The nexus of ethnic conflict and policies of genocide can explain how attachment to land leads to resistance in the form of rebellion.

The research on ethno-political rebellion has yet to explore whether indigenous peoples behave uniquely when compared to non-indigenous groups threatened by state oppression. At the same time, research on indigenous genocide has yet to produce quantitative evidence of indigenous rebellion-based reactions to policies of genocide. At what point should we expect an indigenous group to rebel? Some clues may emerge in general research on ethno-political rebellion. Again, suppression of ethno-political groups occurs when a state (colonial actor) systematically excludes a marginalized group from access to political and economic institutions. Ethno-political groups can express their grievances in several ways but are limited by their capabilities. Some of the limitations have been addressed, such as a history of state oppression. State oppression limits mobilization options. For example, when groups lose autonomy over their land base, it is more difficult to react violently to the oppression. A history of traumatic repressive acts also limits rebellious behavior. A lack of group cohesion, caused sometimes by giving up an indigenous identity in exchange for a national identity, also creates problems with mobilization. Finally, an inability or unwillingness to react in a militant fashion may limit mobilization (for example, if a worldview prevents rebellion).[21]

While state oppression is a necessary condition for rebellion, it is not sufficient alone to cause rebellion. Ethno-political groups that have experienced severe repression tend not to rebel. States that successfully monopolize access to economic and political institutions place ethno-political groups in a bind. On the one hand, ethno-political groups may resort to rebellion so that their basic needs are met. On the other hand, ethno-political groups may not be capable of rebellion because their basic needs are not met due to their systematic exclusion from state institutions.[22] Still, there are psychological explanations for rebellion. Historic wrongdoing against an ethno-political group can lead to minor rebellious acts. There is no military advantage to such acts but they may provide a venting for the oppressed peoples.[23]

Severe repression in a group's collective memory also deters rebellion. States repress certain groups of people to monopolize limited resources. If a group's basic needs are not met, it may use violence. Explanations for rebellion applied to indigenous peoples are less than ideal. Readers may suspect that indigenous peoples are acting out their aggressions towards those they believe have taken their land. Venting frustrations through conflict can serve a therapeutic purpose. Coser's 1956 book *The Functions of Social Conflict* offers possible insight into indigenous conflict. Indeed, to answer the research question "what role does attachment to place, territory, or land play in contributing to indigenous rebellious behavior?" this article discusses research findings pointing to Coser's proposition that a people will rebel due to direct expression of hostility against them.

Indigenous actors are potentially venting hostility and frustration toward colonial actors.[24] Fortunately, data on observed rebellious behavior for indigenous and non-indigenous groups exists. The Minorities at Risk (MAR) data set tracks 264 politically active communal groups at risk of being disenfranchised by states. The MAR Project monitors and analyzes conflicts that impact politically active groups in states with a population of at least 500,000.[25] This observed data on indigenous peoples' rebellious behavior illuminates if they are more likely to rebel due to an organic tie to their traditional homeland.

While previous scholarship has understood that "something" is motivating repressed peoples to rebel, identifying the motivating factors has escaped past scholars of ethno-political rebellion. For example, past ethno-political rebellion researchers suggest that the "inner energy" of a group (indigenous or otherwise) must decide that violent encounters can or will effectively resolve grievances.[26] This article posits that this "inner energy" is the group's organic attachment to homeland and is exclusive to indigenous peoples. By creating an empirical explanation of indigenous rebellion in the Americas, we can begin to observe the "inner energy" at work today and tomorrow: indigenous peoples rebel because of an organic attachment to territory and water. Put another way, indigenous peoples rebel to protect their traditional homeland. Options for protecting traditional homelands are limited when indigenous peoples have limited access to resources, political power and economic means.[27] Two extreme consequences of limited access have been either death by acquiescence or resistance. Many indigenous groups choose the latter.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND LIMITS

To demonstrate how indigenous peoples react to encroachment on their homeland, they will be treated as a macro social unit in order to explore variation in their conditions and behavior.[28] Potential rebellion is tied to various potentially relevant conditions.[29] All cases in the data set are explained even if no rebellion occurs. Ultimately, indigenous peoples distinguish themselves from other marginalized groups in the Americas based on their own rebellious behavior. Rebellion may result from various conditions across an array of cases.[30] A truth table is constructed here to arrange data into a matrix for further investigation.[31]

The collection of cases coded in the MAR database includes indigenous actors at risk of being disenfranchised, among other groups. Marginalized group data is divided based on indigenous and non-indigenous status and limited to the Americas, yielding thirty-nine indigenous groups tracked by MAR. Marginalized groups organically attached to homelands are broken into various sub-populations, indigenous/non-indigenous self-reported status, and observed rebellious behavior. Due to the low number of cases, statistical analysis is not appropriate. Qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) is utilized to explore necessary and sufficient conditions relationships, and conditions and outcomes are explored using two-by-two tables.[32] Indigenous peoples may be different from other marginalized groups in MAR due to the relationships highlighted in the two-by-two tables. Tables 3, 5, 6 and 7 present common conditions in multiple cases of rebellion. A crisp set analysis links the condition "organic attachment to place territory" in the Americas to the outcome "rebellious activity." The evidence suggests that a subset relationship exists between (a) indigenous groups in the Americas that (b) exhibit some form of rebellious activity, and (c) the population of indigenous groups expressing attachment to place territory. These conclusions invite further research on organic attachment to traditional homeland.

Many other causal explanations remain beyond the scope of this inquiry into the role of organic attachment to place, territory, or land and indigenous rebellion. As of this writing, no studies of indigenous actors' reactions to state repression have been conducted. Furthermore, histories of postcontact indigenous deprivation in relation to limited (or privileged) access to political and economic institutions remain underdeveloped.[33] In general, economic deprivation, political deprivation, short-term deprivation, and persisting deprivation are all correlated with an increasing magnitude of civil strife.[34] However, because data collection efforts to date have been minimal to nonexistent, the statistical relationship between indigenous peoples and civil strife is unclear. Explaining indigenous violent behavior is ripe for future research. These areas of research are beyond the scope of MAR data and QCA research design methods.

It must be acknowledged here that there are serious concerns involving the missing indigenous voice in many colonial histories.[35] Contemporary advances involving indigenous peoples' access to domestic non-indigenous courts and the ballot box (a political institution) vary from country to country. These advances may curtail violent rebellion. Overt differences between indigenous cultures and contemporary governments in the Americas compound the problems of place territory and discrimination. Political science conflict literature pays little attention to indigenous Latin America.[36] Environmental degradation and change (including forced removal) are also beyond the scope of this research, yet all of these conditions certainly play a role in an indigenous groups' decision to rebel against any colonial actor. These caveats aside, the findings remain interesting.

ANALYSES

The connection between place territory and indigenous peoples is complex. As such, the research will posit two propositions:

1. All indigenous groups have an organic relationship with place territory making them distinct from all other marginalized groups in the Americas. In other words, it is a sufficient but not necessary condition that being indigenous results in a developed organic attachment to place territory.
2. An organic attachment to place territory is a necessary condition for rebellious activity to occur in the Americas.

Absent an independent data collection endeavor, there are a number of limitations that cannot be overcome using MAR. MAR cannot and does not represent every marginalized group in the world or in the Americas. The fraction of indigenous groups represented in MAR is *not* the actual number of indigenous groups currently in the Americas today. Table 1 descriptively represents thirty-nine peoples represented by MAR and their ethno-political type.

TABLE 1
GROUP NAMES AND ETHNO-POLITICAL GROUP TYPES

Group Name	Missing	Ethno-Nat	Indigenous	Ethno-Cl	Com Con
African American – US	-	-	-	X	-
African – Guyana	-	-	-	-	X
Afro-Brazilian – Brazil	-	-	-	X	-
Amazon Indians – Brazil	-	-	X	-	-
Antillean Blacks – Costa R	-	-	-	X	-
Black Karibs – Honduras	-	-	-	X	-
Blacks – Columbia*	-	-	-	X	-
Blacks – Ecuador*	-	-	-	X	-
Blacks – Panama*	-	-	-	X	-
Blacks – Venezuela*	-	-	-	X	-
Blacks-Afro Peruvian	-	-	-	X	-
Chinese – Panama	-	-	-	X	-
East Indians – Guyana	-	-	-	-	X
French Canadians	-	X	-	-	-
Haitian Blacks – Dom Rep	-	-	-	X	-
Hispanics – US	-	-	-	X	-
Highland People – Bolivia*	-	-	X	-	-
Highland People – Ecuador*	-	-	X	-	-
Highland People – Peru*	-	-	X	-	-
Indigenous – Argentina	-	-	X	-	-
Indigenous – Canada	-	-	X	-	-
Indigenous – Chile	-	-	X	-	-
Indigenous – Columbia	-	-	X	-	-
Indigenous – El Salvador	-	-	X	-	-
Indigenous – Guatemala	-	-	X	-	-
Indigenous – Honduras	-	-	X	-	-
Indigenous – Nicaragua	-	-	X	-	-
Indigenous – Panama	-	-	X	-	-
Indigenous – Paraguay	-	-	X	-	-
Indigenous – US	-	-	X	-	-
Indigenous – Venezuela	-	-	X	-	-
Jews – Argentina	X	-	-	-	-
Lowland People – Bolivia	-	-	X	-	-
Lowland People – Ecuador	-	-	X	-	-
Lowland People – Peru	-	-	X	-	-
Mayan – Mexico*	-	-	X	-	-
Other Indigenous Mexico*	-	-	X	-	-
Quebecois – Canada	-	X	-	-	-
Zapotecs – Mexico	-	-	X	-	-
Total = 39	**1**	**2**	**22**	**12**	**2**

*Group data covers 1985–2003

Group names are self-reported. Included after each group name is a home country. Group type classifications are mutually exclusive. Group totals by type appear at the bottom of Table 1. MAR identifies four types of groups in the Americas. MAR does not explicitly define group types, but meanings are deduced by example for each of the four group types.

The research design necessitates an indigenous groups and an "all other groups" dichotomy. All other groups are classified as non-indigenous. The column headed "Indigenous" refers to pre-Columbian peoples (an admittedly narrow definition). The "Ethn-Nat" column (ethno-national) represents ethnic groups that identify with a nation-state. An example of this type of group is the French Canadians. Here, the ethnicity (French) supersedes the national residence (Canada). "Ethno-Cl" (ethno-class) refers to ethnic groups that do not feel attached to a single state. US "Hispanics" could be an example of the label serving as a catchall term for the many individuals residing in the US who identify with a Latin American country. The "Com Con" column (communal contender) includes groups that do not recognize themselves as belonging to any of the other three group categories.

Thirty-nine marginalized groups are recoded to reflect indigenous/non-indigenous identity. Organic attachment to place territory is investigated by utilizing the MAR variable "imagined homeland" to represent attachment.

TABLE 2
MEASURE OF PLACE TERRITORY ATTACHMENT FOR
INDIGENOUS/NON-INDIGENOUS GROUPS

	HOS	**HWB**	**HWS**	**HBS**	**NH**	**Total**
Indigenous	0	6	2	15	0	23
Non-Indigenous	3	4	1	1	7*	16
Total	**3**	**10**	**3**	**16**	**7**	**39**

Jews of Argentina excluded because information on group type is missing.

- HOS=Homeland outside state (possibly a homeland not in the Americas)
- HWB=Homeland within a regional base of the group
- HWS=Homeland beyond regional base and within state boundaries
- HBS=Homeland beyond state boundaries
- NH=No Homeland

The imagined homeland variable is interesting but problematic in some ways. It is designed to be a general measure capturing a diverse set of conditions. Such limitations aside, the first "HOS" column refers to a homeland that lies entirely outside the state in which the marginalized group currently resides. Chinese in Panama are one example, with their homeland being China.

Groups classified as HOS are considered not to have an attachment to place territory since their homeland is not within the Americas.

The second column, "HWB" (homeland within a regional base), indicates that an imagined homeland exists within the regional base of the marginalized group. Several indigenous groups within El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Honduras classify themselves as HWB. The colonial actor governments of these nations have limited autonomy over the entire region. In many ways, these indigenous groups suffer relatively low levels of encroachment by non-indigenous populations. There are a number of explanations for the relatively low encroachment levels: perhaps geographic location of the indigenous groups provides security or, alternatively, the territory held autonomously by the indigenous group may not be attractive to non-indigenous groups. Groups within the HWB category are assumed to have an organic attachment to place territory.

In column three, HWS (homeland within regional base and within state), indicates that a group has an imagined homeland beyond the boundaries of its regional base but within the boundaries of a given contemporary state. This can occur due to the geographic size of the nation-state. In Mexico, a relatively large state, two indigenous groups classify themselves as HWS. These groups still have relative autonomy over a large region, but their imagined homeland is not so large as to eclipse the state itself. Groups classified as HWS are assumed to have an organic attachment to place territory.

Column four (HBS, or homeland beyond state boundaries) indicates that the group's imagined homeland lies beyond the boundaries of the colonial actor state. When groups classify themselves as HBS, this can reflect a number of conditions, such as the size of the indigenous group, the size of the colonial actor state, and the overall condition of state penetration into historically indigenous territories. Groups classified as HBS are assumed to have an organic attachment to place territory.

Column NH (no homeland) indicates that the group has no imagined homeland, which, curiously enough, includes Jewish immigrants in Argentina, who arguably have a promised land in their history.

All groups classified as HOS (homeland outside state) and NH (no homeland) are assumed not to have an organic attachment to place territory in the Americas. All other groups are coded as having an organic attachment. Table 3 reproduces MAR data according to a group's attachment to territory in the Americas.

TABLE 3
INDIGENOUS/NON-INDIGENOUS ATTACHMENT TO PLACE TERRITORY

	No Attachment to Place Territory in the Americas	**Attachment to Place Territory in the Americas**	**Total**
Indigenous	0	22	22
Non-Indigenous	11	6	17
Total	**11**	**28**	**39**

All twenty-two of the indigenous groups in the Americas represented by MAR have a self-reported organic attachment to place territory. In other words, indigenous groups are a subset of marginalized groups in the Americas that have an attachment to place territory in the Americas. The MAR coding scheme equates having an attachment to place territory as a necessary condition for a group to be indigenous in the Americas. Note, however, that some indigenous groups have been removed from their traditional homelands and that removal itself does not extinguish organic attachment.

The next relationship under investigation is "organic attachment to place territory" in the Americas and "rebellious activity." Table 4 is a comparison of the thirty-nine marginalized groups to be examined.

TABLE 4
GROUP ATTACHMENT/REBELLION ACTIVITY BETWEEN 1945–2003

Group Name	**Attached**	**Indigenous**	**Rebellious Behavior**
African American – US	No	No	None Reported
African – Guyana	Yes	No	Banditry 02/None Reported
Afro-Brazilian – Brazil	No	No	None Reported
Amazon Indians – Brazil	Yes	Yes	Banditry/Local Reb in 1993
Antillean Blacks – Costa R	No	No	None Reported
Black Karibs – Honduras	Yes	No	None Reported
Blacks – Columbia*	Yes	No	None Reported
Blacks – Ecuador*	No	No	None Reported
Blacks – Panama*	No	No	None Reported
Blacks – Venezuela*	No	No	None Reported
Blacks-Afro Peruvian	No	No	None Reported
Chinese – Panama	No	No	None Reported
East Indians – Guyana	No	No	None Reported
French Canadians	Yes	No	None Reported
Haitian Blacks – Dom Rep	No	No	None Reported
Hispanics – US	Yes	No	None/Banditry-Terror 85–92
Highland People – Bolivia*	Yes	Yes	Banditry 85–93/None
Highland People – Ecuador*	Yes	Yes	None Reported
Highland People – Peru*	Yes	Yes	None Reported
Indigenous – Argentina	Yes	Yes	None Reported
Indigenous – Canada	Yes	Yes	Terror Campaign 93/None
Indigenous – Chile	Yes	Yes	Banditry 89–94/None
Indigenous – Columbia	Yes	Yes	Banditry 85–95/None
Indigenous – El Salvador	Yes	Yes	None Reported
Indigenous – Guatemala	Yes	Yes	Banditry 85–93/None
Indigenous – Honduras	Yes	Yes	None Reported
Indigenous – Nicaragua	Yes	Yes	Guerrilla 85–89/Banditry
Indigenous – Panama	Yes	Yes	Banditry 93/None
Indigenous – Paraguay	Yes	Yes	None Reported
Indigenous – US	Yes	Yes	None Reported
Indigenous – Venezuela	Yes	Yes	Banditry 94/None
Jews – Argentina	No-Data	No-Data	None Reported
Lowland People – Bolivia	Yes	Yes	Banditry 86–93/None
Lowland People – Ecuador	Yes	Yes	Civil War 2003/None
Lowland People – Peru	Yes	Yes	None Reported
Mayan – Mexico*	Yes	Yes	None 85–93/Reb Guer 94–03
Other Indigenous Mexico*	Yes	Yes	None Reported
Quebecois	Yes	No	None Reported
Zapotecs – Mexico	Yes	Yes	None Reported
Total Yes (N=39)	**28**	**22**	**14**

* Group data covers 1985–2003

Of thirty-nine marginalized groups, twenty-eight groups report organic attachment to place territory. Of twenty-eight groups, twenty-two classify themselves as indigenous. Of those twenty-two indigenous groups, fourteen carried out some level of rebellious activity between 1945 and 2003, with the noted exception of certain groups that only cover 1985 through 2003. Table 4 indicates that a subset relationship exists. Figure 3 is a Venn diagram indicating the subset relationship of marginalized groups that have an organic attachment to place territory, that self-identify as indigenous, and that engage in violent rebellious behavior. The only inconsistency involves the African people of Guyana, who engaged in political banditry during 2003.

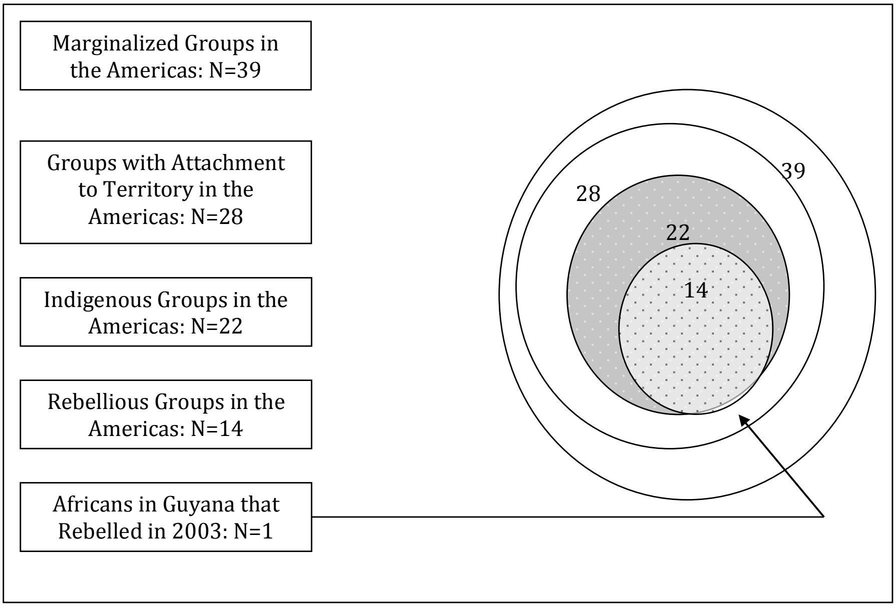
Marginalized Groups in the Americas: N=39
Groups with Attachment to Territory in the Americas: N=28
Indigenous Groups in the Americas: N=22
Rebellious Groups in the Americas: N=14
Africans in Guyana that Rebelled in 2003: N=1
39
28
22
14

Figure 3. *Diagram illustrating subset relationship of marginalized groups in the Americas with indigenous groups and the subset relationship between indigenous groups and rebellious groups. (Data from Table 4)*

Table 5 indicates that an organic attachment to place territory is a necessary condition for rebellious behavior.

TABLE 5
IMPACT OF ATTACHMENT TO PLACE TERRITORY ON REBELLION: (SUBSET RELATION AS NECESSARY CONDITION)

	Cause: Attachment to Place Territory	
Outcome: Rebellion	No	Yes
Yes	0	14
No	11	14

All 39 Marginalized Groups in the Americas

All fourteen groups exhibiting rebellious behavior also have an organic attachment to place territory. Yet organic attachment to place territory occurs without rebellion in fourteen other cases. Also of interest are the eleven groups with no attachment to territory who also did not rebel. Although limited by the data available, this is evidence that an organic attachment to place territory is a necessary condition for rebellious behavior, but not a sufficient one.

As a side note, Table 6 begs the question regarding the group type's contribution to rebellious behavior.

TABLE 6
IMPACT OF INDIGENOUS SELF IDENTITY ON REBELLION: (SUBSET RELATION AS NECESSARY CONDITION)

	Cause: Indigenous	
Outcome: Rebellion	No	Yes
Yes	1	13
No	5	9

All 28 Groups with Attachment to Territory

Note that one non-indigenous group exhibited rebellious behavior. Africans in Guyana demonstrated political banditry in 2003. A hasty interpretation of Table 6 could be that being indigenous causes rebellion, especially if the case of African rebellion in Guyana is thrown out. Throwing out Guyana is reasonable because in fifty-eight years of marginalization, this group had one act of political banditry. Yet, as Table 7 demonstrates, being indigenous goes hand in hand with retaining an organic attachment to place territory.

TABLE 7
IMPACT OF INDIGENOUS IDENTITY ON ATTACHMENT TO PLACE TERRITORY (SUBSET RELATION AS SUFFICIENT CONDITION)

	Cause: Indigenous	
Outcome: Attachment	No	Yes
Yes	6	22
No	11	0

All 39 Marginalized Groups in the Americas

Of twenty-two indigenous groups in the Americas, all twenty-two expressed organic attachment to place territory. While six non-indigenous groups did establish an attachment to place territory, it is not possible to be an indigenous group without having the organic attachment. Table 7 demonstrates that being indigenous is a sufficient condition for expressing organic attachment to place territory. It is not a necessary condition due to the six non-indigenous groups with attachment. The six non-indigenous groups with attachment to place territory are Africans in Guyana, Black Karibs in Honduras, Blacks in Columbia, French Canadians, Hispanics in the US, and the Québécois in Quebec.

The limited scope of this research can only offer a brief explanation for these six groups. These outcomes warrant further serious research. The African/Black attachment to territory may have been formed in conjunction with intermarriage with indigenous peoples. French Canadians and Quebecois attachment to territory could be an ideological/religious attachment to an identity separate from English Canada. Hispanic attachment is likely the product of Spanish and indigenous interaction and, for some Hispanics, is characterized by the Aztlán creation story or Latin American state nationalism.[37]

More interesting findings can now be calculated using QCA methods.[38] Subset relationships involve the superset of marginalized groups in the Americas with organic attachment to place territory and the subset of these groups that display some rebellious behavior between 1945 and 2003. Calculations of consistency and coverage scores further demonstrate the viability of all of the previously discussed population set relations. A truth table systematically organizes all groups into two categories (crisp) of "attachment" and "no attachment."[39] We can then measure how consistently each attached group is indigenous as well as how consistently each attached group rebels.[40] We may also demonstrate the observable cases that exhibit the relationships via coverage.[41] Table 8 is a crisp set truth table examining attachment to place territory as a causal condition for rebellious activity.

TABLE 8
CRISP SET TRUTH TABLE OF REBELLION CAUSED BY ATTACHMENT TO TERRITORY AND/OR BEING INDIGENOUS

Attached	Indigenous	Cases w/ Cond	Cases w/ Reb	Consistency
1	1	22	12	.545455
0	0	11	0	0
1	0	4	2	.5
1	1 and 0	27	14	.5185859
0	1	0	-	-

The truth table is set up to reflect the presence or absence of attachment to place territory. Column one is labeled "attached." Groups with attachment to place territory are coded "1" and groups with no attachment or an attachment to place territory on another continent are coded "0." The truth table also indicates the type of group in column two. An indigenous group is coded "1" and all other groups, non-indigenous groups, are coded "0." The third column reflects the number of cases in the population that exhibit the sequence of conditions. Groups can have an organic attachment to place territory but not be indigenous; be indigenous but not have an organic attachment to place territory; be both indigenous and have an organic attachment to place territory; or be non-indigenous and not have an organic attachment to place territory. Column four represents cases with rebellious behavior. The final column reflects the consistencies of the condition and outcome of the various possible configurations.

Table 6 established that organic attachment to place territory is a necessary condition for rebellious behavior. Table 7 established that organic attachment to place territory is not sufficient to cause rebellion. It is also sufficient but not necessary for indigenous groups to have an organic attachment to place territory. The truth table (table 8) shows that being indigenous and having an attachment to place territory is an interesting configuration. The presence of these conditions account for about 55 percent of the cases of rebellious behavior (see table 8, column 5, row 1). In other words, of the twenty-two groups that have an organic attachment to territory and are indigenous, only twelve actually rebelled in some way between 1945 and 2003. More interestingly, out of all non-indigenous groups with no attachment to place territory in the Americas, none exhibited rebellious behavior. If one were to cancel out this finding, the absence of these traits perfectly predicts the absence of rebellious behavior.

Finally, organic attachment to place territory alone is an interesting causal condition for rebellious activity, but the number of cases is low. Of the four groups that expressed an organic attachment to place territory, two behaved in a rebellious manner. Non-indigenous groups with attachment to territory that expressed rebellious behavior were Africans in Guyana and Hispanics in the United States. Note that some groups that share an attachment to place territory are combined. When their ethno-political type is disregarded, the consistency (52%) of the prediction is still lower than if the scope were restricted to indigenous groups alone (55%). Given the limits of the MAR data, these findings are startling.

FUTURE RESEARCH

This paper has raised several questions, but primarily examines current levels of repression of indigenous peoples by contemporary colonial actor states. All states in the Americas have used a variety of policies for one basic purpose: to allow non-indigenous individuals (mainly through colonial actors) privileged access to political and economic institutions. The most visible consequence of such privileged access has been the systematic usurpation of indigenous lands for the benefit of non-indigenous peoples. It is no difficult task to recognize this process at work in the United States within various phases of federal Indian law and policy.[42] These policies deserve attention in all other colonial actor states in the Americas. As MAR is updated, the analysis presented here should be revisited. Over time, tracking may produce even more observable evidence of indigenous land encroachments. This research focuses solely on the relationship in the data between rebellion and place territory as a necessary condition of peoplehood (fig. 1). Many other research designs might link contemporary indigenous resistance to the other three aspects of peoplehood. Yet it is most intriguing that we may be able to recognize the presence of conditions that will lead to future indigenous marginalization. Given technology and growing interest in forecast models, perhaps we may be able to prevent the next attempts to take indigenous lands.

Conclusion: The Impact of Attachment to Place Territory on Rebellion

The results can only be extended to the Americas and the thirty-nine marginalized groups analyzed. Noting such limitations, there is a clear subset relationship based on the superset of thirty-nine marginalized groups. Within this group, twenty-eight have attachment to place territory. Indigenous peoples of the Americas are organically attached to their traditional homelands via ceremony cycle, specific language, and a sacred history. Of these twenty-eight groups, twenty-two are indigenous; of these twenty-two groups, thirteen have exhibited some form of rebellious behavior between 1945 and 2003 (the range of MAR data collection). The power of organic attachment to place territory, specifically the organic attachment most often displayed by indigenous people of the Americas, is a strong tie that has survived the last 500 years of European encroachment. The peoplehood model, coupled with the observable data, goes far in providing evidence of the organic attachment to place territory.

All indigenous groups tracked by MAR have an organic attachment to place territory as explained by the peoplehood model. While this attachment is not exclusive to indigenous groups, the preliminary evidence shows that two of the six non-indigenous cases of attachment to place territory (Québécois and French Canadians) involve a religious/ideological attachment to an identity. The other non-indigenous groups with attachment to place territory could be explained by the intermixing of indigenous peoples with Africans and Hispanics. Among the marginalized groups tracked by MAR, two-by-two tables conclusively verify that to develop organic attachment to place territory, it is a sufficient but not a necessary condition that a group must be indigenous. Sacred history, ceremony cycle, and specific language continuously work to reinforce indigenous organic attachment to place territory.

Two-by-two tables conclusively indicate that, among the thirty-nine marginalized groups tracked by MAR, organic attachment to place territory is a necessary condition for any level of rebellious behavior. The research also posits that, based on the thirty-nine marginalized groups represented by MAR, there is no possible configuration other than organic attachment to place territory that introduces the possibility of rebellious behavior. Therefore, organic attachment and rebellion are more involved with sacred history, ceremony cycle, and specific language than previous research has demonstrated or acknowledged. While having an organic attachment to place territory is a necessary condition, it does not rise to the level of a sufficient condition. Regardless, it is still a powerful statement to make: a marginalized group must have an organic attachment to place territory or no rebellious activity will occur. This research certainly warrants further study on each indigenous group's individual organic attachment to their particular homeland.

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NOTES

1. There is debate concerning the authenticity of any quotes attributed to Crazy Horse. Doubts are understandable given his hostile attitude toward meeting with white settlers. This quote is taken from documents written by Senator Henry L. Dawes describing the problems with Lakota people in the Dakota territory in the late 1880s. Dawes's description includes interviews taken by Valentine McGillycuddy, an agent on the Pine Ridge Reservation. McGillycuddy is likely to have interacted with Crazy Horse. McGillycuddy is credited with recording the statement (Dawes, 1884).

2. For the purposes of this paper, the term *indigenous* will refer to any group of people currently residing in the Americas that can link their cultural existence, via collective memory, spirituality, and/or language, to a pre-Colombian society. In general, the terms *indigenous* and *minority* both entail being marginalized from power, leaving the question of population numbers as an aside. In many ways, indigenous/minority distinctions carry a great deal of baggage. The term *minority* as applied to indigenous peoples is the source of major debate. From a cultural perspective, issues of self-determination

of identity arise. In regard to indigenous peoples as international actors, issues of standing, access to specific rights, and other customary considerations involving indigeneity of a group have profound impact. For information on the cultural perspective, see: S. James Anaya, *Indigenous Peoples in International Law*, 2nd ed. (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Miriam Aukerman, "Definitions and Justifications: Minority and Indigenous Rights in a Central/East European Context," *Human Rights Quarterly* 22 (2000): 1011; Mathew R. Cleary, "Democracy and Indigenous Rebellion in Latin America," *Comparative Political Studies* 33, no. 9 (2000): 1123; Jeff J. Corntassel and Tomas Hopkins Primeau, "Indigenous 'Sovereignty' and International Law: Revised Strategies for Pursuing 'Self-Determination,'" *Human Rights Quarterly* 17, no. 2 (1995); Deborah J. Yashar, "Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* 31, no. 1 (1998); Deborah J. Yashar, "Democracy, Indigenous Movements, and the Postliberal Challenge in Latin America," *World Politics* 52, no. 1 (1999); Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (London; New York: Routledge, 1990); Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997); Jan Breman, Piet de Rooy, Ann Stoler, Wim F. Wertheim, eds., *Imperial Monkey Business: Racial Supremacy in Social Darwinist Theory and Colonial Practice* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1990); Ann Laura Stoler, *Capitalism and Confrontation in Sumatra's Plantation Belt, 1870–1979*, 2nd ed. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995); Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002); *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, American Encounters/Global Interactions series, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Franke Wilmer, *The Indigenous Voice in World Politics: Since Time Immemorial*, Violence, Cooperation, Peace series (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1993); Franke Wilmer, *The Social Construction of Man, the State, and War: Identity, Conflict, and Violence in Former Yugoslavia* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

3. A "colonial actor" is a term developed to represent the many colonial states that have interacted with Native nations over the centuries. Addressing the indigenous peoples of the western hemisphere requires a blanket term to address interaction in terms of diplomacy and political economy.

4. Tom Holm, email message to author, November 15, 2010; Tom Holm, J. Diane Pearson, and Ben Chavis, "Peoplehood: A Model for the Extension of Sovereignty in American Indian Studies," *Wicazo Sa Review* 18, no. 1 (2003): 7–24. Holm and the author have communicated about Peoplehood in various capacities since about 2004. Due to the scope of the research question in the original article, many of the ideas discussed via email are not contained in the published version of "Peoplehood."

5. George L. Cornell and Donald Lee Fixico, "American Indian Influences on the Formation of the Modern Conservation Ethic," in *Native Views of Indian-White Historical Relations*, ed. Donald Lee Fixico (Chicago: Newberry Library, D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian, 1989), 77.

6. Holm, et al., "Peoplehood," 11–13.

7. Ibid, 13.

8. Gary Goertz, *Social Science Concepts: A User's Guide* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

9. Michael Lerma, "Concepts of Indigenousness," *Red Ink Magazine* 14, no. 1 (Spring 2008: 126.

10. Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996). Few examples of oral tradition have been recorded in academic journals mainly because criticism privileges written sources. Given that indigenous knowledge is not typically recorded in the same fashion that western knowledge is written, a bias exists which results in the exclusion of indigenous knowledge from the western historical record. For examples of how traditional knowledge may contribute to the historical understanding

of indigenous/western relations, see Angela Cavendar Wilson, "Grandmother to Granddaughter: Generations of Oral History in a Dakota Family," *American Indian Studies Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (1996), and Angela Cavendar Wilson, "American Indian History or Non-Indian Perceptions of American Indian History?," *American Indian Studies Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (1996); Ned Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, eds., *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies* (Los Angeles: Sage Press, 2008); Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (New York: Zed Books, 1999); Shawn Wilson, *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (Blackpoint, NS: Fernwood Publishing, 2008).

11. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places.*

12. AnCita Benally, "Dine' Binahat'á' Navajo Government" (Ph.D Diss., Arizona State University, 2006), 6.

13. Raymond Darrel Austin, *Navajo Courts and Navajo Common Law: A Tradition of Tribal Self-Governance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009): 56.

14. Benally, "Dine' Binahat'á'," 49.

15. Charlotte Frisbie, "Navajo Ceremonialists in the Pre-1970 Political World," in *Explorations in Ethnomusicology: Essays in honor of David P. McAllester* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1986), 79, 81–82.

16. Ted Robert Gurr and Will H. Moore, "Ethnopolitical Rebellion: A Cross-Sectional Analysis of the 1980s with Risk Assessment for the 1990s," *American Journal of Political Science* 41, no. 4 (1997): 1080; Ted Robert Gurr and Will H. Moore, "Assessing Risks of Ethnorebellion in the Year 2000: Three Empirical Approaches," in *Early Warning and Early Response*, ed. Susanne Schmeidl and Howard Adelman (New York: Columbia International Affairs Online, 1998); Holm, et al., *Peoplehood*, 15–17.

17. Holm, et al., "Peoplehood," 13.

18. Holm, e-mail message to author, November 5, 2010.

19. David H. Getches, Charles F. Wilkinson, Robert A. Williams, and Mathew L.M. Fletcher, *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law*, 5th ed. (St. Paul: Thomson/West, 2011): 43–242.

20. Gurr and Moore, "Ethnopolitical Rebellion," "Assessing Risks of Ethnorebellion in the Year 2000."

21. Lewis A. Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1956), 39.

22. Ibid., 40.

23. Proposals 2 and 3 are not directly relevant to the research discussed herein. Such activity would not be observed based on the methods of data coding within MAR. This does not mean that conflict is the only manifestation of frustration. Many other venting processes fit that do not need mentioning here, including the social ills present in indigenous communities. This is an area for future research insofar as focus on social ills could lead to solutions. It is also worth noting that access to political institutions within the colonizer state may work to provide the venting process, either superficially or otherwise. This may explain the Red Power movement of the civil rights era. Prior to the civil rights era in an environment shaped by termination policy, pan-Indian activism venting involved events such as the Trail of Broken Treaties. See Vine Deloria, *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties; an Indian Declaration of Independence* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1974); Getches, Wilkinson, and Williams, 199–216. Post-termination, US domestic remedies expanded the legitimacy of indigenous grievance claims as determined by influential indigenous leaders. See Getches, Wilkinson, and Williams, 217–256. The relationship between legitimate political institutional access and indigenous grievances deserves further attention, but it is beyond the scope of this paper.

24. Gurr, Ted, Jonathan Wilkinfield, Johanna Birnir, Amy Pate, Chad Drummond, Jon Brown, and Alexander Jonas, Minorities at Risk Project. The full MAR dataset can be downloaded at http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/mar/.

25. Two asides bear mentioning: conflict can create unity within the group and warlike interaction with one's opponent may also contribute to group solidarity. See Coser, 95. Yet the research on conflict by western scholars can be unwittingly presumptuous. For example, some researchers regard the history of "human" conflict to be either "normal" or "another kind;" see Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*. However, on page 65 Smith notes the commonality of the "other" types of war between whole groups of people in pre-modern times: "now, as long as we continue to adopt this 'statist' view of international politics and disregard the structural location of factors like class, ethnicity, and nationalism, we shall preclude all understanding of these powerful phenomena and render ourselves unable to deal with their political consequences."

26. Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 80–83.

27. Charles C. Ragin, *The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitiative and Quantitative Strategies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

28. Ibid., 15.

29. Ibid., 25.

30. Ibid., 87.

31. Charles C. Ragin, *Redesigning Social Inquiry: Fuzzy Sets and Beyond* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

32. Coser, *Functions*, 48.

33. Ted Gurr, "A Causal Model of Civil Strife: A Comparative Analysis Using New Indices," *American Political Science Review* 62, no. 4 (December 1968): 1104–24, 1117.

34. Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 19–41. See also: Austin, *Navajo Courts*; Benally, *Dine' Binahat'á'*; Tiana Bighorse, Gus Bighorse, and Noël Bennett, *Bighorse the Warrior* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990); Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land*; Jennifer Denetdale, *The Long Walk: The Forced Navajo Exile* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 2008).

35. Cleary, "Democracy and Indigenous Rebellion."

36. James Diego Vigil, *From Indians to Chicanos: The Dynamics of Mexican-American Culture*, 2nd ed. (Prospect Heights, IL.: Waveland Press, 1998).

37. Ragin, *Redesigning.*

38. Ibid., 34–37.

39. Ibid., 45–54.

40. Ibid., 54–63.

41. Getches, et al., *Cases*, 140–242.