UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Inhabiting Indianness:
US Colonialism and Indigenous Geographies

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
Requirements for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy

in

Ethnic Studies

by

Natchee Blu Barnd

Committee in charge:

Professor Ross Frank, Chair
Professor Yen Le Espiritu
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The dissertation of Natchee Blu Barnd is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication.

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Chair

University of California, San Diego

2008

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If I could thoroughly and sufficiently offer my written thanks and recognition to those who I owe debts, I would be required to write another dissertation length document. I hope that those special people who have enabled me to embark upon and complete this long and challenging academic quest will accept this document in its place, and as brief testament to their important roles in my life.

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In the final stretch, my old undergraduate roomie Ricardo Dukes sat with me in the Sacramento State University library for four months as we both worked toward completing our doctorates. Your turn now, and thanks for checking books out for me!

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VITA

EDUCATION	
2008	PhD Ethnic Studies University of California, San Diego *Dissertation: Inhabiting Indianness: US Colonialism and Indigenous Geographies*
2001	MA Ethnic Studies University of California, San Diego *Thesis: "Race and Paradise: San Diego's Panama-California Exposition of 1915 and the Erasure of Local Native Peoples"*
1999	MA American Indian Studies University of California, Los Angeles *Thesis: "Searching for Nanaboozhoo's DNA: Social and Cultural Implications of the Attempts to Sample the Genetic Material of Native Peoples"*
1997	BA American Multicultural Studies & Philosophy (Native American Studies minor) Sonoma State University
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Fall 2006 - Fall 2007 (5 semesters)	AIS 150: American Indian History in the United States American Indian Studies Department San Francisco State University

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Spring 2003 ES 1C: Race and Ethnic Relations in the United States
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Summer 2002 Graduate Student Researcher (Dr. George Lipsitz)
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ACADEMIC PRESENTATIONS

February 26, 2008	Tenure-Track Job Talk and Teaching Demonstration Applied Indigenous Studies Position "Indians vs. Native Peoples: Struggling Against Anti-Indigenous Narrative in Film" California State University, East Bay
October 19, 2007	Invited Speaker "Indians vs. Native Peoples: Struggling Against Representations in Film" American Indian Heritage Month Cross-Cultural Center University of California, San Diego
April 5, 2007	Invited Panelist "Filipinos and the Native Peoples of California" [Multiethnic Asian Americans: Stories of Identity, Space, Community, and Empowerment]] Association for Asian American Studies (AAAS) Conference New York City
February 13, 2006	Tenure-Track Job Talk American Indian Studies Position "Intersection of Pocahontas and Moccasin: Inhabiting Indianness and Mechanisms of Neocolonialism" San Francisco State University
January 18, 2006	Guest Lecturer "Countering Narratives About Native Peoples" (Ricardo Dukes) AMCS 210: Ethnic Groups in America Sonoma State University (Rohnert Park, California)
October 7, 2005	Invited Panelist "Stories of Indigenous Thought: Native Voices Against Appropriation, Containment, Incorporation, and Inhabitance" [Contesting the Canon: Decolonizing and Re-Imagining the Past] New Directions in American Indian Research: A Gathering of Emerging Scholars University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill)
September 21, 2004	Guest Lecturer "Indigenous Politics, Culture, and the Literature of Sherman Alexie" (Dr. Elenita Strobel) AMCS 360: Ethnic Literature (2 sections) Sonoma State University (Rohnert Park, California)

April 7, 2004	Invited Panelist "Erasing Local Tribes in the Making of Paradise: San Diego's Panama-California Exposition of 1915" [World's Fairs III: Cultural Identification] 25th Annual Popular Culture Association/American Culture Association San Antonio, Texas
March 19, 2004	Invited Panelist "Playing on the Corner of Pocahontas and Moccasin: Cultural Mechanisms of (Neo)Colonialization" [Communities in Contact: American Indian and non-Indian Encounters] New Directions in American Indian Research: A Gathering of Emerging Scholars University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill)
March 15, 2003	Invited Panelist "Inhabiting Indianness" [Reconstructing Indigenous Identities] 1st Annual Conference of Ethnic Studies in California University of Southern California (Los Angeles)
July 11, 2002	Invited Presenter "The History of Balboa Park and San Diego Indians" Young Native Scholars Summer Program, Early Academic Outreach Program University of California, San Diego
May 12, 2002	Invited Presenter "The Erasure of Local Tribes in the Making of Paradise" UCSD Graduate Research Symposium University of California, San Diego
April 16, 2002	Presenter "The Racial Privacy Initiative: Deconstructing the Logic of State Mandated Color-Blindness" UCSD Early Academic Outreach Program University of California, San Diego

COMMUNITY/CAMPUS PRESENTATIONS

May 21, 2008	Panelist McNair Scholars Graduate School Forum University of California, San Diego
May 16 & 17, 2006	Panelist "American Indian History and Eliminating Mascots" Salesian High School (Richmond, California)
February 12, 2006	Panelist "FUSION Family Activity Discussion on Mixed Identities" FUSION Mixed Heritage Family Event San Francisco State University

May 11, 2005	Keynote Speaker "Honoring Those Who Came Before Us, Preparing For Those Who Will Come After" Elsie Allen Theater GEAR UP Annual Awards Ceremony Elsie Allen High School (Santa Rosa, California)
January 29, 2005	Invited Speaker "Learning and Unlearning Our Path: An Ojibwe Map" Ives Theater Pre-College Mentor and Alumni Connections Series Sonoma State University
October 13, 2004	Presenter "Graduate School for Students of Color" Multi-Purpose Room, Student Union Sonoma State University
November 6, 2003	Presenter "Get the Low Down on Graduate School: Is Graduate School for Students of Color?" Cross-Cultural Center University of California, San Diego
Summer 2003	Facilitator Summer Bridge Leadership Component UCSD Early Academic Outreach Program University of California, San Diego
July 5, 2002	Presenter "College Scheduling," Crawford High college visit for Somali students University of California, San Diego
October 17, 2001	Invited Discussant "Hear Me: Multiracial Identity-Outside the Box" Cross-Cultural Center University of California, San Diego
July 19, 2001	Invited Speaker "San Diego Indian History" Young Native Scholars Summer Program, Early Academic Outreach Program University of California, San Diego
April 21, 2001	Invited Panelist "Keys to Survival and Success in Graduate School" 11th Annual California Forum for Diversity in Graduate Education University of California, San Diego
March 23, 2001	Panelist American Indian College Talk American Indian Outreach Program Barona Band (Kumeyaay) Reservation

February 17, 2001	Co-Presenter "Voicing Your Education: Graduate School for Students of Color" 13th Annual Student of Color Conference University of California, San Diego
February 14, 2001	Panelist "Filipino and Mexican Farmworkers" Cross-Cultural Center University of California, San Diego
Fall 2001	Facilitator Graduate Application/Fellowship workshop series Cross-Cultural Center University of California, San Diego
May 30, 2000	Co-Presider "Ethnic and Urban Studies Roundtable" Faculty Mentor Program Research Symposium University of California, San Diego

RELEVANT COMMUNITY & WORK EXPERIENCE

2005- 2006	Board Member FUSION: A Program for Mixed Heritage Youth
Summer 2005	Facilitator Nationwide UNITY (United National Indian Tribal Youth) Conference
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2004-present	Reviewer Journal of American Culture
Summer 2004	Facilitator Future Leaders of Native Nations Leadership Development Conference
Spring 2003	Invited Artist Art: A|Venue Cross-Cultural Center, University of California, San Diego
2002-2004	Certified Adult Literacy Tutor READ/San Diego Literacy Program Malcolm X Branch Library, San Diego, California
Winter 2003	Course Reader (Professor Victor Hugo Viesca) Ethnic Studies 128: Hip Hop and the Politics of Culture University of California, San Diego
Fall 2002	Author "Put on Your Pilgrim Hat, It's Turkey Time!" *Common Ground: Publication of the Cross-Cultural Center of University of California, San Diego* 7(2)

Summer 2001	Program Assistant American Indian Summer Program – EAOP University of California, San Diego
1997-1999	Library Assistant I American Indian Studies Center Library University of California, Los Angeles
Summer 1997	Residential Advisor Upward Bound Program Sonoma State University
1997	Public Affairs Specialist U.S. Department of Education Washington, DC.
Summer 1996	Residential Advisor Summer Bridge Program Sonoma State University
1996	Student Researcher Indian Education Program (Title IX) Albuquerque Public School District
1995-1997	Student Coordinator Inter-Cultural Center Sonoma State University
Summer 1993 & 1994	Peer Advisor Summer Bridge Program Sonoma State University

ACADEMIC COMMITTEE SERVICE

Spring 2007	American Indian Studies Department Journal San Francisco State University
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Spring 2006-present	American Indian Mural Committee San Francisco State University
Spring 2006-Spring 2007	College of Ethnic Studies Assembly Representative American Indian Studies Department San Francisco State University
2004	Conference Planning Committee 2nd Annual Ethnic Studies in California Conference Crossing Borders: Citizenship, Social Justice, Crossroads of Culture University of California, San Diego ***Recognized for Outstanding Service***

2004	Student Member, Ethnic Studies Graduate Admissions Committee University of California, San Diego ***Recognized for Outstanding Service***
2003-2004	Graduate Editor Ethnic Studies Department Newsletter University of California, San Diego
2002	Student Representative Ethnic Studies/California Cultures Faculty Search University of California, San Diego
2001	Student Representative Ethnic Studies Graduate Admissions Committee University of California, San Diego
2000-2003	Committee Member American Indian Advisory Council University of California, San Diego
2000	Committee Member American Indian Outreach Coordinator Search University of California, San Diego
1999-2004	Committee Member Ethnic Studies Graduate Recruitment University of California, San Diego

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2007-present	Association of American Geographers
2006-present	Association for Asian American Studies
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2002-present	American Indian Alumni Association (University of California, Los Angeles)
2000-2005	Community Advisor Native American Student Alliance (University of California, San Diego)
2004-present	Popular Culture Association
2000-present	American Studies Association

2000-2001 Western Historical Society

PUBLICATIONS & BOOK REVIEWS

[Review] *First Families: A Photographic History of California Indians* by L. Frank and Kim Hogeland. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 32 (4).

"A New Era for Teaching American Indian Studies." *Teaching Race in the Twenty-First Century: College Professors Talk About Their Fears, Risks, and Rewards.* Edited by Lisa Guerrero. Palgrave MacMillan, 2008.

"American Indian Movement," "Ghost Dance Movement," "American Indians," "Sports," "Wovoka," "NWA," "Public Enemy," and "Tupac Shakur." *Encyclopedia of the American Counterculture.* Edited by Gina Misiroglu and Dr. Karen Karbiener. M.E. Sharp Publisher, 2008.

"Playing on the Corner of Pocahontas and Moccasin: Cultural Mechanisms of (Neo)Colonialization." *Proceedings of New Directions in American Indian Research: A Gathering of Emerging Scholars.* University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill), 2004. [Available Online at http://gradschool.unc.edu/natam/panels/barnd.html]

"Test of American Cultural Intelligence." *Intercultural Communication in Contexts.* Judith Martin and Thomas Nakayama. McGraw-Hill, 2006.

[Review] *Immigration and the Political Economy of Home: American Indian Minneapolis and West Indian Brooklyn, 1945-1992* by Rachel Buff. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 25(4).

[Review] *For This Land: Writings on Religion in America,* Vine Deloria Jr., edited by James Treat. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 23(4).

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Inhabiting Indianness:
US Colonialism and Indigenous Geographies

by

Natchee Blu Barnd

Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnic Studies

University of California, San Diego, 2008

Professor Ross Frank, Chair

This comparative study demonstrates a uniquely spatial phenomenon targeting American Indian peoples and communities that I call "inhabiting Indianness." Inhabiting Indianness refers to the ways that everyday citizens deploy notions of Indianness in the creation of White residential spaces and in reasserting national and therefore colonial geographies.

Chapter three serves as the core of the study, examining the construction of a racialized American geography through mundane American Indian-inspired spatial markers. I document and analyze the use of Indian-themed street names throughout

the United States, and compare their uses and meanings to street names referencing other racialized groups, including African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos. After reviewing nationwide data, I provide a more detailed case study of Clairemont, California, a suburb of San Diego.

Chapter two serves as an intellectual and pedagogical bridge for my study of the street names. This chapter documents how Indianness functions not only through visual and spectacular representations, but also through more mundane cultural practices. I analyze the use of Indianness at two northern California high schools, one that uses a non-caricatured mascot derived from a historical figure and a second where the school name itself recognizes a local native person.

In my final chapter, I present a reading of four American Indian artists. Framed in reference to the use of Indianness for marking US-claimed land, I examine how these artists articulate resistance to the production of colonial space, and reveal how their works reflect a shared effort to reassert and recognize indigenous geographies. I present the film and writing of Sherman Alexie, the poetry of Louise Erdrich, a visual art piece from Bunky Echo-Hawk, and a series of installation art works by Edgar Heap of Birds. These works of art illustrate that the artists not only speak back to appropriated notions of Indianness, but also creatively interrogate how American space must be seen as the ongoing work of colonization.

INTRODUCTION:

This comparative study demonstrates a uniquely spatial phenomenon targeting American Indian peoples and communities that I call "inhabiting Indianness." Inhabiting Indianness refers to the ways that everyday citizens deploy notions of Indianness in the creation of White residential spaces and in reasserting national and therefore colonial geographies. I also introduce the notion of "inhabiting Indianness" as a way of drawing attention to two different uses of the notion of Indianness in relation to contemporary acts of colonization. I examine a variety of cultural activities through which native and non-native peoples work to take ownership over the notion of Indianness, how such claims diverge and intersect, and why this discussion matters. Ultimately, I argue that inhabiting Indianness has cultural, economic, material, and political consequences for native communities and peoples. Indeed, the battle over the spatiality of Indianness offers a productive new way of framing current native struggles against the ongoing work of US colonization.

My research brings together questions of geography, history, and culture, while also being consciously focused on contemporary practices. It suggests that we must carefully and genuinely examine how we are all implicated in the production of colonial space. This project is rooted in the understanding that the US remains a colonial state, and that issues of land and space are vital to American Indian communities and peoples. I was taught at an early age that wherever I might travel, that I should always pay respects and give deference to local native peoples. My

research asks the same of its readers, and everyone else concerned about social justice and opposed to colonialism. Heeding the wisdom of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, I call for us to collectively work toward effectively realizing native "right to the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired." Rather than just diagnosing problems and critiquing others' actions, however, I also endeavor to provide working examples of how we might all act as anti-colonial subjects. Following the lead of several artists, who I outline below, I offer suggestions on how we might engage in counter-hegemonic cultural practices and the difficult task of (re)producing new kinds of anti-colonial space.

It should be noted that the order of the following summaries is non-linear, paralleling my research trajectory and reflecting my understanding of the relational role of each section. Chapter three, for example, actually serves as the core of the study, examining the construction of a racialized American geography through mundane American Indian-inspired spatial markers. This chapter documents the proliferation of Indian-themed street names, and offers the major research contribution of my project. During the past half-century, developers have constructed enormous residential clusters that they happily marked with textual references of Indianness. These references slip unnoticed into spatial usage, signaling their profound hegemony. I also offer a glimpse at how these spatial practices distinguish the racialization of American Indian peoples from that of other racialized groups. Contrasting deployments of blackness, brownness, Asian-ness, as well as Spanish language, I

demonstrate that Indianness is inseparable from colonization and persists as a uniquely spatial problem.

My first chapter was the last written. It functions partly as an introduction to my project concerns and partly as a pause for solidifying my core definitions and parameters. After completing most of the research and writing of the other chapters, this chapter was intended to make explicit the ways that my work is the product of critical and comparative ethnic studies. It takes the form of a literature review, presenting my intellectual influences, theoretical frames, and methodological strategies through a focus on four key concepts: differential inclusion, Indianness, culture, and indigenous geography. These concepts form the basis for my analysis of the battle over how Indianness is "inhabited."

Chapter two examines the use of Indianness at two northern California high schools, and specifically aims to distinguish between the kinds of Indian representation typically analyzed and critiqued (mascots) from that which can be more easily and more insidiously incorporated by a well-intentioned multiculturalist aesthetic. Guided by a strong pedagogical motivation and reflecting my experiences as a university instructor in American Indian Studies, this chapter complicates the study of mascots as a way to reach audiences familiar with the mascot "controversy" and expose the implications of colonial appropriations beyond discussions of good versus bad, accurate versus inaccurate representations. I also developed it to initiate discussions of discourse (as opposed to just visual presentation) and explore the material consequences of discursive violence. In all, the case studies in this chapter

specifically open the door for understanding how everyday cultural practices incorporate Indianness not only in spectacular, caricatured fashion, but also through mundane non-visual modes. These incorporations ultimately prove vital to being able to generate a non-colonial US landscape. In this way, chapter two serves as an intellectual and pedagogical bridge for my study of the street names in the third chapter.

My final chapter helps provide alternatives to the spatial practices unpacked in the preceding chapters by exploring an alternative, native-centered ways of inhabiting Indianness. I present the work of a handful of American Indian artists who have resisted the spatial construction of non-native Indianness and the simultaneous erasure of indigenous geographies. I examine poetry by Louise Erdrich, writing and filmmaking from Sherman Alexie, visual art by Bunky Echo-Hawk, and the installation art of Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds. Each of these artists offer challenges to the non-native inhabitance of Indianness. These works of art illustrate that the artists not only speak back to appropriated notions of Indianness, but also creatively interrogate how American space must be seen as the ongoing work of colonization. They take the power of popular culture seriously, drawing attention to the ways that the American nation continually generates non-native space through cultural consumption and practices. They also use popular culture extensively in their own work, appropriating its force in order to critique destructive hegemonic spatial practices as well as to celebrate and reassert the survival of indigenous geographies.

While my project developed around the street name research presented in chapter three, the entire project is ultimately concerned with the integral relationship between Indianness and spatial productions in whatever forms they manifest. It suggests an ongoing contestation over who gets to inhabit Indianness, what that inhabitance looks like, and the consequences of each. This project is fundamentally concerned with relationships of power, and specifically the mechanisms of contemporary forms of colonialism. It insists that colonization persists in new forms, still producing anti-indigenous spaces, and being practiced through a variety of mundane and thus deceptively potent activities.

CHAPTER 1: THANKING THE INTELLECTUAL ANCESTORS
A Literature Review

As a work of interdisciplinary ethnic studies, this dissertation gathers theoretical and methodological inspiration from a vast array of fields, many of which are already dizzyingly interdisciplinary themselves. My work is of course rooted in the political concerns and foundations of ethnic studies and American Indian studies.[1] This means that I take the subject of race seriously and as a foremost category of interrogation. Yet ethnic studies is about more than just race. In truth, ethnic studies is primarily concerned with the configurations and articulations of power, and its materialization into structurally supported social inequalities. Thus, race is only one (albeit extremely important) category of analysis that intersects with, is informed by, and in turn informs, equally significant categories of gender, sexuality, class, language, space, and citizenship. Successful engagement with such multiple, intersecting categories requires an ability to work across the (failing) boundaries of traditional academic disciplines and simplified categories of social identity. It means being able to view an event, issue, or problem through multiple eyes – and yet focusing a broad understanding through an instructive, specific site or set of sites.

In the following chapters, I offer readings of several sites, as well as interrogate the very geographic metaphor and existence of sites. My inquiry enters a

[1] American Indian studies can both fit within and protrude from the field of ethnic studies. Despite challenges by leading American Indian scholars like Elizabeth Cook-Lynn (Cook-Lynn and Howe

dialogue that is characterized by projects that have begun to destabilize many of the assumptions and conclusions we inherited from Enlightenment thinking (Omi and Winant 1994: 63-64). Race, gender, and sexuality, for example, have come to be understood as socially constructed forms of identity that mark bodies and occupy particular sets of relationships to social structures (Omi and Winant 1994: 55, Said 1979: 7). While these identities are constructions, they nevertheless have serious consequences.[2] They consistently affect how resources are distributed, the quality and extent of social interactions, and the modes with which we formulate our very ideas (Omi and Winant 1994: 54-55). In this sense, I am drawing from the insights of postcolonial and postmodern thinking on the importance of power as knowledge and as a source for the production of "subjects" (Said 1994b: 3). By taking a non-structural approach, however, I avoid the pitfalls of imagining an all-powerful realm of discourse that knows no limits and yet I am intensely focused on the structural realities of racialized social life in the US. I explicitly draw upon theories of agency and hegemony that allow for the negotiation of the knowledge that produces/is power.

2001), I find that (appropriately practiced) ethnic studies is flexible enough to fully embrace the conceptual concerns and material experiences of American Indian studies and native communities.

[2] In his work *Race: The History of an Idea in America*, Thomas F. Gossett traces the development of American conceptions of race. He describes how by the nineteenth century, race was a firmly entrenched idea, and that it was understood to be biologically determining of individual and group development. In *Race and Manifest Destiny*, Reginald Horsman agrees that the concept of race as indicative of "innately different capabilities was firmly engrained in American scientific thinking by the middle of the [nineteenth] century" (Horsman 1981: 137). The consequence of this understanding was that these "natural" differences between racial groups were seen as the most logical explanation for social, economic, cultural, and political inequalities. As part of an evolutionary theory of human development, various forms of conflict between "races" was also assumed to be natural and indicative of the need for the dominant group to establish their superiority. As Gossett states, "races were thought to represent different stages of the evolutionary scale with the white race – or sometimes a subdivision of the white race – at the top" (Gossett 1997: 144). Thus, racial conflict was considered as both reasonable and as an "indispensable method for producing superior men, superior nations, and superior races" (Gossett 1997: 145).

Outside of my positioning in ethnic studies and American Indian studies, I pull most heavily from the (also interdisciplinary) fields of cultural studies and cultural geography.[3] In all, I characterize my work as being critical indigenous geography – and have recently been encouraged to learn of the (timely) emergence of the field of indigenous geography. Below, I outline how I have pieced together these scholarly lineages and where I have found my intellectual inspiration. Given the interdisciplinary nature of this project, I have gathered scholarly influences around my use of several key concepts rather than centralizing fields of study and recounting their respective genealogies (although I do offer that record to some extent). From these key concepts, I present constellations of scholarly influence and chart out my (non-linear) scholarly ancestry. My four concepts are: differential inclusion, Indianness, culture, and indigenous geography. Each of these concepts have guided and shaped my research, projected me into indigenous geography, and framed my working conclusions.

DIFFERENTIAL INCLUSION

I begin discussion of my key concepts with a brief elaboration on "differential inclusion." Following Espiritu's articulation, differential inclusion refers to the processes "whereby a group of people is deemed integral to the nation's economy, culture, identity and power – but integral only or precisely because of their designated

[3] Cultural geographers Atkinson et al. (2005) encourage "trans-disciplinary work" and characterize their own stance as "post-disciplinary" (xi).

subordinate standing" (2003: 47). This conceptual frame literally refers to the ways that peoples are included within a nation-state in different ways, ways that are determined through notions of racial "difference," as well as through distinctions of gender, sexuality, immigration-status, class, and so on. Espiritu uses the notion of differential inclusion to highlight the simultaneous modes of inclusion *and* exclusion experienced by racialized peoples (in her research, Filipinos in particular) in their encounters with the material and discursive configuration of the United States. As she illustrates in *Homebound*, the differential inclusion model complicates previous conceptual frames for discussing racialized peoples in the United States (historically and in contemporary times) as being merely excluded from citizenship, culture, economies, rights, or general social participation.

To use an extreme case as an example, in early America, most African-descendant people were excluded as political citizens of the nation. Starting with a constitutional article that deemed "slaves" worth only 3/5 of a person in terms of congressional seats, and yet unable to cast (even 3/5) votes, African Americans (a term already suggesting differential inclusion) were denied political recognition.[4] Yet, early nation-builders relied heavily on enslaved African labor and the institution of slavery, thus making those African-descendant peoples an undeniably vital part of the nation, even if excluded from formal participation. Rather than being excluded entirely, African-descendant people were granted a fully subordinate standing that contained their forced inclusion in the nation (as compulsory laborers). The American

[4] US Constitution, Article 1, Section 2, Paragraph 3.

states ultimately engaged in civil war in order to determine who had the authority to decide what kinds of inclusion would be extended to African Americans (or anyone else), and what kinds of exclusion would be maintained. Similar frames of relationship hold true for every marginalized group – as contained, forcibly-included sources of cheap labor, as wards, as villains, and as deviants.[5]

Like the above example for African Americans, American Indian experiences are characterized by the tensions between inclusion and exclusion. Thus, throughout my work, I am attentive to the specificity of differential inclusion of American Indian peoples. Indeed, American Indian insistence on sovereignty (political, cultural, economic, geographic independence, or self-imposed exclusion) from the US nation-state marks one of the key ongoing distinctions that separate native peoples from "ethnic" or "racial minorities." These distinctive features also characterize my understanding of (and the critical value of engaging in) comparative ethnic studies. Differential inclusion offers a productive way of keeping forefront the impact of structural forces on all racialized peoples, while simultaneously accounting for the specificity of experience for each differently racialized group. The theoretical re-framing offered by differential inclusion is equally valuable as a means of comparatively viewing the structurally shared experiences of racialized populations (among others), while appropriately recognizing that differently "marked" groups experience(d) the United States in distinctive ways.

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[5] Like the term "African American," the word "marginalization" implies an existence along the "margins" of society rather than "outside" of (or actively distinguished from) said society. Espiritu also effectively demonstrates that even patterns of "voluntary" immigration or migration are directed by

Differential inclusion also suggests that racialized group experiences change according to the historical or cultural moment, and depending upon other "intersectionalities."[6] Thus, the "specificity" of what it means to be American Indian in the US and in the current historical moment, is different from the specificity of what it means to be Asian American or Latino, as well as from the specificity of what American Indian meant in 1776, 1880, or 1945.[7] Likewise, women and men experience distinctly sexed realities within each racial identity matrix (and vice versa).

I consider how the Indian is incorporated as a vital nation-building, nation-sustaining narrative in the *contemporary* era, and through the use of popular (mundane) cultural practices and discourses. So while, Asians and Asian Americans are deemed "forever foreign," as Lowe (1996) has pointed out, American Indians (largely through the use of the Indian) might be considered "intensely domestic."[8] From this peculiar cultural positioning, the Indian is fundamental as an internalized mechanism for American identity, and thus constantly and discursively incorporated. In contrast, the "Asian" has long been cast as a figure for defining American identity through negation – through the constant refusal to incorporate Asian bodies into the national body. According to Lowe, the "different," Asian remains as symbol of what

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global or imperial policies that generate irresistible circumstances which instigate large-scale population movements.

[6] Crenshaw (1995) introduced intersectionality as a way of accounting for the complex matrix of social identities that comprise very individual. Crenshaw specifically describes the distinct gendered experience of "black women" in relation to "black men" and the distinct racial experience of "black women" in relation to "white women."

[7] Again, these "specificities" are even further complicated by the intersectionalities of race, class, gender, sexuality, citizenship, and so on.

[8] Razack formulates the relationship between land and differential inclusion in this way: "If Aboriginal peoples are consigned forever to an earlier space and time, people of colour [sic] are scripted as late

the American is not (the Other) and vice versa. The Indian on the other hand, especially when used as symbol for the landscape itself (Indian=land), often serves to precisely identify the space of United States (and thus the American). Contemporary modes of expressing this figuring have shifted, and require a different set of questions, new sites of analysis, and a critical attentiveness to their fluidity.

The approach of attending to both inclusion *and* exclusion opens analysis into how and why different groups are impacted by differing articulations of identity, and reminds us that the Other is fundamental to the non-Other (or the Same). In this way, Espiritu's concept expands Said's (1994b) original take on "Orientalism," in which he articulates how cultural mechanisms produce and naturalize the Other, as well as how those mechanisms simultaneously (and necessarily) produce the equally naturalized constructions of Sameness.[9] In all, the notion of differential inclusion gives a name to the diverse, yet specific racialized experiences of people of color in the United States. It builds upon an understanding first developed in literary theory; that the core-periphery or center-margin constructions cannot be so easily separated, and that they are in fact mutually constitutive of one another, both epistemologically and materially.

My research takes advantage of these helpful complications in order to examine how (anti-indigenous, or colonial) space is currently produced through mundane cultural practices (largely centered through the figure of the Indian and notions of Indianness). The artists whose work I examine in chapter four specifically

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arrivals, coming to the shores of North America long after much of the development has occurred" (2002: 3).

[9] Schueller (1998) complicates Said's work by showing how "Orientalism" is actually composed of multiple, competing, and historically shifting versions of "Orientalism.

challenge and confront the figure of the Indian, largely through acts of insurgent re-appropriation, which act as challenges to the contained points of inclusion and exclusion offered through both legal and cultural realms. In addition, their work suggests a re-orientation toward the narratives of inclusion. Instead of asserting the voice of a minority seeking more full (cultural, economic, and political) inclusion and recognition, they reassert calls for native sovereignty (read: control over sites and modes of inclusion and exclusion) as well as the persistence (and re-establishment) of indigenous geographies.

INDIANNESS

Any consideration of American Indian peoples requires a careful articulation of the complicated concepts Indian and Indianness. Since the first forays of Christopher Columbus into (what we now refer to as) the Caribbean, the native inhabitants of the Americas have been subjected to and have actively contested the imposed Indian label that only tangentially related to actual native peoples. My use of the terms Indian and Indianness throughout my work should be understood to contain the necessarily ongoing contestations centered on these concepts, although I will not place them in quotes except when its seems otherwise useful. As Berkhofer first articulated, when Europeans made their collective way to the Western Hemisphere, they found no Indians there (1979: 3). Rather, there were vast collections of indigenous peoples who self-identified by their own particular names, histories, and relationships. Only as a result of contact did Indians begin to emerge out of the

psyche of European explorers and intellectuals.[10] While the term Indian eventually did come to have significance as a marker of self-identification, it did so only through the persistent application of that term by Europeans (and Americans), and the shared treatment experienced because of that imposed racialized, gendered identity.[11] Berkhofer's opening proposition changed how scholars thought about Indians, and began a productive interrogation of the meaning of Indianness.[12] His work documented how the Indian changed meanings during different historical contexts, how that identity was flexible enough to contain different (even contradictory) meanings simultaneously, and showed that these malleable modes of Indianness were always contested and contestable.

My core concern with Indianness hinges on its relational meaning to notions of racialized difference, Whiteness, gender, and the production of space. As I will explore below, Indianness is constructed through a matrix of conceptual frames and in relation to notions of non-nativeness (including Whiteness) and constructions of masculinity and femininity. It also figures heavily in the production of the American nation through ongoing spatial imaginations. Thus, I propose the notion of "inhabiting Indianness" – a concept describing the extent and mechanisms by which Indian

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[10] See Pearce (1967).

[11] Despite widespread acceptance of the term Indian within native communities, users of the term do not correlate it with the non-native constructed Indian figure. Nagel (1997), treated above, provides a solid overview of how the activism and Red Power movement of the 1970s reversed a trend of American Indians denying their heritage in response to generations of state-sponsored and everyday anti-indigenous violence. She also notes a rise in non-native persons laying claim to (a suddenly more fashionable) "Indianness" in this same time period.

[12] It is important to recognize that Berkhofer also points back toward the work of Nash Smith, Roy Harvey Pearce, Vine Deloria, and Leslie Fielder as inspirational academic sources for his project. I will not focus on these earlier works except to say that they each helped to clear the intellectual space from

identities are deployed by non-native native peoples for a variety of cultural and political purposes, including the production of racialized, national landscape.

My project is not so interested in deconstructing the specifics of how or when the Indian figure is/was composed. This task has been successfully accomplished by many scholars, and an entire camp of scholars continues to engage in this kind of anti-stereotype analysis.[13] As early as 1964, John Ewers presented a thorough documentation of how the markings of the Plains Indian cultures came to represent and encompass Indianness over the last century and a half, ever since the artistic "salvage ethnography" work of George Catlin and Karl Bodmer.[14] Since Ewers'

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which scholars could begin to better think about the significance of the Indian as a symbolic representation of Western, and later American, history and identity.

[13] Gretchen Bataille, an academic administrator, has emerged as one of the more prolific editorial figures for the work on Indian representations. *The Pretend Indians* (Bataille and Silet, eds. 1980), for example, provided an early, much-needed critique of representational practices. In all, *The Pretend Indians* tells us that films have "presented the viewing public with a rather badly distorted picture of American Indian peoples" (Bataille 1980: xix). The upshot of the text is an informed demand for better accuracy, authenticity, sensitivity, and seriousness toward the production of filmic representations of American Indian peoples. Unfortunately, twenty years after the publication of that initial text this conversation needed revisiting in academic and mainstream circles. Bataille's publication (in 2001) of *Native American Representation* offered the same kind of critique, but expanded the types of media treated.

Parallel to Dilworth's (1996) deconstructive work, Bird's *Dressing in Feathers* (1996) is populated with texts that seek to "describe the dominant cultural fabrication of the Indian" (7). Churchill tells us that we need to "come to grips with the manner in which Indians have been displayed on both the tube and silver screen, as well as the motivations underlying it" (168). Thus, these works focus on producing a more critical understanding of the ways in which Indian images are produced and employed in the service of nation-building, racial formation, and the policing of gender.

[14] John C. Ewers published one of the early significant pieces of scholarship in an article entitled "The Emergence of the Plains Indian as the Symbol of the North American Indian" (1964). Ewers' work provided a critical intervention in the national practice of homogenizing American Indian peoples in popular culture, and in particular the tendency to visualize images of Plains Indians as representative for all natives appearance, dress, and cultural practice. Typically, the only alternative offered besides the Plains theme is the Pueblo theme, which has its own specific relation to the history of tourism and commodification. See Dilworth (1996). Occasionally, the totems poles of the Northwest or the birch bark canoes of the Northeast woodlands are depicted, although usually out of context and frequently within a distorted jumble of Indian objects and symbols. In any case, the motif is almost always (romantically) historicized. Ewers ties the focus on this "lamentable" time period to the already proliferated work of several key artists who were commissioned to "salvage" whatever remnants they

work, a wave of scholarship has effectively deconstructed the various misrepresentations and the cultural service which such caricaturizations provide.[15]

Berkhofer also reminds us that the various historical understandings of Indians and Indianness tells us far more about the non-native peoples that invented them than it really ever tells about the native peoples they purport to name. Yet, he ultimately treats the categories Indian and White as though they exist independently of the processes of their social articulation. Despite its generative proposal, Berkhofer's work did not explicitly recognize the relationship between the idea of Indianness and that of Whiteness. Following the lead of Said (1979), I recognize that such "original" identities require the processes of negotiation and articulation. Indianness must be seen as a mutually constitutive identity with Whiteness. This not to say that Whiteness could not exist without Indianness, but merely to say that it could not exist without the simultaneous production of non-Whiteness, whether it be in the form of "blackness" or some other form of racialized, gendered "difference." Berkhofer

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could from the "disappearing race." In this way, the painting and sketches by George Catlin and Karl Bodmer, for example, quickly became solidified as iconic markers of Indianness in general.

[15] More general treatments of "Indianness" have been treated elsewhere, drawing from theoretical critiques derived from postcolonial theory (and practice). Rachel Buff's *Immigration and the Political Economy of Home* (2001) and Joane Nagel's *American Indian Ethnic Renewal* (1997), for example, provide useful models for examining the employment of intellectual and cultural practices in asserting sovereignty and resisting the obliterating elements of neo-colonialism. They contextualize their respective cultural sites by making clear the structural conditions with which such practices are engaged. Buff, for example, focuses her work on the ways that "Indian people draw on an arsenal of memory and reinvented traditions to negotiate their positions as dual citizens of Indian and U.S. nations and cultures" especially through the appropriation of mass media in forming "alternative media networks" (Buff 2001: 149-151). This approach fits well in her larger project that draws historical and cultural parallels (but not conflations) between the lived "diasporic" experiences of West Indians and American Indians in metropolitan spaces. Nagel documents the dual constitution of pan-Indian identities and revitalization of traditional (tribally-specific) cultural practices that resulted from and further developed out of contestation of U.S. colonialism. She traces the political and cultural activities of the Red Power movement and theorizes its cultural outcome, primarily in terms of an impressive upswing in American Indian identity reclamation.

nearly makes this point when he rightly tells us that prior to the arrival of Europeans on the American continents, there were no Indians (as a racially defined category of people) (1979: 3-4). Yet, Whiteness too, was only beginning to form during the global encounters between peoples of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. If we do not make this point carefully, we might be able to understand Berkhofer's argument about the production of Indians, but we will ultimately be required to accept the pre-existence of (misrepresented) Indians (and "whites") before Berkhofer (rightly) shows that they were created. These are important points because they signal the beginning of several centuries worth of work that have "naturalized" the identities, hidden their constant (re)production, and elided their ultimate contestability.

Rayna Green prefigured the relationship between Indianness and gender, explicitly describing the production of Indian as American national identity in "The Pocahontas Perplex" (1990 [1975]). In her seminal article, Green pays attention to the ways that the gendering of Indians necessarily has different implications for a nation-under-construction. The initial European symbolic gendering of the "New World" (and its inhabitants) as feminine, for example, signified particular sets of colonial and exploratory meanings.[16] In contrast, the most dominant and current gendering of Indianness is unmistakably male, as demonstrated by the heavy focus on the militarily resistant Plains warrior figure. So while Bird (1996) ponders the possibility of a return to a Pocahontas figure (or another feminized figure) as the representation of

[16] In reading a Jan van der Straet engraving of the meeting between Amergio Vespucci and "America" McClintock argues that the scene (and thus the encounter itself) represents a "crisis in male imperial identity" and that the "document" is thus "both of paranoia and megalomania" (1995: 24-30).

Indianness, the US Treasury recalled the 2000 Sacagawea (with baby) one-dollar coin due to a lack of public interest.[17]

As I argue in chapter three, the gendering of racialized Indians must also account for the complicated and shifting linkages formed between Indians and the land. During the initial colonization, the land and its occupants were gendered feminine. From his first days (by October 14th at least), Columbus feminized the Taino peoples, confidently asserting his belief that the Spanish could quickly and easily subdue the "peaceful" Caribbean inhabitants with just fifty (Spanish) 'men' (Las Casas 1960: 28). Yet, this discursive precursor to the noble savage figure was tempered by his interest in "cannibals," discursive precursors for the irrationally violent, hyper-masculine savage figure. Either figure, of course, was equally valuable in the narrative conquest of the Western hemisphere. The notion of civilization marked native peoples and cultures as agent-less, subject to rather than makers of "History." Colonizers and nation-builders sought sexual access and control over the "passive," feminized Indians and their bountiful, "virginal" landscape. They also demanded restraint and control over the "wild," hyper-masculinized figure and the untamed natural world.[18] Even while the Indian is now a masculinized figure

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[17] Note: there is ongoing discussions about the name of woman who assisted Lewis and Clark on their journey across the continent. Kessler (1996: 1, 211 footnote 1) notes that a variety of camps have staked claims on different spellings and pronunciations, including Sacagawea, Sacajewea, and Sakakawea. The US House of Representatives have held a series of hearings on the failure of the coin to gain acceptance, with much of the discussion centering on the general public's resistance to using coins instead of dollar bills, and a poor distribution plan. One hearing, however, reported findings indicating that a vast majority of Americans preferred a coin featuring the Statue of Liberty instead of "Sacagawea." See United States General Accounting Office (1999) and (2002).

[18] As Espiritu points out regarding discursive creation of Filipino subjects, those native peoples who fought back were constructed as "frenzied, cruel, revengeful, and merciless," and thereby "lacking" the admirable restraints of rational, "civilized" men (2003: 55). Espiritu notes that the United States

(although feminized in terms of the "failure" to attain and defend a "civilization"), in the third chapter, I suggest that the places now marked by Indian street names are residential, homemaking places – those normatively constructed as feminized space.

Finally, I briefly turn to the relationship between Indianness and space. In Deloria's evocative text *Playing Indian* (1998), he effectively documents how European Americans have consistently used notions of Indianness to construct national and individual identities for a borrowed sense of indigenousness.[19] Considering the motivations for this "national pastime" Deloria picks up on a crafty cultural observation by American literary figure DH Lawrence. Citing Lawrence's proclamation that "'no place exerts its full influence upon a newcomer until the old inhabitant is dead or absorbed,'" Deloria cites the desire to explore this spatially-formed Indian figure beyond "the world of texts and images" (Deloria 1998: 6, includes Lawrence quoted by Deloria). Claiming that "faux Mohawks" are "more interesting" than Lawrence's abstracted "texts and images," Deloria looks to focus on how the symbolic destruction-absorption dialectic within (or ambivalence toward) the Indian is ultimately "translated into material forms" (1998: 6).[20]

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frequently triangulated Filipinos by employing racial discourse and policies developed for American Indians and African Americans (2003: 60).

[19] Deloria's work expands on Rayna Green's (1988) original observations about the "origin stories" that continually link together Indianness and Americanness through "play" (Green 1988: 34).

[20] Shari Huhndorf's (2001) *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* compliments the theoretical force of Deloria's work, re-emphasizing the "contours of power" that both shape and define practices of both "playing" and "going" Indian. Instead of looking at the phenomenon of playing Indian, Huhndorf reworks a closely related practice of individuals making efforts to actually become Indian.[20] In distinction from Deloria, then, Huhndorf views acts of going native as individual attempts to psychologically resolve the contradictions of American colonization and modernity by "leaving" the Western world, rather than by a conscious manipulation of symbols in an effort to (re)shape a largely acceptable world. So, while each author effectively demonstrates (and would likely agree on) the way that such practices have similar causes and consequences for American Indian peoples, Huhndorf

I look to reverse the focus of Deloria's important interrogation. While he turns toward the spectacle of costumes, my work considers the profound materiality of the "world of texts and images" that he so 'casually' dismisses. In chapter three, for instance, I leave behind concern about "faux Mohawks" and appropriated "feathers, blankets, headdress, and war paint" to attend to the material manifestation of 'text' through hundreds upon hundreds of Mohawk Streets. Thus, while one of Deloria's key themes is "the notion of disguise" achieved through the spectacular appropriation of Indianness, I am interested in how Indianness is hidden in plain sight, and how (largely white) Americanness is formulated through the Indian when costumes are absent.

Deloria draws from the insights gained in studies of carnival and masquerade (Bakhtin in particular), primitivism (from Torgovnick and Carr), and the performance of Blackface to direct our attention to the long-standing currency of Indianness and the means by which these historically shifting ideas are made functional.[21] The line between what Deloria calls playing Indian (and what Huhndorf identifies as "going native") is thin (but not unimportant). What is generative about their work is the focus on the appropriation of a racialized, gendered (almost always male) identity, and the fact that such ownership is readily obtainable (and retainable). Where I differ from Deloria (and Huhndorf) is in the naming of a process I call "inhabiting Indianness." I

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distinguishes her work from that of Deloria by stating that playing Indian involves the "temporary donning of Native costume and emulating Native practices (real or invented)" for the purposes of resolving national and individual issues of "identity and authenticity" (7). Going native, on the other hand, involves a "more permanent" adoption of "Native life" that in the end nevertheless serves to "maintain European-American racial and national identities" (8).

[21] For more on blackface minstrelsy see Rogin (1996) and Lott (1995)

take inhabiting Indianness to be a much more enveloping act of colonial, racial, and national imagination than that of either playing Indian or going native. Since I am looking at acts that are not explicit, but implicit, my methodological approach necessarily diverges from that of Deloria and Huhndorf. I employ a methodology that looks to uncover how individuals (collectively and apart) that are not involved in fraternal societies, revolutions, or new ageism nevertheless come to implicitly understand and thus learn to deploy Indianness. Where playing or going Indian requires an active gesture, I argue that inhabiting Indianness implies the possibility of a less conscious form of participation and consumption. Indeed, this follows the contemporary theoretical understanding of how processes of racialization and gendering (formulations of power in a Foucauldian sense) actually take place and maintain their force without much external regulation. Deloria's otherwise illuminating work ultimately "misses" the spatial element of Lawrence's easy conflation between the Indian and the land. Inhabiting is simultaneously a psychic maneuver, a spatial ordering, and a material practice.

CULTURE

Given my influences from cultural studies and cultural geography, I focus sharply upon everyday practices of "culture" and on the production of "space." This section discusses my use of culture, the next covers space through my treatment of indigenous geography. I am most concerned with approaching the idea of culture in three ways. First, I center my work on mundane cultural practices (in this case, the

use of Indian mascots [chapter two] and the "apolitical" naming of streets [chapter three]), drawing inspiration from the widely-used notion of hegemony first put forth by Italian Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci. Second, I highlight a reworked notion of Osage literary scholar Robert Allen Warrior's concept of an American Indian Intellectual Tradition in order to contextualize the cultural/spatial work of the native artists I examine in chapter four. Lastly, I discuss the nature (and ambivalence) of cultural appropriation as both a tool for consolidating hegemony and as a weapon for anti-colonial resistance.

Before discussing my three treatments of culture, I offer a working understanding (not quite a definition) of this complicated term. At its most basic, culture refers to the practices of human groups.[22] In *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward Said outlined a popular definition of culture as "all those practices, like the arts of description, communication, and representation, that have relative autonomy from the economic, social, and political realms and that often exist in aesthetic forms, one of whose principle aims is pleasure" (1994: xii). As a self-described "exile" belonging to "both sides of the imperial divide," Said recognizes that cultures overlap with and partially define other cultures, as we have already explored (2000: xxvii). Every culture is also always changing. Thus, the limits of any one culture are always difficult to discern, and always being contested – often through efforts to expand or retract their boundaries.

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[22] In "A Rough Guide," editors Anderson, Domosh, Pile, and Thrift chart out a helpful breakdown of five ways of thinking about culture: as distribution of things, way of life, meaning, doing, and as power. See Anderson, Domosh, Pile, and Thrift (2003).

Said's definition is an entryway, one that can now be seen as lacking in many areas (the notion of culture's "autonomy" being suspect, to start). Williams (1976) assertion that the term culture is the "most complicated" in the English language likewise suggests that such a concise definition lacks sufficiency. My use of culture relies on the reframing provided by the field of cultural studies. Cultural studies recognizes that culture is as much about structuring relations of power as it is about daily practices and ways of seeing the world. As I am concerned with all of these elements of culture, as well as their relationship to space, I draw my working definition from the field of cultural geography. At the end of Mitchell's "critical introduction," he sets out another, more nuanced definition of culture. His definition seeks to synthesize the tangible and less tangible elements that comprise culture and suggests why scholarship must call out social dynamics produced and maintained through cultural practices and understandings – dynamics that are far from autonomous of Said's economic, social, and political realms.

> Culture consists in practices, but it is also a 'system of signification.' Culture is a way people make sense of the world …, but it is also a system of power and domination. Culture is a means of differentiating the world, but it is also global and hegemonic. Culture is open and fluid, a 'text,' … always open to multiple readings and interpretations, but it is something with causative power … and hence must be unitary and solid enough to be efficacious. Culture is a level, or sphere, or domain, or idiom; but it also a whole way of life. Culture is clearly language – or 'text,' or 'discourse' – but is also the social, material construction of such things as 'race' and 'gender.' Culture is a point of political contact, it *is* politics; but it is also both ordinary and the best that is thought and known (Mitchell 2000: 64).

More closely aligned with the actual work of Said's scholarship (rather than his curious definition) and Williams' complications, Mitchell suggests that culture, rather than a collection of aesthetic forms or indelible markers of group identity, is simply "politics by another name" (2000: 3). Examined critically, and through this lens, it describes how people generate "maps of meaning" for their worlds, and (for the purposes of my work) offer a way of exploring how those "maps" constitute and are constituted through the relationship between Indianness and space.[23]

Working from these understandings of culture (at the intersection of cultural studies and cultural geography), I am most interested in how the realm of mundane cultural practices translates into hegemonic structure. According to Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, the most simple, contemporary definition of hegemony is "domination by consent" (1998: 116).[24] Early theorists understood the concept of hegemony in terms of an unbridled "political rule or domination" (Williams 1977: 108). The "classic" model of Marxist thought added the concept of ideology in order to account for the relations between classes and the function of class interests. Althusser (1971) later complicated the notion of ideology by distinguishing between what he calls Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs) and Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs).[25] The ISAs function to gain the "consent" of individuals and to "hail" them

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[23] For more about the seminary work on "maps of meaning" in relation to the production of space, see Jackson (1989).

[24] The authors argue that Gramsci's concept of hegemony provides an explanation for how and why the "capacity to influence the thought of the colonized is by far the most sustained and potent operation of imperial power in colonized regions.

[25] While RSAs and ISAs are inextricably linked and indeed constitutive of one another, their functions and methods are quire distinct. RSAs are institutions like the police and the military that threaten or resort to violence in order to enforce social regulations. ISAs, on the other hand, consist of institutions that interpellate subjects, or teach individuals how to conduct themselves and understand their world.

into social subjectivity. Althusser's clarification (as with Gramsci) makes it apparent that the maintenance of hegemony is better or most effectively (and perhaps only) achieved by non-coercive means rather than by coercive ones. Cultural studies and media studies scholars frequently employ this understanding as a way to frame the importance of cultural practices and the media. This theoretical position allows cultural studies scholar Stuart Hall to make the claim that a wide variety of (often seemingly benign) cultural productions are "key stakes as objects of political and ideological struggle and practice" (Hall 1996: 439).

Taking into consideration the breadth of activities that are included within culture and the necessarily power-laden nature of such practices, my research turns to the hegemonic force of such daily, unconscious practices. Here I draw from Billig's (1995) articulation of what he names the "banal" (and I call mundane) production of nationhood. By examining the subtle work of public words like "we, us, our, them, and home," Billig illuminates the inner workings of (modern, democratic) hegemony.[26] As he points out, the construction of the nation is not a conscious daily activity. "The citizens of an established nation do not, day by day, consciously decide that their nation should continue" (Billig 1995: 95). Far from being such a conscious activity, nations are actually built through common routines and "benign" assumptions. "The reproduction of a nation does not occur magically. Banal practices, rather than conscious choice or collective acts of imagination, are required.

[26] He clarifies that "Banal nationalism operates with prosaic, routine words, which take nations for granted, and which, in so doing enhabit [sic] them. Small words, rather than grand memorable phrases, offer constant, but barely conscious, reminders of the homeland, making 'our' national identity unforgettable" (Billig 1995: 93).

Just as a language will die rather for want of regular users, so a nation must be put to daily use" (Billig 1995: 95). As Sharp recalls, a "more cultural approach to national identity illustrates that the incredible power of national identity stems from its mundaneness, or banality" (2003: 475). From this perspective, the force of hegemony rests in the ability to produce a particular kind of common sense that produces subjects who regulate themselves along the lines of its ideological map. It means that power manifests through "the everyday." It means that Indian mascots and street names are part of a national "common sense." It also means that challenging this common sense can be an effective and materially significant strategy.

Challenging hegemony is, by definition, not an easy task. Hall (1996) points out that, by noting that shifting historical conditions differently shape hegemonic social formations, Gramsci produces a model for understanding racism (for instance) within a historically and materially specific context. He therefore calls for a recognition of the plurality of racisms as against the view that "because racism is everywhere a deeply anti-human and anti-social practice, that therefore it is everywhere the same – either in its forms, its relations to other structures and processes, or its effects" (Hall 1996: 435). As we have learned, often by honest mistake, the racisms encountered within a specific historical period are experienced distinctively according to one's particular racialization, and the meanings and experiences of racialization constantly shift within and across historical periods. The importance of having this understanding of racism, then, is to note the structural force

that enables and rewards its practice while not homogenizing the mechanisms and materializations of its multi-layered and continually modified deployment. With this in mind, it becomes clear that the racialization of the Indian differs markedly from the modes of discourses and practices that are used with other racialized groups, and that each of these distinctions change in response to the social, cultural, political, and economic network.

The most valuable implication of the very malleability of the system of racialization is that any given hegemonic ordering is "never either total or exclusive" (Williams 1977: 113). Raymond Williams has convincingly suggested that every system of domination is really a *process* that requires continual maintenance, modification, and renewal and that this is both in response to and formative of its challenges, critiques, and resistances (Williams 1997: 113-114). This provides a crucial space for the practice of indigenous anti-colonial discourse and geographies. Indeed, when we link this idea with Althusser's articulation of the various apparatuses at work within "the hegemonic" we see that the *process* of hegemony necessarily brings with it the internal conflict of contradictory apparatuses, as well as residual and emergent resistances (Williams 1977: 122-123).[27]

The survival of indigenous peoples in the US settler-colony represents a material (and epistemological) example of emergent and residual elements within a

[27] See Bhabha (1994). Indeed, identity itself, as it is formed through the processes of social interaction, is contradictory. As Hall states during his reading of Gramsci, the "so-called 'self' which underpins these ideological formations is not a unified but a contradictory subject and a social construction" (1996: 440). This gives us a viable explanation for understanding the inevitable sets of contradictions that might otherwise lead us astray. This is important for recognizing the simultaneous existence of

hegemonic order. Indianness represents the effort to incorporate the "residuals" of colonization, and to prevent the emergence of new forms of insistent (non-European/American) indigeneity. Thus, my work examines two distinct modes of appropriation. In chapters two and three, I focus on the phenomena of Indian mascots and Indian street names, respectively. In those chapters, I am concerned with how American popular cultural practices work to incorporate of American Indian territories, peoples, and (presumed) cultures. In the fourth chapter, on the other hand, I turn attention to what Ashcroft, et al. (1997) call a post-colonial notion of appropriation. They argue that "language and textuality" are the "most potent" realms for cultural appropriations. In that final chapter, my concern is how the native artists whose work I examine "use the tools of the dominant discourse to resist its political of cultural control" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 1998: 19). I treat language, textuality, as well as visual media to show how several American Indian artists are able to "intervene more readily in the dominant discourse, to interpolate their own cultural realities, [and to]…describe those realities to a wide audience of [cultural text] readers" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 1998: 20).

Within the work on appropriation of Indianness, I spend considerable time discussing the phenomenon of the Indian mascot. The mascot is a historically specific representation with growing importance in contemporary, popular American culture. In recent years, scholars have produced a great deal of literature on the meaning and

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multiple ideas and multiply constituted subjects, and for the adoption of "illogical" ideas by subjects, such as the person of color invested in whiteness or the pro-capitalist proletarian.

uses of the mascot. Mascot research tends to be activist in orientation.[28] Researchers who write about this subject are frequently directly involved in oppositional movements, either on a national scale, or centered on their own communities (usually university campuses or local public schools). While I also examine cases where representations of Indianness are used, I introduce an additional layer of complexity by highlighting the spatial relationship embedded in the construction of mascots and Indian-inspired representations (specifically, the naming of a school site). I also attend to the contradictions of sites where Indianness is being deployed by non-white populations. I have found neither approach addressed in any of the now prolific research on Indian mascot or school representations. Through my case studies I argue that these cultural appropriations offer critical sites for examining the specific production of racialized and national geographies, and for the production of space in general.

I now turn to a brief discussion of my use of resistant, or counter-hegemonic, appropriation. Deloria and Huhndorf, while making significant contributions to the functions of appropriated Indianness in United States history, offered no sustained sources of native resistance to these practices (despite being careful to note the damage done by the uneven wielding of power that Indianness forms and sustains).[29]

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[28] Mascot research and writing draws from a variety of scholarly approaches and interests, including sociology, history, education, media studies, cultural studies, postcolonial theory, ethnic studies, race and sports. One of the most active scholars in this specialized sub-field is C. Richard King, professor of ethnic studies at Washington State University who also spent some time at the University of Illinois. King has generated an impressive publishing record on the issues of Indian mascots as well as a more generalized theoretical position on race and sports, and, more specifically, whiteness and sports.

[29] While the stated impetus of *Dressing in Feathers* is the notion that "by understanding this mythmaking process more clearly, we can think of ways to counter and transform it," (3), the editor

Deloria rightly notes the complex involvements of individual American Indian people in this national pastime, pointing briefly to figures like Arthur C Parker, Charles A. Eastman, and Sun Bear (Deloria 1998: 187-189). He tells us that native people have always been "present at the margins, insinuating their way into Euro-American discourse, often attempting to nudge notions of Indianness in directions they found useful" and that they have also "participated in white people's Indian play, assisting, confirming, co-opting, challenging, and legitimating the performative tradition of aboriginal American identity" (Deloria 1998: 8). Likewise, Huhndorf points us to the stories of resistance by Minik, an "Eskimo" boy that "served as a witness to the events colonial culture persistently denied," exemplified in the wicked appropriation and display of his father's (and several other's) skeletal remains in New York's American Museum of Natural History.[30] In a final section of her last chapter, we are more abundantly treated to "Other voices, other stories," in an all-too-brief (nine pages) point of closure where we hear about the resistant cultural practices of native writers

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admits that the "book does not attempt to provide solutions" (7). Pointing to this gap is not intended as a condemnation, but rather recognition of the limits of these media/cultural studies projects, and more importantly as notice of an opportunity for constructive intervention. Vine Deloria, Jr., for example, has remained consistent in his dual project of critiquing Eurocentrism (regardless of the perpetrator, or the form of its articulation) and suggesting (to whoever appeared to be in need of advice or decolonizing) culturally-rooted means of overcoming the limits of such means of thinking and acting. Deloria's canonical *Custer Died for Your Sins* (1988 [1969]) laid the foundation for much of the contemporary critical work on Indianness, but few of his predecessors have been either capable or aware of how to follow his suggestions. In part this is due to his position as an American Indian scholar who has embraced practicing scholarship. He has long recognized that the power of engaging in cultural studies projects is only as useful as the ability to produce acceptable alternatives. In the case of American Indian peoples, this means recognizing that some form of postcolonial theory drives such critique, and that this theory also requires the (re)production of indigenous-informed cultural and intellectual practices. The tension that results is unquestionably one about links to "authentic" traditions and the formation, or reclamation, of creative, adaptable ones.

[30] For more on Minik's life, see Harper's *Give Me My Father's Body* (2000).

like Leslie Marmon Silko, who deploy "captivity narrative conventions" to produce literary counternarratives (Huhndorf 2001: 189).

Thus, I take from the work of Deloria and Huhndorf the need to interrogate Indianness and Whiteness, but also the need to examine how those concepts are being contested. This seems especially important given the power of such hegemonic practices. Thus, in my final chapter (four), I examine the work of several native artists that speak back to the appropriation of Indianness, nation-building, and the assault on indigenous geographies. Although I privilege native artists, they are not the only ones to engage in such criticism. They are, however, examples of highly accessible figures working in a variety of mediums, yet sharing an underlying critique of the production of the Indian and the necessarily attendant notion of native, versus non-native, space. The counter-hegemonic works of the artists reflect a savvy use of appropriation that is also deeply rooted in traditional practices and geared for the assertion of cultural sovereignty.

Thus, my attention to culture is also partly developed by an interpretation of Warrior's concept of "American Indian intellectual traditions" (1994). Warrior defines the American Indian intellectual tradition as the work of native writers (like himself) who engage in critical and reflective dialogue about the "struggle for an American Indian future" and "fac[ing] the challenge of asserting sovereignty" (1994: xvi and 88, respectively).[31] His work focuses on intellectuals (using the common

[31] Warrior is especially interested in generating direct intellectual engagement between American Indian scholars and scholarship. The premise of his work is that *Tribal Secrets* is a rare example of American Indian scholarship seriously engaging with the critical writing of other American Indian intellectuals. See Warrior (1999) for a more recent call where he states the need for an 'internal' discussion as the

understanding of that title), explicitly noting his desire to move away from scholarly focus on "fictional, poetic, oral, or autobiographical writings" (1994: xv).[32]

I am less concerned with the degree of discussion between or among native intellectuals as with reworking (or re-reading) Warrior's concept of the intellectual tradition. As I am interested in the production of specific (racialized and tribal) geographies, my attention necessarily vacillates between the global and the local (between indigenous landscape broadly and tribally specific; between US national and residential neighborhood). In *Tribal Secrets*, Warrior draws from intellectuals who produce their work in a format that facilitates widespread dissemination (published writings). Yet Warrior indicates that such work is also done extensively on the local, and "non-intellectual" (unwritten/unpublished) level. Discussing the late Lakota scholar Vine Deloria's call for a "return to Native ceremonies and traditions within a framework of asserting sovereignty," Warrior admits that Deloria "was certainly not the only American Indian leader making such an appeal" and that "such appeals have become commonplace" in native communities (1994: 88). While I firmly believe that Deloria provided (and will continue to provide) invaluable input on a national (intertribal) scale, I want to more carefully acknowledge the intellectual work done by those non-writing leaders, and those intellectuals not deemed "intellectual."

Unfortunately, Warrior's statement implies (no doubt without intent) that non-writing leaders engaged in the "struggle for an American Indian future" and "fac[ing]

"critical practice [of Native intellectual history] needed to be suffused with an awareness of the work of other Native intellectuals" (49).

[32] Warrior began the work of this project in an earlier article in *World Literature Today*. See Warrior (1992).

the challenge of asserting sovereignty" are not intellectuals. As a writer and scholar, he is of course interested in those figures that speak to his craft and that offer models for articulating his own leadership role. At a basic level, I latch onto Warrior's attention to intellectual work in order to expand its application to the work of those artists who engage in similar work as Deloria and John Joseph Matthews (his two case studies). Following his insights about how such intellectual work has been and must be rooted in traditional philosophies and practices, I also attach the title intellectual and the practice of an "American Indian intellectual tradition" to culture workers who do not produce explicitly critical writings or works. I suggest that this tradition extends beyond the impressive record (especially given the odds against them) of American Indian writers and public intellectuals. So, in chapter four I discuss the figure of the clown, a traditional intellectual role infused into native societies, and who uses a wide variety of methodologies to interrogate tribal (thus, local) communities, identities, and to face the challenge of asserting sovereignty and securing indigenous space.

With some qualification, an American Indian intellectual tradition can be appropriately positioned with postcolonial theory. American Indian intellectual traditions provide culturally-rooted ways of resisting the logic of colonialism while simultaneously (re)claiming/(re)asserting native forms of (cultural) sovereignty. It incorporates the (historically necessary) native tradition of being creative and adaptive. Thus, critiques and changes in cultural practice and intellectual development need not be seen as merely a contamination or the loss of authenticity.

American Indian intellectual traditions are heavily invested in asserting notions of tribal sovereignty, and (re)claiming cultural practices, but extremely open to the use of new strategies, tools, and technologies. This position is no different than taken by generations of tribal communities interested in synthesizing new cultural elements, to the extent that they were incorporated in appropriate and productive ways (whether we consider metal tools, language, or computers). Indeed, most of the contemporary practitioners of American Indian intellectual traditions stand firm in their acknowledgement of the impossibility of a conservative cultural (essentialist) stance, and have thus engaged in careful articulations of hybridized forms of reclamation that nevertheless can be derived from indigenous philosophical frameworks without fear of contradiction. Such approaches, it turns out, are eminently traditional "tribal secrets."

INDIGENOUS GEOGRAPHY

In this section, I present three approaches to space developed out of my understanding of the field of cultural geography. First, I present how the general approach of the "new" cultural geography provides an intellectual outlet for work on race and space. Second, I outline the vital role of bringing critical attention to the continued, subtle production of White spaces. Third, I claim positionality within the newly emerging sub-field of critical indigenous geography, in order to argue for the importance of space in addressing American Indian cultural sovereignty.

Atkinson et al. characterize the "heart" of new cultural geography as an engagement with the trinity of "space, knowledge, and power" (2005: 3). This

formulation reflects geography's infusion with cultural theory and its potential point of intersection with ethnic studies. This is an exciting possibility, as those who have theorized space and those who have theorized race (and other social categories) have only begun to engage in mutual discussion. According to most accounts of the recent shifts in cultural geography, the field of geography lagged in response to the social and intellectual upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s (Atkinson et al. 2005, Duncan 2004, Mitchell 2000). Rather than respond reflectively, much of the field trudged forward on its empirical-minded, "scientific" path generating few intellectual interrogations of the social changes in the world.

Most geography education clearly reflected this stubborn stance. I still remember how the driving pedagogical principle in my own secondary school geography courses was the rote memorization of global-local political boundaries and small facts about the different peoples of those different places. For many, the college-level correlate differed little. Kobayashi likewise reports that one of the "most exciting" aspects of her undergraduate geography courses were the now guilty pleasure lessons on "people in different parts of the world" and "what made them different from one another" (2004: 238).

Spatial sciences dominated the field of geography before a more "radical" geography took an interest in "genuinely human geography" concerned with the role of space in social life, including the spatial workings of power (Atkinson 2005).[33] According to Soja, whereas the concept of time has long been considered rich, full of

life, and dialectic, space "tends to be treated as fixed, dead, undialectical." (1993: 114). In contrast, new critical human or cultural geographers began to engage in intellectual projects comprised of the relationships between time and space, between place and social relations. Geographers could no longer treat space as traditional historians did, as if "geography sets the stage, while the willful making of history dictates the action and defines the story line" (Soja 1993: 117).[34] In the 1980s, human geography got a motivating kick in the pants from scholars from within and outside the field who began to recognize the need to shift from a conception of space as static and apolitical to one that recognized the dynamic and politically constructed reality of human spaces.[35]

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[33] In 1969, disenchanted geographers established *Antipode* in response to the conservative majority of geographical research. This scholarly publication still carries the byline "a radical journal of geography."

[34] The importance of maps and cartographic science best symbolizes this construction of space as a blank slate upon which human activity occurred. Indeed, to a large extent, maps still function as the primary and the most emblematic geographer's tool. For most of their history and usage, maps were understood as presenting an objective organization of the earth and its peoples. Mapping and cartography constituted scientific endeavors. According to Scott (2004: 24), Jackson (1989) challenged these ways of thinking about maps and mapping in his explicit re-articulation of maps as a fundamentally symbolic social practice, while Harley was discussing the ways that "maps are never value-free images" (1988: 278). From their impetus, others (Godlewska and Smith 1994, Gregory 1994, Harley 1988 and 1992) went on to present detailed analyses and histories of maps, paying special attention to the way that geography's most important technology proliferated during European global exploration and colonialism.

These criticisms re-marked maps as specific, non-objective, and power-laden cultural practices used to create knowledge about the world, readily exampled by the widespread colonial tactic of renaming newly "discovered" landscapes. More importantly, the newly merging critical geography (or new cultural geography) started to explicitly articulate how maps functioned as a "crucial agent of social imposition and spatial regulation" both within the imperial center and in the colony, and that maps themselves were spatial metaphors (Cosgrove 2005: 30).[34] Most generative in these discussions is the move towards seeing space, including the most direct texts of space (maps), as a product of specific sets of interested and unequal social relations.

[35] The shift also responded to out-migration of geographers finding more suitable intellectual homes in other fields that had already begun to shift the foci and approaches to their scholarship. As Atkinson et al point out, "through its engagement with social and cultural theory, the entire field of cultural geography has been transformed, and its recent developments have prompted the rethinking of many key concepts in human geography and beyond. In addition, there are now many other social scientists as well as geographers 'doing' cultural geography" (2005: vii).

Even within new cultural geography, race is still most commonly treated in social and urban studies. That is, race is explicitly used as a conceptual frame in studies confined to locations where people of color are seen as demographically or symbolically significant. Dwyer (1997) noted, for example, that geographic work on African Americans has been concentrated in urban geography. Much of the literature on American Indian people, on the other hand, focuses on rural areas or reservations. In addition to this troubling reification of racialized space through the scholarship, Pulido (2000a) and Kobayashi and Peake (2000, 2002) report meager numbers of geographers of color, as well as insufficient treatment of racism in geography literature generally.

Perhaps the most important manifestation of race through space occurs in the construction and maintenance of Whiteness. No longer treated as the absence of race, geographers are increasingly interested in how Whiteness intersects with spatial production. The "ideologies of race, racisms, and forms of racial consciousness" Delaney tells us, "are integral to the formation and revision of *all* American spatialities at all scales of reference, form the international (constructions of the foreigner, the wetback, the American) to the corporeal" (2002: 7, emphasis original). He goes on to point out that such spatial manifestations are not merely reflections of racist practices, but that they are part of the process of racialization and partly define the practice of racism. Race (as well as gender and other social categories) is "not simply *reflected* in spatial arrangements; rather, spatialities are regarded as *constituting* and/or *reinforcing* aspects of the social," and therefore race "is what it is

and does what it does precisely because of *how* it is given spatial expression" (Delaney 2002: 7, emphasis original). This is especially powerful when we consider the material consequences and power of Whiteness in shaping our lived geographies.

My research does not diverge from these perspectives so much as it looks to complicate their interrogations. In the same way that maps "anticipated empire," the application and maintenance of spatial markers (like street names) anticipates the continuation of the colonial nation-state (Harley 1988: 282). Henri Lefebvre (1991) wrote that "power is everywhere; it is omnipresent, assigned to Being" and specifically noted that power "is in everyday discourse and commonplace notions, as well as in police batons and armoured cars" (1976: 86-87). In terms of my study of inhabiting Indianness, we can see that a racialized conception of the Indian is given meaning partly through the geographic creation and maintenance of the United States. At its core, the Indian is the ultimate geographic metaphor, standing in for "land," and marking an active occupation. So, when developers assign Indian street names (discussed in chapter three), they manifest the racialization of native peoples and Whites spatially and through mundane cultural practices.

Following the lead of Herman's (1999) analysis of Hawaiian street names as narratives of anti-conquest, I look to the production of "maps of meaning" through mundane spatial markers that nevertheless reveal deep cultural practices of colonial logic. Naming a street after Queen Liliuokalani, for example, does not change the colonization of the islands, racist social hierarchies, or the US-sponsored dispossession of native Hawaiian peoples. In distinction from Herman's work,

however, inhabiting Indianness expands the scope of racialized place naming. Unlike the public discussions and political battles engaged in Hawaii over the "Hawaiianization" of street and place names (ultimately in the service of enhancing tourism), Indian-themed street names remain politically inert and, more importantly, a nationally proliferating phenomena. Likewise, I extend Alderman's (2002, 2003) and Mitchelson, et al.'s (2007) discussions of the cultural and social meanings of blackness associated with Martin Luther King jr. streets across the nation to consider the full scope of street names explicitly referencing racialized groups.

My project, then, engages with the insights generated by a handful of scholars who have begun to take seriously the intersection between race and space.[36] In brief, their work has effectively shown how space is racialized and gendered (and vice versa), which is understandable when we concede that space is merely the product of social practices – whether in the form of colonization, gentrification, "red-lighting," suburbanization, or ecological preservation. The mutual construction of Indianness and space are most clearly evident in the manifestation of reservations. The construction of formal Indian spaces started from the earliest colonial days, blossoming with the creation of Indian Territory, and extending through today's modern reservation lands. Establishment of these explicitly racialized landscapes,

[36] Geography has a much longer track record of confronting issues of sex and gender in space than of critically treating race, and almost none of treating them together. Indeed, Valentine (2007) notes that the core concept of intersectionality, discussed above, has still not been treated explicitly even within feminist geography. Pulido's (2000b) insightful work, for example, brings attention to the racially inflected over-determination of toxic and environmentally hazardous sites in places like Los Angeles. Her work effectively theorizes and gives contextual for practices of environmental racism. Importantly, Pulido argues that regardless of whether a toxic site, for example, is purposely or maliciously located in an area populated by nonwhite residents, the consistent overlap between racialized spaces and environmentally hazardous sites reveals an undeniable correlation.

however, was only half of the project. These spatial projects required the simultaneous imagination and formulation of non-native, specifically White spaces. As Delaney points out, the "'inner city,' 'the reservation,' and 'the border'" are "no less raced" than the "'outer city,' 'the heartland,' and the vastness of 'unreserved' space" (2002: 6).

More recently, indigenous geography has emerged partly out of and in response to the work on race and space and the unavoidable spatial force of Whiteness. Indigenous geography is a still-developing sub-field of cultural geography, and much of it is centered in the postcolonial work outside of the United States.[37] The earliest works that might uneasily fit under the category of indigenous geography center on issues of land use, geographic information systems (GIS) technology, mapping, oral history, resource access and control, and the protection of sacred or culturally significant places. On the other hand, Clark and Powell suggest anthropologist Keith Basso's *Wisdom Sits in Places* (1996) and some of the writing of Alfonso Ortiz as some of key early works on "place and space" in relation to native peoples (2008: 2). Wahrus (1997) and Lewis (1998) likewise offer important texts on the relationship between native peoples, maps, and mapmaking practices. Consider

[37] See for example, Cerwonka (2004) and Razack (2002). Work in diaspora studies is also particularly relevant given the concerns for notions of home, the continuing significance of nations, and an attention to the complex processed by which exiles construct identities and space without place. None of the recent cultural geography compilations include chapters devoted to indigenous geography, although each have sections devoted to the intersection of geography/space with race, gender, and sexuality. See for example, Hubbard, Kitchin, and Valentine (2007), Anderson, Domosh, Pile, and Thrift (2003), Mitchell (2000), Duncan, Johnson, and Schein (2004). A few journals have published (mostly recent) special issues on indigenous geographies: *Geographical Research* 45(2) [2007], *American Indian Quarterly* 32(1) [2008], and *Geografiska Annaler* 88 [2006], and the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82(3) [1992].

also Deloria's (1994) work juxtaposing the spatially-structured religions of native peoples with time oriented Christianity (focusing on spatially abstracted spreading of the gospel, Judgment Day, and the afterlife).

Most of the literature, however, still relies to a large degree on standard notions of abstracted space – using empirical methodologies – to focus on redrawing boundaries, criticizing inaccurate maps, charting demographic changes, mapping resources, or describing indigenous understandings and uses of traditional territories and resources. This exhibits Nash's critique of the limitations of work on race and space that continue the "tradition of mapping racialized migration flows, residential segregation, poverty and political participation" without actively connecting such research to ongoing issues of racism, inequality, and white supremacy (2003: 638). Undoubtedly, a wide range of other works might be rightly grouped into this category, but no such compilation has yet been gathered.

More recently, native scholars (only some of which are geographers) and their non-native allies have begun to form a self-conscious, articulated field of indigenous geography.[38] While these works articulate a scholarly community and develop a new scholarship path, it is important to note that the earliest illustrations of a critical indigenous geography started long before any scholarly writing (recall again Warrior's intellectuals). Native peoples produced their own meanings and narratives about their lands and relationships prior to the first Europeans' arrival on the shores of the Western Hemisphere. From Christopher Columbus' first journeys into what is now

called the Caribbean, the Taino and Europeans would articulate distinct understandings of their lands. Indeed, Columbus "took possession" of the island the Taino called Guanahaní, for example, in part through its renaming as San Salvador (Rouse 1992: 142). While we are quite aware that Europeans immediately began efforts to reconstruct and imagine the "New World" according their own cultural understandings and political-economic motivations, it is equally important to recognize that indigenous peoples continued to assert their own notions of aboriginal space, and that they often actively contested the colonial impositions that negatively affected their survival and prosperity.

If differential inclusion helps to draw attention to considering what experiences inform the specificity of American Indian identities, indigenous geography draws attention to one of those experiences, namely, the experience of being continually dislocated from or denied one's aboriginal place which is simultaneously re-crafted as White space. As Shaw, Herman and Dobbs point out, from the point of view of many native peoples, "settler societies' issues of dispossession – particularly of lands – remain largely unresolved" (2006: 267). They rightly note that: "The meaning of land is perhaps the core value for indigenous peoples globally, and the key point on which 'Western' and indigenous worldviews have historically diverged" (270).

In my approach to indigenous geography, I am concerned with both how the United States became a White space beyond the historical demographic shifts, and

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[38] Shaw, Herman, and Dobbs (2006) suggest that some geographic work concerned with 'indigeneity' have also occurred in "post-disciplinary" work (267).

how it discursively and materially maintains that racialized and spatial identity. I am explicitly providing a venue for native voices that contest these spatial practices as colonial manifestations and proclaim the survival of indigenous ones. These research concerns assume the presence of persistent indigenous spaces, and recognize that since all space is socially produced it always undergoes processes of production and continuance, and thus deserves our critical attention.

CHAPTER 2: WHAT'S UNDER THE MASCOT'S COSTUME?:
Spectacular and Mundane Productions of Neocolonial Space

> Underneath all the conflicting images of the Indian one fundamental truth emerges – the white man knows that he is an alien and he knows that North America is Indian – and he will never let go of the Indian image because he thinks that by some clever manipulation he can achieve an authenticity that cannot ever be his.
>
> – Vine Deloria, Jr. "Introduction," *The Pretend Indians*

On December 1, 2005, the Elsie Allen High School (Santa Rosa, California) varsity basketball team traveled to compete in the annual Hogan Invitational Basketball Tournament in nearby Vallejo. Among the teams that Elsie Allen High School faced during the tournament was Vallejo High School. The game between Vallejo and Elsie Allen turned out to be a one-sided contest. Vallejo High School easily defeated the team from Santa Rosa, 81-40. The local newspapers in Vallejo and Santa Rosa barely took notice of the season's first game, offering little more than box scores. Vallejo High went on to complete a successful season finishing 19-7 (tied for second in the Monticello Empire League), before losing their first game in the Sac-Joaquin Section Division I playoffs. Elsie Allen's basketball season ended unceremoniously, with the team finishing in last place in the North Bay League and the utterly disappointing record of 1-22. Other than the individual glories gain and lost during their respective basketball seasons, neither team did anything of note that

might attract the attention of people outside of those high schools. In nearly every way, that sporting contest was as significant, or insignificant, as just about any other high school basketball game that has ever been played.

What makes this game remarkable for the purposes of my project, however, has nothing to do with the score of the game or the outcome of either team's season. Rather, when those two high school teams came together to share space on the basketball court, they represented an intersection between two unique practices of representing native people. They provided an opportunity to (re)consider the means by which non-native communities and institutions employ Indian identities, and the work that such appropriations do. Their meeting illustrates how Indianness operates not just at the level of the spectacle – though the caricatured mascot – but also through more deeply routine and thus hegemonic discursive practices. Most importantly, when the two basketball teams shared space on court, they functioned as mundane cultural mechanisms for the ongoing (colonial) production of racialized, non-indigenous nation-space. Their unnoticed game mirrors the unnoticed work they performed in imaginatively re-asserting a singular, uncontested American nation space free of indigenous exile.

The two teams hailed from high schools located in the northern part of the San Francisco Bay Area, and based in cities approximately 30 miles apart.[1] In terms of their Indian representations, both schools mark a slow movement away from the

[1] The United States Census estimated the (2006) population of Santa Rosa at 154,212 and Vallejo at 116,844. Elsie Allen enrolls more than 1,100 students annually; Vallejo almost 2,000. Located in adjacent counties, the cities share the same telephone area code (a quirky, but nevertheless culturally

overtly racist imagery commonly used to depict native people in standard mascot fashion. While Vallejo does use an Indian mascot, their logo is uniquely drawn from a relevant historical figure. Elsie Allen does not have an Indian mascot; rather the school itself is named after a local native person – a rare educational designation. While the manner in which each school represented (and still represents) native peoples differ, the schools' usage of Indianness prove equally effective in reproducing and re-narrating American colonial geographies over and against American Indian geographies.

These schools are not alone in putting pressure on the multi-dimensional spatial realities of native peoples by appropriating Indianness.[2] Indians (as cultural symbols) pressure American Indian peoples in that "they" threaten to constrain identities initially formed through indigenous notions of geography within the more limiting category of race. Thus while American Indian communities work to define themselves as sovereign nations, largely through an indigenous geography, they must also negotiate imposed notions of race (which for American Indians, are largely articulated through the cultural deployment of Indianness). In this way, the Indian represents a fundamentally spatial contestation. This is also why Indian representations imply a different set of concerns than those faced by other racialized

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significant marker of spatial identity – especially among youth – long deployed in the San Francisco Bay Area).

[2] Biolsi (2005) argues that American Indian peoples construct four different kinds of indigenous *political* space. In his model, native peoples negotiate a layered "citizenship" that includes a spatially specific reservation tribal identity, shared US and native space, a national indigenous space, and a "hybrid political space" as both tribal citizens and US nationals. I argue that indigenous geographies are as much cultural as "political," in the sense that without any of the modern concepts of "nationhood" or sovereignty, native peoples have long envisioned themselves through culturally determined notions of space.

peoples. As Biolsi concludes, the "tension between race and nation discourses…is one of the key specificities of the Native American situation in comparison with other disempowered groups in the United States" (2005: 254).

Mascots and Indian representations are incredibly instructive "sites" for interrogation because they point us toward the fundamental intersection between racial and national constructions of American Indian identities. This means that American Indians must navigate an American cultural, legal, and political system that operates under the assumption of a nation composed of abstracted, individual citizens. While these citizens are supposed to be abstracted and individually equal, collective racializations nevertheless differentially impact each sub-group of citizens.[3] Yet, native peoples cannot and do not construct their identities along primarily racial lines, nor do abstracted political subjectivities adequately address American Indian sovereignty. Indeed, even within the political framework of the US, the special status of American Indians as the indigenous peoples of the continent with legally recognized distinctions means that native identities are politically exceptional in nature (although always under contestation).[4]

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[3] For more on this tension, see Lowe (1996), Pateman (1988), and Marx (1972).

[4] This (incomplete) US political recognition still loosely corresponds with previously established notions of indigenous landscapes, such that many reservations are located in or near traditional territories. Obviously, American policies of removal, relocation, and termination have all sought to render the special status and reservations lands of native peoples obsolete, and to thus bring them under the auspices of an abstracted, private ownership-focused citizenship. In some cases, the removals and relocations ultimately just re-designated which lands were "Indian," as native communities were moved out of the way of lands deemed desirable for "white" settlement and established new land claims (as in Oklahoma, for example). In 1924, Congress officially granted all American Indians "full" US citizenship. Many legislators, lobbyists, and individuals continue to work toward "completing" the citizenship process by ending the "special" collective standing of American Indian peoples.

As discussed in the first chapter, Deloria argues that the production of White American identity and the ongoing, discursive construction of the nation require maintenance of the Indian (including the Indian mascot). While the production of a spectacular Indian in the form of costumed "play" or a school mascot is a fundamental component of the project of American identity formation, the Indian also persists outside of the realm of spectacle. As my review of recent scholarship on mascots below will reveal, Elsie Allen and Vallejo high school's movement away from obviously racist imagery reflects a more general cultural transition away from visual (over)representations of Indianness. Since, as Deloria has shown, the Indian changes according to European American needs and in relation to different historical moments, Indianness necessarily exists outside of any of these specific configurations. Indeed, the rooted-ness of the Indian in the most foundational colonial narratives points to the fact that the sign is secondary (although invaluable) to the signifying. Thus, even before the invention of mascots, or the mass distribution of Indians through popular visual media, textual and narrative productions imbued the Indian with powerful racialized meanings (see Berkhofer 1979).[5] Indeed, Christopher Columbus' initial mis-naming and mass-racializing commenced a global legacy of discursive Indians.

My high school examples also complicate Deloria's "national pastime" of playing Indian because neither are populated by the usual recipients of the benefits of

[5] Although visual depictions were always important mechanisms in the production, and the eventual homogenization of the "Indian," such mediums were not readily available or sufficiently codified before the widespread circulation of the Wild West Shows of the late 1800s and early 1900s. Prior to Bill Cody's theatrical combination of circus, rodeo, and history narrative, the American public constructed and consumed "Indians" through wildly popular and widely circulating "captivity narratives."

Whiteness. The respective working class communities surrounding the schools translate into student bodies composed of a majority of "minority" students. Vallejo's student body is heavily African American and Filipino; Elsie Allen's heavily Latino. The demographics mean that these schools are located in racially contested spaces that nonetheless rely upon the continued displacement and dispossession of native peoples. Thus, we find that the idea of the Indian is available to those who might, because of their own racialization, reside more outside of the racialized social constructs than the usual beneficiaries. In other words, non-Whites utilize the Indian in much the same way as Whites, while the question remains of whether or how they gain materially or socially from doing so. Thus, students and staff at largely non-White schools draw upon the figure of the Indian (mascot or otherwise) to secure (racialized) space, yet (inadvertently) bolster the privileges of Whiteness, (ambivalently) support the logic of colonization, and in at least some ways reap the material benefits from American Indian displacement (physical and discursive).

In sum, this chapter presents the importance of Indian mascots as an intellectual "bridge" for thinking about the role of spatialized identities, the force of hegemonic constructions of Indianness, and the fundamental relationship between these conceptual frames. I argue that the Indian mascot serves as a foundation for the imagined American nation and points us toward looking more carefully at the spatiality of Indianness. The following sections (1) briefly revisit current research and analysis of Indianness and Indian mascots, and (2) look at two previously unexamined cases that complicate this area of research. Together they reveal how, despite the

attention given to "the mascot issue," Indianness remains an effective mechanism of American colonization that extends beyond (and indeed provides the frame for) spectacular or visual modes of representation. Less visual, less explicit deployments of Indianness– specifically in the shift from mascot to logo, to name, to text – nonetheless discursively deny both colonial and indigenous spaces. They ultimately reveal the visual counterparts as a simulated hybridity that cannot actually account for the unauthorized resiliency of colonized American Indian peoples.

REVISITING MASCOTS

Contemporary arguments abound over whether Indian mascots are racist and inexcusable symbols or whether they are reverential and honoring practices.[6] Recent scholarship effectively demonstrates that mascots allow Americans (European Americans especially) to craft an individual and national identity with a defined sense of aboriginality; to assert a distinctive and geographically specific origin story. Yet, mascots are an ambivalent colonial production. They require the appropriation of a native (or *more* aboriginal) Other even while denying and (re)defining the continued and rightful existence of that Other on colonially-claimed territory. The typical use of the violent Indian warrior trope, for example, articulates native peoples as savage threats to rationality and civilization, but also keeps open (via its constancy and

[6] This can be attested to by the burst of recent scholarly work aimed at documenting and analyzing these debates, as well as the increased public attention during the last couple decades. Between March 1989 and October 2007, the *New York Times* ran more than thirty articles about the "controversy." Since 1997, *USA Today* has featured more than fifty articles and opinion pieces on the subject, while

repetition) a space to better view the physical and epistemological violences enacted by assertions over indigenous lands and identities. The insistence on the Indian suggests that if Americans lose control of the figure (as mascot or otherwise), they also lose control over their own identities; over the meaning of a racially imagined nation. Materially speaking, American claims over Indianness legitimate claims over "formerly" native land, which are said to have been merely "occupied" and thus not held with title by native people. With the Indian firmly under control, the establishment of the US can be more convincingly narrated as a post-colonial nation founded upon principles of freedom, democracy, justice, and equality. Without an incorporated, inhabited "Indian," the United States is left to stand as a colonial empire undeniably constructed upon the lands, bodies, and names of native peoples and nations. Standing bare in this manner, or accepting these conclusions, threatens to de-historicize colonization and disclose occupation as uncomfortably current.

Since uneven power relations dictate that the US and its citizens need not directly confront this contradiction, even given espoused principles of freedom and equality, American Indian colonization is narrated through terms of incorporation. The common reference to American Indian peoples as the "first Americans," for example, belies a retroactive incorporation dependent upon colonial teleology.[7] Presently, mascots are one of the most widely used and most publicly contested modes

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the *Wall Street Journal* published fourteen articles between November 2002 and October 2007. The popular magazine *Sports Illustrated* averaged one article per year between 1997 and 2002.

[7] Likewise, several years ago I received a mailer marketing a Pocahontas doll as "America's First Heroine." The advertisement's narration of this mythical-historical figure closed (incorporated) the cultural, historical, and political gaps between 1600s Wampanoag peoples, the British colony at Jamestown, and the emergence of the US as a (counter-British, and anti-indigenous) nation-state.

of appropriation in which non-natives lay claims to native or native-inspired identities. From the early twentieth century onward, schools and sports teams in the United States have drawn inspiration for their collective identities from racialized discourses and the accompanying visual signs of the native peoples of North America. As Farnell suggests, their proliferation indicates the extent to which they are integrated into the national cultural fabric, becoming so common place as to elude critical interrogation. "The omnipresence of such symbolism," she reminds us, "has created commonsense pop cultural knowledge out of the notion that Indians are a category of athletic mascot" (Farnell 2004: 30).

This tradition stretches back, as Lakota scholar Philip Deloria (1998) points out, to the very origin of the United States. English colonists most famously deployed the powerful symbolism of the "Indian," for instance, as they asserted independence from Great Britain during the famous Boston Tea Party of 1773. This political maneuver was symbolic in that it signified a "native" (North American-born colonist) claim to the east coast territories, even as the colonists were actively and tirelessly working to extract additional lands from control of its indigenous inhabitants further inland.[8] While some of the tea partiers dressed in homage to the Mohawk peoples, the ideas of freedom and resistance to oppression they garnered from their Indian identities were their most important – and believable – accessories (see Deloria 1998).

[8] Colonists resented the British Crown's refusal to allow settlement in the interior lands acquired from France after victory in the so-called French and Indian War. The king established the Proclamation Line of 1763, limiting colonization of western lands still controlled by native societies with formidable military presence. It should be noted that colonists were also still actively subjugating the surviving east coast native nations who existed in tenuous pockets between and amongst the original thirteen colonies/states.

Again, such representations cannot be extracted from the unevenness of power in the contemporary relationships between native nations and the United States. During the initial periods of contact between Europeans and native peoples of the western hemisphere, native peoples frequently wielded as much, and in many cases more, economic, social, political, and military power than Europeans. As the ravages of disease, campaigns of genocide, and demographics shifted, however, the balance of power swung to the side of Europeans. By the time the United States emerged as an independent state, those native nations who had survived cross-European global expansion and warfare were trying to regain, reformulate, and reassert their independence on a continent increasingly dominated by non-native interests. The shift in power meant that the racialized concept of the Indian also promised increasingly severe consequences for native peoples. While the meanings and usages of the Indian have changed along with historical shifts and vary according to diverse interests, the convention of drawing meaning through practices of Indian appropriation has remained steady.[9]

Except in those rare contemporary cases where casino money has begun to slightly shift policies and proactively reshape public discourse, representation of Native peoples continues to be almost exclusively controlled by non-native people. Native people remain statistically, politically, and economically insignificant to the vast majority of the general public and political leadership. Unfortunately, what we

[9] See Deloria (1998). As Robert Berkhofer points out in his seminal texts on the invention, transformations, and proliferation of Indian representations, these symbols have been far more relevant and valuable as a mean for learning about the intentions and worldviews of those creating the

have historically learned is that non-natives have seen native peoples as inferior beings, irrational savages, incapable leaders, cultural dinosaurs, and sexual vessels. More importantly, the colonial narrative justifies the production of a permanent and settled European (and eventually American) presence in the Western hemisphere. The result has often been official policies of annihilation, removal, forced assimilation, political non-recognition, and cultural predation. Unofficially, native peoples have been subjected to cultural and economic genocide, campaigns of extermination, rape, sterilization, marginalization, and neglect. Yet, mascots have historically (until recent public contestations) garnered considerable support and usage.

While these facets of American Indian history in the United States are largely ignored in the context of public mascot debates, recent works such as Spindel's *Dancing at Halftime* (2000), King and Springwood's *Team Spirits* (2002), and a whole new generation of scholars and activists (lead by ethnic studies professor C. Richard King) have begun to thoroughly document and map out the ongoing political implications. Their challenges have generated a public momentum and structured a sustainable cultural interest in the "mascot issue." For nearly forty years, Creek (Muscogee) activist Suzan Shown Harjo has tried to appeal to the moral sensibilities of those with the ability to make changes – such as the owner of the Washington Redskins professional football team. In a 1972 letter to the team attorney, she asked then-owner Jack Kent Cooke to "'imagine a hypothetical National Football League, in which the other teams are known as the New York Kikes, the Chicago Polocks, the

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representations, rather than the riotously diverse bodies of peoples being re-presented. See also

San Francisco Dagoes, the Detroit Niggers, the Los Angeles Spics, etc.'" (Harjo 2001: 193).

Despite the power of her analogy, Cooke ignored the appeal. In 1988, Harjo tells us, Cooke responded that "'there's not a single, solitary jot, tittle, whit chance in the world' that the Redskins will adopt a new nickname…'I like the name and it's not a derogatory name'" (quoted in Harjo 2001: 194). Explicit in Harjo's original letter was the frustrating recognition that the Indian mascot uniquely constitutes part of what it means to be American Indian in contemporary American society. As Lakota scholar and activist Vine Deloria, Jr. states in *Team Spirits* (2002), "no other group faces this particular problem" (Deloria 2001: ix). For Deloria and Harjo, the Indian is so naturalized as possessing an intangible connection with freedom that Native people are seen to "stand apart from everyone else," so that American Indian peoples are denied their full humanity. From this perspective, Indianness exists almost exclusively as a metaphor for (white) American identity construction and nation-building. Thus, American popular discourse perpetually historicizes, mythologizes, and symbolizes native peoples to the extent that Deloria laments that the cultural "gulf" produced appears "insurmountable" (Deloria 2001: x).

Despite Deloria's understandable cynicism, the general public and popular media have recently given increasing attention and sympathy to the "mascot issue." Major media have regularly featured articles and opinion pieces on the mascot debates in the last decades (see footnote 6). The attention is highlighted by widely publicized

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Berkhofer (1979) and (1978), and Green (1978).

battles between alumni, student, and community groups at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Campaign, which sustains commitment to its "Fighting Illini." The attention directed toward the University of Illinois, largely initiated through the work of Charlene Teeters (Spokane) and filmmaker Jay Rosenstein's documentary *In Whose Honor?* (1997), constantly keeps Indian mascots in the critical public eye. Thus, when (in August of 2005) the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) took steps to limit public exposure to Indian mascots by voting to ban their usage during all postseason activities, the University of Illinois was one of the most impacted and most frequently referenced schools. The media attention and increasingly sympathetic public discourse no doubt played a major part in prompting NCAA chairman Walter Harrison (also the president of University of Hartford) to officially declare that the association membership "believe that mascots, nicknames or images deemed hostile or abusive in terms of race, ethnicity or national origin should not be visible at the championship events that we control" (Norwood 2005).[10]

While activists have effectively lobbied many public institutions, privately owned professional sports teams have remained unresponsive to calls for change.[11]

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[10] The University of Illinois officially retired their "Chief Illiniwek" mascot in 2007, mostly due to the financial implications of losing television exposure and advertising revenues. The school still retains its nickname, and "the Chief" remains omnipresent on campus.

[11] One of my UCLA colleagues successfully lobbied the Los Angeles Unified School District to ban all public schools from using Indian mascots, nicknames, or logos. See Machamer's "Last of the Mohicans, Braves, and Warriors" in King and Springwood (2001: 208-220). Chicano and Native student groups came together against the force of San Diego State University "Aztec" sport fans and alumni, who overwhelmingly supported the continued use of the mascot ("Monty Montezuma"), nickname, and logo. Our native student group from the University of California, San Diego often lent support to the anti-mascot cause (mostly via presence at meetings and council hearings) during this period. As a sort of compromise, the San Diego State University claims to have conducted an intense investigation in the United States and in Mexico to ensure cultural "authenticity" in their future representations. The school also maneuvered to avoid sanctions (by the NCAA) by declaring that the

Besides the pressures against the University of Illinois and other American colleges, Harjo continues to press her legal suit against the Washington Redskins professional football franchise. Protests are also intermittently directed at football's Kansas City Chiefs, the Chicago Blackhawks hockey team, as well as the Atlanta Braves and Cleveland Indians baseball organizations.[12] National organizations, like the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), the National Education Association, American Indian Movement (AIM), the Native American Journalists Association (NAJA), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Morning Star Institute, and the National Coalition on Racism in Sports and Media have all come out explicitly against the use of mascots at amateur and professional levels.[13] Likewise, the US Commission on Civil Rights and the Intertribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma both issued resolutions calling for the end of all "American Indian names and images as mascots" (King, et al. 2004).

Despite extensive American Indian opposition, it should be noted that native people may have been directly engaged in the first use of Indian mascots. Charles Fruehling Springwood's (2001) work on the Oorang Indians football team of the

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Aztecs were not American Indians (defined as those historically residing north of the Mexican border), and thus were not subject to the same limitations. See Norwood (2005).

[12] Although the hockey team typically receives the least amount of attention (mostly due to the sport's lesser popularity), New York Islanders head coach Ted Nolan (a Canadian Ojibwe) recently criticized the use of Indian mascots in the widely circulating *USA Today*. Referencing his own racialized experiences in hockey settings, Nolan explicitly stated that the league should ban mascots like Chicago's Blackhawks. See Brady (2007).

[13] The National Congress of American Indians and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People each passed resolutions against the use of Indian mascots, while the Native American Journalists Association requested that media stop using the mascot names in their reporting. Most American Indian people appear to be against the use of Indian mascots, especially ones using caricatures, although *Sports Illustrated* published reports that a survey indicated that native people were

1920s points to famous multi-sport athlete, Jim Thorpe (Sac and Fox) and his all-native team's performances as the possible beginning of the Indian sports mascot phenomenon.[14] The players of that early professional team actually performed during the half-time break for their own football games, treating spectators to displays of both their remarkable athletic skills as well as quasi-cultural Indian dances.

King and Springwood are careful to remind us in their introduction to *Team Spirits*, however, that representational practices and all forms of public culture are "always contextualized by particular relations of power" (2001: 6). The players of the Oorang Indians were clearly in a difficult position. Their very livelihood depended upon the team's entertainment value, even as most of them understood the implications of their stereotypical and racialized presentations. Some used the widespread acceptance of the Indian figure as a excuse to "get away with" questionable individual choices, or simply as a way of expanding racially restricted social options (Springwood 2001). While the Oorang Indians involvement complicates the genealogy of Indian mascots, it does not change the differential power their representational performances underscore. The native players could both exploit Indianness for individual benefit and still be exploited themselves – express individually-productive agency within a bounded frame and still contribute to hegemonic, racialized constructions. Nor does their involvement ameliorate

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not heavily opposed to mascots – although King et al. have effectively criticized the publisher's polling techniques and analysis. See King, et al. (2004).

[14] Thorpe was twice a collegiate All-American in both football and track at Carlisle Industrial Indian School, went on to play professional football and baseball, won two gold medals in the 1912 Olympics (Decathlon and Pentathlon), and was later selected to the Hall of Fame for both college football and track and field.

subsequent non-native appropriations of and eventual ownership over the Indian mascot.

Football was a popular attraction during that era, but it was not enough to guarantee the Oorang Indians sufficient attendance and ticket sales.[15] Indeed, Oorang won only two games in two years, easily being defeated by the likes of the now-legendary Chicago Bears (Springwood 2001). Even the popularity of the nationally-regarded Carlisle Indian School football teams (the amateur precursors of the Oorang Indians) during the late 1800s and early 1900s drew crowds as much because of the underlying racial and colonial narratives as because of their football skills (impressive as they were).[16] The audience wanted to see their national narrative of indigenous conquest bandied around on the field like the football ("redskins" and "pigskins"). They wanted to imagine the changes in the landscape as so many yards gained and lost during a hard-fought battle between evenly-matched opponents. Even if a White team occasionally lost, the audience (already) knew that ultimately the "home team" would emerge victorious – the (presumed inevitable) nation would be secured, savage spaces would be pacified and civilized, and progress could nestle into its new home.

Because of the narrative value of the "Indian," we must be resilient in remembering that its usage (as Deloria has so effectively shown) predates and extends

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[15] During the early twentieth century, college football dominated media and popular interest, with newly emerging professional leagues struggling for stability and recognition. Professional football would not ascend in popularity until highly-touted college players began joining pro leagues. Carroll (1999) points to University of Illinois star Red Grange's move to professional level in 1925 as one of the most significant (yet still incremental) starting points.

[16] During their best run from 1903 and 1913, the Carlisle teams regularly defeated many of the nation's top collegiate and military teams, including Harvard, Princeton, and Army. See Adams (1995) and Bloom (2000) for more on their sporting exploits.

beyond the mascot. Generations of Americans have resonated with this conception, whether presented visually or discursively. Thus, the variety of applications should serve as a reminder that Indianness persists outside of the boundaries of the sports contest, and that, after the mascot removes her warpaint and feathers Indianness is easily and regularly deployed in new "undressed" fashions (such as street names, the subject of the next chapter). So, we must consider how the spectacular Indian coordinates with, and complements the more mundane deployments of Indianness.

Recently, one scholar tackled this precise problem. In "Wennebojo Meets the Mascot," Ojibwe scholar Richard Clark Eckert offers a narrative about the Ojibwe cultural figure and trickster-character Wennebojo. Eckert writes that Wennebojo decides to take Makwa (the bear) to a Central Michigan University volleyball game looking for mascots and Indian imagery. To their surprise, Wennebojo and Makwa find none. Instead, they only see the words "Go Chippewa" and "Chippewa Pride" flashed on the scoreboard.[17] Through his story, Eckert confronts the presence of Indianness through the absence of an Indian image. [18]

> There were no mascots running around making fools of themselves screaming war whoops. The marching band wasn't using any tom-tom

[17] In 1972, Central Michigan University discontinued the use of its mascot, and then in 1989 ceased use of all Indian imagery. Despite these changes, the school's official nickname remains the "Chippewas."

[18] Wennebojo is also known as Nanaboozhoo, among other names. Eckert's narrative follows the pattern of many traditional Ojibwe stories describing Wennebojo's attempts to answer a culturally significant question or to find the origin of some phenomenon in the world. Eckert's use of a traditional Ojibwe story pattern is signaled at the beginning of the narrative, as Wennebojo visits Makwa (the bear). Makwa offers coffee, and then tobacco. Wennebojo shakes Makwa's hand, and then sings him a bear-honoring song. The two figures exchange these offerings, in preparation for embarking on their fact-finding mission (a traditional form of native research and scholarship). As in many of his adventures, Wennebojo enlists the assistance of other characters – in this case, to help him answer his question about how mascots were started and why they are being used by non-native people. In this way, Eckert, writing as Wennebojo, brings the reader along for an interrogation of mascots from an indigenous perspective.

> rhythms to incite the crowd. None of these CMU cheerleaders or fans sported face paint. There were no caricatures of scalping. No tomahawk chops could be seen anywhere! There weren't any sweatshirts with an Indian profile or spears and feathers. Nothing on the uniforms of the volleyball players even hinted about a [sic] history of CMU using a Chippewa mascot, logo, or name. What happened? (Eckert 2001: 66).

Eckert's narrative draws attention to the fine line between spectacular and unspectacular forms of Indianness and the movement between them. In Wennebojo's "study" of the university's (removed) mascot Eckert demonstrates that Indianness clearly flourishes without the direct, continued use of the corresponding image (although it obviously never completely dissipates from collective consciousness and the larger visual culture).[19] Using his case study, we can see how the production of the "Chippewa" (already a European/American misnaming for Ojibwe or Anishinaabe people), even as text (logo, according to the school), still produces Indianness and through its appropriation and control, continues to generate university space (specifically) and national space (more generally).

The solution, then, is not to simply eliminate Indian mascots. Many schools have in fact changed their mascot altogether, or removed their (usually caricatured) Indian representation. While this is an important and necessary anti-racist move, mascots are merely visual representations (or the spectacle) of a larger (anti-indigenous) Indian discourse. As Eckert's story suggest, Indianness must be both understood from the frame of white privilege and continually reframed as an overt

[19] Eckert recounts official reports of a Central Michigan University wrestler who (sixteen years after the logos and mascots were dropped) stated that as an Indian he wanted to take "enemy scalps" from his opponents and drink their blood (Eckert 2001: 68).

process of colonization. Indianness, as deployed by non-native peoples, references the project of racialization, even when deployed in most well-intentioned "de-racialization" efforts.[20]

VALLEJO APACHES

Vallejo High School's official nickname is the "Apaches." In many ways their chosen name presents a typical Indian mascot dilemma – they have adopted and put to work a mascot that broadly represents a diverse group of native people at a school with a negligible native (much less Apache) population. Yet, in 1996, the school began to incorporate a new, distinctly non-caricatured logo based on the likeness of an important "Apache" historical figure. Elsie Allen High School, in contrast, does not boast an Indian mascot.[21] Rather, the school itself is named after a local native woman, one of only a handful of the nation's schools named after native women.[22] Elsie Allen gained fame (and some criticism) as a Pomo basketweaver willing to revive traditional basketmaking techniques and practices by teaching anyone willing to learn.[23]

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[20] This is most common in (corporate) multiculturalism and the de-politicized "celebration of difference."

[21] Elsie Allen High School's mascot is the Lobos, the Spanish word for Wolves.

[22] The selection of native women is sparse, and seems to be regionalized, as examples of Pocahontas abound in the southeast, (Sarah) Winnemucca in Nevada, and "Sacajawea" in the northwest. Several towns and regions are named Pocahontas (including those in Arkansas, Iowa, Virginia, and West Virginia).

[23] It should be noted that basketweaving is a difficult, tedious process that involves not just the weaving itself (which alone can take years for a single basket), but also the year-long process of gathering the proper materials, preparing them for use, and the observation of traditional practices of reciprocity.

Each school presents a unique set of data that further reveals how complex modes of representation can vary in their explicit productions and yet remain bound by the structural forces that impact the material lives of native and non-native people. Each offers a "productive" representation of Indianness in ways not previously discussed in the literature on mascots and representation. Likewise, both schools are set in contexts where the geography of Whiteness becomes patent; places where "race exists." More specifically for the purposes of my research, both examples provide an opportunity to consider the racialized spatiality (and nationhood) constructed through differentlydeployed notions of Indianness.

As mentioned above, the official Vallejo High School mascot and nickname is the "Apaches."[24] The Apaches are a popular choice nationally for school logos, nicknames, and sports team mascots.[25] The *Nde* (the "Apache" name for themselves) clearly have a special appeal to Americans because of their historical positionality and military capabilities.[26] During the late 1800s the *Nde*, along with several northern plains peoples, were the "last holdouts" actively resisting a national policy that forced native peoples into "final" cultural, political, and geographic submission. By the time of these campaigns, the *Nde* had become quite proficient in the use of horses and guns (two of the most important technologies of the time), and were skillfully existing in lands considered quite harsh – advantages that served them well in their efforts to

[24] Vallejo High School first opened its doors and its "Apache" mascot in 1922.
[25] Even a simple (and far from comprehensive) internet search quickly reveals numerous examples of "Apache" mascots in places as distant from each other and from traditional *Nde* homelands as California, Texas, Illinois, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Florida.

defend and conceal themselves.[27] The late-nineteenth century resistance of the *Nde* peoples, led in part by figures of popular imagination and historical memory as Geronimo, have ever since come to symbolize characteristics of "pride, spirit, courage, and bravery" – all qualities highly valued in a nation invested in its mythological roots of western "cowboy" masculinity (Farnell 2004: 34).[28] At the same time, the military threat of the Apache generated myths of *Nde* bellicosity (characteristics of being warlike, aggressive, or fond of fighting). Together, these "characteristics" have made the Apache (and Indians in general) desirable candidates for school sports teams promoting aggressiveness and the determination to obtain victory despite any circumstance.

Given the constructs for the Apache, the *Nde* remain at least as cognitively distant from Vallejo High student body as they are geographically removed from the school grounds.[29] Whether presented as the abstracted Indian figure, an historically derived Apache, or a individual-based representation (Naiche), the school logo nevertheless serves as a mechanism in the production of a racialized, nation space. Precisely matching Clark and Powell's definition for "colonial intersections," native-inspired mascots and logos "claim" native people yet "rename" them as various forms

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[26] Like many names applied to native nations, the term "Apache" is derived from another native nation's descriptive name – in this case, the Zuni word roughly translating to "enemy." See Stuckey and Murphy (2001: 83).

[27] They had also re-strengthened after suffering waves of disease. Perhaps just as valuable, they had a thorough familiarity with European and American goods and military tactics.

[28] The "imperial nostalgia" of rendering these tribes worthy of recognition and admiration, of course, developed largely after the "threat" of their resistance was safely neutralized. See Rosaldo's *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (1989).

[29] The *Nde* were traditionally nomadic peoples, although their territories centered around what is now southern Arizona, eastern New Mexico (where their current reservations are located), and northern Mexico.

of Indians (2008: 13). They "absorb" American Indian identities and histories and "redesignate" their significance within bounded notions of the nation. Indian mascots and logos discursively "displace" native peoples from their homelands and actively encourage non-natives to uncritically "inhabit" both those lands and Indian identities. These intersections are:

> Sites on the ground and in the imaginary – those physical places and mental spaces – in which settler-colonizer uses coercive and ideological state apparatuses to claim and rename, absorb and redesignate, displace and inhabit, all the while promoting spontaneous consent to these actions that disproportionately benefit settlers and colonizers at the expense of Indigenous peoples as natural and in the interests of a general good" (2008: 13, n13).

Althusser (1971) specifically identified the school system as a key ideological state apparatus, a place where each citizen learns what is "common sense," and thus it is not at all surprising to find Indians of the "settler-colonial nation imaginaries" most prominent here (Clark and Powell 2008: 4).

For most of Vallejo High School's history, the campus used a variety of fictionalized Apache caricatures. The images ranged from cartoonish and ridiculous renderings (see figure 2.1) to more serious and stereotypical, "stoic Indian" figures. Beginning in 1996, however, Vallejo High School began consolidating use of a near-realistic illustration of a calm, nearly expressionless native man. He was not explicitly violent, evidenced by the absence of the usual tomahawk or even an action-oriented stance, and was actually depicted in culturally appropriate garb. The school began to

phase out the plethora of previous images, exclusively turning to an artistic rendering created by (unknown artist) R.E. Tribo (see figure 2.2).[30]

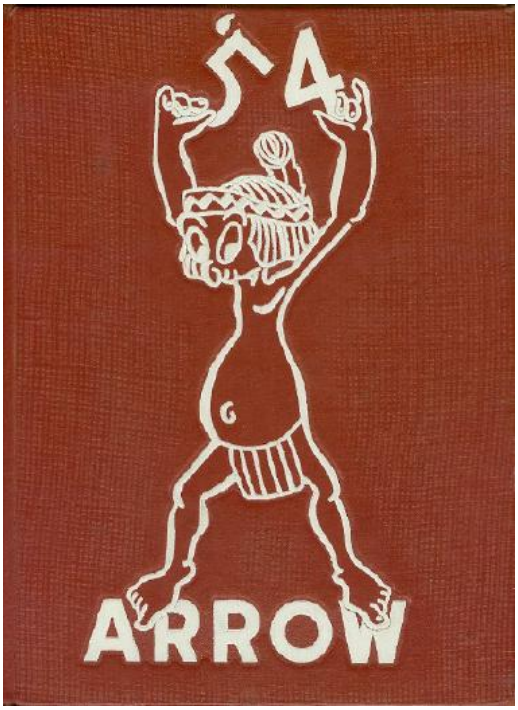

Figure 2.1: 1954 Vallejo High School Yearbook
(photo by author)

The artist's new figure is depicted wearing long, dark hair hanging down both sides of a bandana-headband. The Apache is wrapped in a striped blanket and adorned with several necklaces.[31] When I visited the school library, the front desk worker issued me an official visitor's pass prominently featuring Tribo's image. By 1998, the

[30] I have been unable to determine the identity of the artist, as I found no evidence of any student, faculty, or staff person named Tribo at Vallejo High School. I am aware of the possibility that "R.E. Tribo" may indeed be a pseudonym designed to absolve copyright infringement issues, to protect the artist's identity, or simply as an "inside" joke. Consider that "tribo" is a (derogatory) Spanish word for "tribe," and that sports media colloquially refers to the Cleveland Indians baseball organization, which nearly made 1995 World Series, as "the tribe."

new Apache figure appeared on several yearbook covers as well as a large exterior wall facing the main quad (see figures 2.2 and 2.3).

Figure 2.2: Vallejo High School "C" Building Wall
(photo by author)

I first came across Vallejo High's use of its newer logo in 2004 when looking through a friend's high school yearbook. I immediately recognized the image. I had seen it reprinted in innumerable books about Apache and American Indian history. Tribo had rendered his Apache illustration from a photograph A. Frank Randall took of an *Nde* man named Naiche in 1884 (see Figure 2.4).[32] Naiche was the son of

[31] The school makes use of two variations of this image. The first is a partial, torso level image. The second is a full-body picture, showing the man holding a rifle with his right hand, with his fingertips on the barrel and the butt of the gun resting on the ground. The bust image appears far more frequently.
[32] Randall worked as a "correspondent" for the *New York Herald* (Debo 1975: 175). Debo reports that although many photographs of the *Nde* were credited to Ben Wittick, research points to the images being those of Randall, who accompanied military officials during many key excursions and meetings (1976: 211, n34).

Cochise, a well-known *Nde* leader. While Geronimo's name held primary currency for both the American military and the colonists of the desert southwest during the "Geronimo campaigns," Naiche actually occupied the traditional leadership of the Chokonen band (literally "Cochise's people) of Chiricahua *Nde*.[33] Even after Geronimo officially surrendered for the final time on September 3, 1886, Naiche held out one additional day, not surrendering until the fourth of the month (Debo 1975: 292-293).

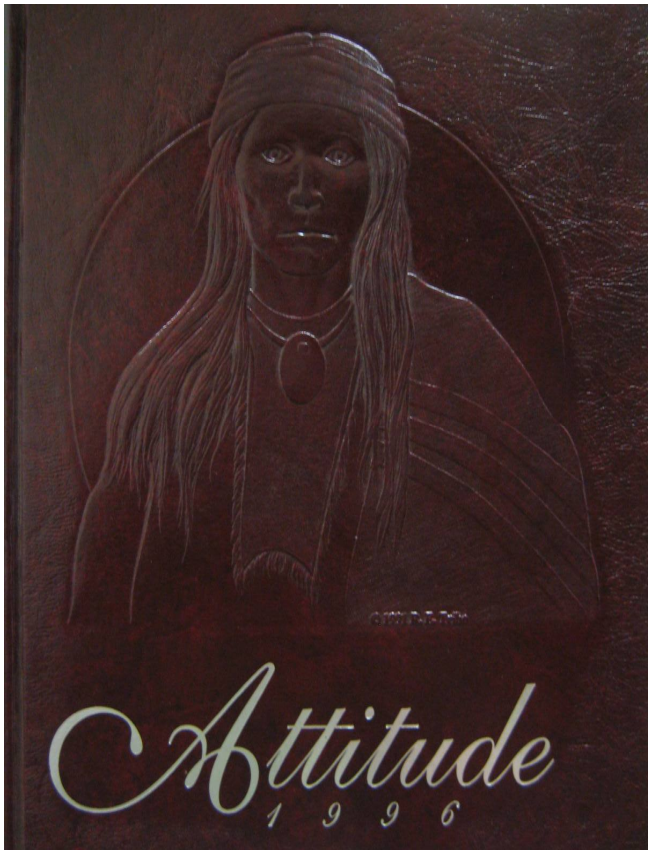

Figure 2.3: 1996 Vallejo High School Yearbook
(Photo by author)

[33] See Huger (2001). Naiche is still well-remembered by many *Nde* for his significant role in the effort to resist confinement on Indian reservations. In photographs of Geronimo, Naiche is frequently nearby – often occupying the more centralized position.

That image of Naiche had always been important to me as a shining example of a native person fighting valiantly to reclaim and recover his people's traditional ways of life and the freedom to remain in their traditional lands.[34] Naiche (and Geronimo) actively resisted the widening and tightening grasp of American programs of assimilation and policies of conquest; specifically refusing to remain confined to the San Carlos reservation established in 1871.

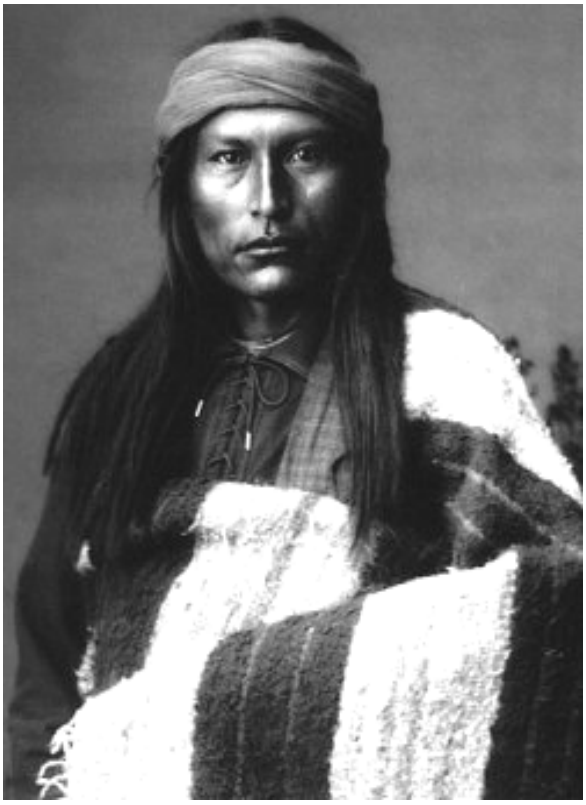

Figure 2.4: Photograph (detail) of Naiche by A. Frank Randall
(Arizona Historical Society/Tucson, AHS#4535)

[34] More specifically, I had a framed and mounted, poster-sized copy of Randall's photograph hanging on my bedroom wall, as I had been named after Naiche, and thus felt intimately tied to his legacy. I was given the name Natchee. My spelling is one of the many variations available in texts referring to

In the same way that Naiche is overshadowed by Geronimo in the larger American public discourses and historical narratives, Naiche's name is forgotten or ignored in the Vallejo High School's production of its Apache. image. Naiche's identity is never central to the use of his likeness. In that same year, the yearbook staff began using the Apache/Naiche image to fill-in for students who did not (or could not) take their yearbook photographs before the deadline.[35] This move made visually explicit the student body's and individual students' ability to assume (or be represented by) the new, more serious (and presumably considered more "respectful") Apache identity.[36] In what could be a perfect opportunity to engage in meaningful, school-wide dialogue about the man whose image they have appropriated, and the *Nde* people more generally, the school offers another nameless figure, presumably entirely fabricated since few are actively aware of the subject of the image.[37] Naiche is emptied as referent, leaving only an Apache to be (re)filled with school history, student school-pride, and distinctly non-*Nde* meanings.

Having several acquaintances who had attended Vallejo High School, I queried them about their familiarity with Naiche, and the exposure their alma mater provided

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this man (including Naiche, Nachez, Natchez, and Natchis). I have chosen to honor the spelling used by Elbys Naiche Huger, Naiche's granddaughter. See Huger (2001: 21-28).

[35] In previous years, yearbook compilers either relegated students without photographs to a "not pictured" listing or simply indicated their nonappearance with a blank space.

[36] One can imagine that the replacement of a high school student's photograph with one of the older caricatures could have easily been interpreted (especially by those being "replaced") as disrespectful or offensive, potentially serving as a source of ridicule during a time in a young person's life when mockery is typically already abundant.

[37] The vast majority of the school's official documents and representations carrying his likeness (like the visitor's pass) do not include any identifying information. On February 3, 2006, the counseling department sent an exit exam notice to the parents of graduating seniors. This document identified Naiche in tiny font uder the school logo ("Naiche, Son of Cochise"). Special thanks to Hope for acquiring this document for me.

them to *Nde* culture and history.[38] Each of my informants were active students during their high school careers, and all three are now employed in education. They are atypical respondents in that they continued their educations after finishing high school (only 10% of Vallejo High School's student body typically continues on to four-year institutions) and that they are particularly aware of and invested in the production and transmission of knowledge to youth. Given that these students represent individuals who would be most likely to know something about their school mascot and history, their complete lack of familiarity with Naiche is powerfully instructive.

During her high school career, Abby competed in the Academic Decathlon and participated in student cultural organizations. She stated that the school did not teach her anything about the origin of the mascot, nor did the curriculum contain any component on Apache peoples. Abby confided, "…Truthfully I don't believe the history was ever really provided at least not enough to have a significant impact on recalling" (Abby 2006).[39] When I asked Elmo about his recollections of the Apache mascot, he explained that he did not "remember Vallejo having too much school spirit, and I don't ever remember any of the schools that I attended ever discussing the history of the school let alone the school mascot" (Elmo 2006).[40] It should be noted that the experiences of Abby and Elmo at Vallejo High School span more than a decade (between late 1980s and late 1990s), and during a time when multiculturalism

[38] I use pseudonyms for all three of my acquaintances.
[39] Abby graduated from Vallejo High in 1997, before continuing her schooling at one of the state universities, where she received an ethnic studies degree. Abby then went on to work for a pre-college preparation program, which focuses on serving first-generation-college and low-income students.

spread throughout school curriculums and entered popular culture. Like most research on mascots indicates, the school's failure to be educated about "their Indian" reflects the school's relationship (or lack thereof) to its proclaimed Apache identity. Vallejo High School has never had, and still does not have any relation to the *Nde* peoples or their histories. Thus, the institutionalization of the school nickname and mascot is equally matched by the institutionalization of a decontextualized link to colonial Indians.

Another former student's story further evidences this disconnect between the school image (its logo and mascot) and its relation to the "object" of representation from both the student and the administrative side. Hope returned to Vallejo High School to begin teaching United States Government and History.[41] Like Abby and Elmo, Hope did not recall the school ever offering any information about the school's nickname and mascot, or the peoples for which they are purportedly named. Not surprisingly, she (like Abby and Elmo) was entirely unaware of the newest representation's link to Naiche before our discussions. Hope further verified that even now as a teacher, she has never taught nor been expected to teach (even in her United States History classes) anything about the *Nde* peoples, the school mascot, or the image/logo.

The preceding results are far from surprising. Few would expect a school, especially one already flush with academic, economic, and social problems, to spend

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[40] Elmo finished his studies at Vallejo High School in the late 1980s. He was a star basketball player, representing the Vallejo High Apaches across the region in numerous games. He later earned a degree in Literature from a state university, before working as a college outreach advisor.

time and energy on studying and contesting their own mascot and logo – one that has been in use for eighty-six years. Even if it were presented to the student body, staff, and administration as an issue, the mascot would likely rest extremely low on the priority list (and arguably rightly so). As with most mascots, the Vallejo High Apache simply represents a "cherished tradition" that few give much thought. The adoption of a near-photo realistic image, based on an actual, prominent *Nde* historical figure merely tones down the spectacle of the Indian. Their "Apache" continues to hold no meaning beyond its normative racialization and colonial confinement, beyond its value for generating identity for the school and the student body. When representatives from the Vallejo Inter-Tribal Council did meet with several hundred students during a lunchtime forum in 2002, for example, students overwhelmingly supported their mascot and all of its attendant markers of Indianness. The vast majority vowed to maintain both the mascot/logo and their stereotypical "fight song" (McManis 2002).

As a mascot and logo, the Vallejo High Apache points to the way that space and race are mutually constructed within a (what students no doubt consider an *extraordinarily*) mundane educational setting. Indians exist in finite spatial and temporal realities. In the case of Vallejo High's representational practices, Apaches (and possibly all Indians) are actually removed from the physical space of the nation. They are confined to a realm of temporal space. As the selection of Naiche and all of the previous mascots and logos indicate, Apache directly references the time period of

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[41] After graduating from Vallejo High School, Hope went on to college at an in-state research university

the 1880s (or somewhere "nearby"). From this position, the Apache do not so much exist as they *existed*. Without contemporary presence, the "Apache" are without need for contemporary space. For the sake of argument, if we assume that somehow the Vallejo High School Apache includes the possibility of a contemporary existence, that existence "takes place" outside of the localized national space. Vallejo is situated more than 800 miles from the nearest *Nde* reservation – the closest contemporary "Apache" space. Any *Nde* peoples residing in or around the city of Vallejo necessarily exist in a "de-racialized" political space – as abstracted citizens – within a thoroughly American geography.

The lesson in the use of mascots and logos is that no Indian choice can be made without supporting the ongoing construction of a racialized non-native space. The Indian is partly constructed through spatial understandings. Emptied of content, the Indian is available for re-contextualized "inhabitation." The existence of an American nation precludes the survival of indigenous geographies that formulate identities along very different lines – lines that overlap with and spill outside of modern American national ones. While they remain in co-existence, they remain at fundamental odds, as the recent US rejection of the United Nation Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples indicates.[42]

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where she completed a degree in Political Science. She currently remains on staff.

[42] The United States, along with Australia, Canada, and New Zealand voted against the declaration. The Declaration, officially adopted (14 September 2007) by the United Nations General Assembly states that not only do "Indigenous peoples have the right to the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired" (Article 26: 1), but that nation-states, including settler-colonies, must provide "legal recognition and protection to these lands, resources, and territories…with due respect to the customs, traditions and land tenure systems of the indigenous peoples concerned" (Article 26: 3).

The formation and maintenance of the modern nation-state depends upon the erasure of indigenous geographies, both physical and imagined. Thus, all native geographies must be sacrificed to the "universal" geography of America, just as all native lands were sacrificed to the "shared" landscape of the United States (Kobayashi 2004: 244). While at one level this points to the "exclusion" of native peoples from the production of an American nation space, Espiritu's notion of differential inclusion reminds us that the modes of "inclusion" are equally significant. The Indian is produced not so much through any denial of entry into the US, but rather through a contained, forced entry on non-native terms. As part of the compelled national "admission price," indigenous space must be "left at the door" – to remain forever "outside" the geography of the modern American nation state.

ELSIE ALLEN MATTERS

In contrast to Vallejo High School's Apache, Elsie Allen High School makes no use of Indian imagery as either a mascot or a logo. Despite this significant difference, the naming of the school after Elsie Allen likewise produces racially defined local and national space.[43] The naming of a school, rather than a mascot, after a native person certainly anticipates a productive step toward improved relationships between native and non-native peoples, especially in the realm of public (even if just local) discourse. Such a naming purports to publicly recognize an *individual*, a potentially enormous epistemological step forward considering the way that Indians

are rarely more than nameless, abstract symbols (as we saw with Vallejo High School's Apache, even with the uncharacteristic "accessibility" of Naiche).

Indeed, when the city school district publicly called for name suggestions for a new school being built in my old neighborhood (while I was a first-year college student), I (along with many others) made the effort to write a proposal that the new school be named after a local native person. The suggestions were obviously well-received, and in 1994 Elsie Allen opened its doors to the students of southwest Santa Rosa.[44] In my multiculturalist reasoning, I believed that naming the school after a native person offered significant recognition for local American Indian peoples, and better reflected the cultural and ethnic diversity of that area. The school was the first new high school in the city in more than twenty-five years, and promised to eliminate the city's long-standing busing program that sent area students (like me) to two other schools in an effort to equalize "ethnic diversity" within the district.

Elsie Allen High School thus initiated a unique feature for Santa Rosa schools. For the first time in the city's history, the majority of the students at one high school would be youth of color, and the school name itself would recognize a local woman of color. During the first few years, local newspapers and officials frequently lauded the school with the byline "the most ethnically diverse campus north of the Golden Gate" (Anima 1994). Initially touted as a marker of the semi-rural city's growing ethnic/racial diversity, the school soon became (predictably) constructed as a

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[43] Elsie Allen was built in 1994.

[44] Local newspapers invariably credit local resident Dan Shay with the suggestion of honoring Elsie Allen (who was baptized at his church). Mrs. Allen won out over writer Jack London, who maintained a home in the area. See Abel-Vidor, et al. (1996: 107) and Anima (1994).

problematic space and a source of "problems." By its second year, local media were openly reporting on racial troubles between "whites" and students of color (Anima 1995). *Press Democrat* Staff Writer Robert Digitale (2004) cited the building of the school itself as one of three causes for increased segregation among city students, as students and their families feared poor education and a lack of "safety" due to perceived threats from "street gang activity" in the school neighborhoods. While non-white students initially comprised forty-three percent of the school population, Elsie Allen High School quickly increased its non-white enrollment as demographic trends continued and as White students dis-enrolled and transferred to other schools. By 2004, Elsie Allen High School's White population had dwindled to only thirty-two percent, while Latinos made up exactly one half of the student body (Digitale 2004).[45]

Like Vallejo High School, Elsie Allen High School is a racialized space.[46] Despite its naming, the school maintains no more of an identifiable relationship to the Pomo people (beyond the handful of students who happen to enroll as students) then does Vallejo High School to the *Nde* peoples. The student body typically has very little awareness of the school's namesake and no special curriculum is designed to educate them. Although Mrs. Allen's children and a Pomo dance group came to the celebratory opening of the school, the long-term structural and educational similarities

[45] Digitale (2004) reports that the white student population at Elsie Allen decreased twenty-two percent between 1998 and 2003.

[46] The 2006 Census reports Vallejo's ethnic breakdown as follows: 23.7% African American, 24.2% Asian (including Filipino), 36.0% White, and 15.9% Latino. In contrast, Santa Rosa reports only 2.2% African American and 3.8% Asian, while 19.2% identified as Latino, and 77.6% White. During the mascot discussions in the Vallejo auditorium, San Francisco Chronicle reporter noted that "students of color" comprised 78 percent of the school's enrollment (McManis 2002).

between the schools relationship to native peoples are strikingly similar.[47] As a one-time staff person, I consistently found that most of the teachers, staff, and student body knew very little to nothing about the school's namesake beyond the fact that she was an Indian basket weaver.[48]

More importantly than the learning about Mrs. Allen and the Pomo peoples, however, is the identity formation and meanings of space produced despite the schools honorific naming. During the completion of a school mural featuring Mrs. Allen and aspects of Pomo material culture, the art teacher leading the project noted to the local newspaper that "this is part of their history, too" (Digitale 2001). The teacher's comments were clearly aimed at generating some awareness of the weaver-artist the school was named after, as well as fostering some connection between native peoples and the students. Despite his commendable efforts, his linguistic choices belie an "additive," multiculturalist spatial reconfiguration.[49] Like the larger public (especially educational) discourse, the teacher's comments revealed his concern for extending cultural citizenship to students already marginalized by/with a "foreign" and "racialized" space. Despite the demographics of the two schools, Indianness still serves hegemonic spatial productions through those institutions. In the same way that

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[47] The school's opening ceremonies are briefly described by Anima (1994).

[48] Like Vallejo High School, the administration, faculty, and school board never facilitate meaningful connections to Mrs. Allen or the Pomo peoples beyond the occasional project that references the school's namesake, such as the art class project producing a mural of Mrs. Allen in 2001. See Digitale (2001). When I asked the varsity basketball team's head coach (one of my acquaintances) about the school name, he mentioned that he had learned basic information, but not from the school! He recalled that he had "read in the *Press Democrat* [the local newspaper] that the school was named after a Native American female basket weaver" (Elmo 2006). Appropriately perhaps, the coach was the one-time "All-City" basketball player who starred for Vallejo "Apaches" in the late 1980s.

that the Oorang Indians supported (and sometimes challenged) construction of the Indian figure, the usage of Indianness at these two sites supports the dismantling of indigenous space and the maintenance of (colonial) American nation space. Even as racialized spaces, Elsie Allen and Vallejo high schools operate within an incorporation framework – non-Whites need to be folded into the nation as abstract political ("even if" racially marked) subjects.

My critique of an incorporative logic is supported by Mrs. Allen's own life activities. Openly critical of the epistemic (and linguistic) violence of her own boarding school experiences, she provides a reasonable impetus for interrogating the production of American nation-space and local geographies.[50] Mrs. Allen openly taught intensive traditional practices to non-natives (even as she hoped for more Pomo students). In this way, she was not in any way opposed to non-native cultures or peoples. Yet, she clearly understood basketweaving to be an essential cultural act in the occupation and establishment/maintenance of a (healthy) relationship to the land. In her way of thinking, such an act needed to be adopted by anyone living off the land.[51] The intense and spatially-defined cultural protocols for engaging in basketweaving meant that Mrs. Allen necessarily wove her teachings of traditional knowledge using an indigenous geography framework. Elsie Allen was, of course,

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[49] I would like to note that this art instructor actively supports/ed students of color and those interested in "ethnic" art, encouraging my own artistic interests and practices while I was a student at another local high school (where he was then employed).

[50] Because of her experiences at the Covelo boarding school, Elsie Allen refused to teach her children to speak Pomo. See Allen (1972: 13) and Fredrickson (1989: 40-41).

[51] The phrase "living off the land" belies the reality that we are all and always living off/on and only because of the land and the constant nourishments it provides. Here, I redefine this term – which usually indicates a more direct involvement in the acquisition of resources and sustenance – to reflect a more indigenous perspective.

never alone as a weaver. Many Pomo weavers continued to practice before her, concurrently with her, and now after her passing. All learn and understand and thus constructs space quite differently than the non-native, especially the settler-colonist interested only in abstracted notions of ownership. Famed for her basket-making skills and educator impulse, few histories also consider the cultural and epistemological activism and Mrs. Allen's work represents.

In an introduction to Elsie Allen's book on Pomo weaving, Lee Pinto points out that Mrs. Allen possessed no "proof of her birth" (Allen 1972: 8).[52] Born in a hop field in 1899, she never received any birth records, and her baptismal records were destroyed in a church fire. Her "unofficial" existence, then, parallels the legal un-recognition of Pomo lands. Yet, like the Pomo more generally (and most native peoples even more generally), she persisted as a native woman within a re-shaped non-native world. Her basketry activities sustained rooted (to use a precisely appropriate metaphor), millennia-old cultural and spatial practices.[53] Describing the resistance she sometimes faced when she attempted to access the proper materials on white-"owned" property, Pinto conveys that a disappointed and saddened Mrs. Allen would "murmur to herself, 'They do not understand. This land was our land for 10,000 years or more, and we know the earth and its plants as they shall never know it!'" (Allen 1972: 14-15). Her disappointment reflected not only frustration with

[52] Pinto's narrative is gathered from a "retelling" from Elsie Allen's granddaughter Linda McGill.
[53] A major part of the creation and preparation of basket materials involves the digging up and tending to plant roots from deep in the earth. Another part involves the pruning and gathering of appropriate tree parts.

access to basketry materials, but also the challenges of confronting European American spatial practices.

Where Mrs. Allen's basketweaving might be (mistakenly) dismissed as mere quaint cultural practice, other tribal people directly challenged the barriers she faced. In 1970, for example, several Pomo activists (inspired by the 1969 Alcatraz Island takeover and the Pit River land reclamations) re-occupied an abandoned CIA spy post just outside of Santa Rosa.[54] Through their cultural and legal challenges, the Pomo eventually gained "legal rights" to the land, and quickly established a cultural/educational center. The activists named the new center Ya-Ka-Ama, a Kashaya Pomo phrase translated as "Our Land" (Peri 1987). While those 125 acres represent a small portion of the lands formerly claimed by (or perhaps more appropriately, laying claim to) the Pomo, they are exceedingly significant as the material manifestation of a persistent, non-colonial (Pomo) geography.

In contrast to longstanding and ongoing Pomo claims to "Our Land," hegemonic narratives project a decidedly colonial (incorporative) narrative which (re)figures the land as American space and the native peoples as trespassers. In the very first issue of *News From Native California*, anthropology professor and native activist David Peri (Bodega Miwok) recounted how local headlines (during the land re-re-occupation) included poignantly ironic titles like "Indians Invade US Land Near Santa Rosa" (1987: 7). When contemporary *Press Democrat* columnist and touted

[54] An unverified source suggests that Allen (and a couple other Pomo "master" weavers) used proceeds from basket sales to bankrolled lawyer fees for the Pomo activists. I am currently working to confirm this with her family. I want to acknowledge the assistance of long-time native ally, activist-scholar, and East Bay Parks employee Bev Ortiz for her assistance with this line of inquiry.

local historian Gaye LeBaron recently wrote about the historic and contemporary value of Pomo basketweaving practices, she actively reconstructed the erasure of a Pomo landscape. She began her column saying "the Pomo people, whose land this was before it was taken from them, have been making baskets for centuries" (LeBaron 2002). This articulation, while acknowledging the indigeneity of the Pomo to the Santa Rosa area, simultaneously continues the discursive work of erasing a damaged, but uninterrupted indigenous geography. While LeBaron focused on contemporary cultural practices, her narration temporally displaced the Pomo landscape to the past. She (in typical colonial fashion) narrates the physical change of land ownership as a passive event without identifiable actors – "it was taken from them." While her implication towards the physical possession of land does reflect current control and legal ownership, her articulation (a standard narration not confined to her by any means) is equally productive in historicizing, and thus denying a Pomo spatial presence.

In other words, Pomo and non-Pomo perspectives produce(d) starkly different meanings of space in what is named and imagined as Sonoma County. Peri explicitly stated, for example, that the Pomo maintained an ongoing, distinctive relationship to the territory – a relationship sustained notwithstanding a lack of American legal recognition and despite active dislocation efforts. He tells his readers that the eventual legal victory (gaining the land deed) simply codified what the Pomo already

constructed as indigenous space.[55] "Even though Ya-Ka-Ama has only recently become the *legal* guardian for this small portion of what was once all our land," he reminds us, "we have never relinquished our full claim to the surrounding area" (Peri 1987: 7, emphasis original). As Peri's statement makes evident, Pomo spatial understandings are/were not (even) limited to the "small portion" of land reclaimed for the establishment of Ya-Ka-Ama. Pomo space still overlaps with American national space, and as long as an overlapping Pomo space persists, the possibility of its material realization remains. For the Pomo, this reality is a matter of both space and of ontological fact, as they were given "charge" over the land as its custodians by a higher power. Indeed, Pomo identity centers on this custodian-based spatial production of the local landscape.

When Elsie Allen broke with tradition to preserve and teach basketweaving, she did so with an eye toward revitalization and an understanding of the need to insist on the survival of Pomo culture.[56] She was well aware that indigenous (or at least Pomo) identities are/were formulated through both land and space (the meaning of a place). The revitalization of tradition practices, like basketmaking, not only maintained what we normally consider "cultural activities," but also actively

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[55] At the same time that the Pomo occupied the land that would ultimately become Ya-Ka-Ama, another group of native peoples occupied an abandoned army fort in nearby Davis, California. The Davis group intended to establish (what would become) DQ University, a Chicano and American Indian institution of higher education. See Findley (1970). The Alcatraz occupation was still transpiring, and being covered in the press. See Crawford (1970). During the same week as the Ya-Ka-Ama and DQ occupations, the *San Francisco Chronicle* ran an extensive article outlining "Eskimo" claims to traditional lands in Alaska. The tribal activists there fiercely argued that they continued to "hold original rights to all 586,000 square miles with the state" (Perlman 1970).

[56] Allen started her break from tradition by heeding her mother's wish that she not destroy (or bury with her) her baskets upon death. She continued by purchasing and collecting work from other weavers, and then teaching techniques to non-Pomo people.

(re)produced indigenous, Pomo space. Like her weaving of wonderfully intricate baskets, Elsie Allen's work intertwined indigenous space across the local (and national) geography. Like many of the other Pomo basketweavers, activists, and tribal officials, Elsie Allen's work constitutes a spatial practice that, while confined, nevertheless continues to spill out from underneath and call attention to the imposed maps of a colonized landscape.

CONCLUSION

In his work on the everyday (re)production of the nation through discourse, Billig points out that cultural "flags" are everywhere being waved. We simply must take the time to notice them, a simple task made difficult by their banal ubiquity. The daily, mundane (re)production of a geography of (any) nation can be found (for example) in the media's use of simple words like "we" and "here," terms that produce and reassert conceptual and spatial boundaries and the ideas of a coherent, bounded nationhood. Billig reminds us that when we pay attention to those flags (cultural, textual, discursive markers) we are paying attention precisely to the ways that we form identities and produce geographies. Fourth of July celebrations, national anthems, and Olympic competitions function as overt and self-conscious moments of nation-building. Yet the nation persists and is fundamentally sustained after those moments are over – after the fireworks burn out, the song finishes, and medals are awarded.

I began this chapter considering a high school basketball game. On one level, the game was nothing more than an organized athletic contest between regional youth.

Just as the singing of the national anthem before games marks such matches as replete with nationalized meaning, both schools constructed relationships with Indianness during those games, relationships that generated local and national identities and reconstructed normative geographies. Despite Vallejo High School's contemporary deployment of a less caricatured representation, their mascot geographically defines and displaces the *Nde* people, and extends the long tradition of historicizing native peoples. The Apache are abstracted out of context, and removed from their land-based identity. Further, the selection of the Apache safely confines Indians to a geographically distant Arizona existence. Yet, the high school's mascot simultaneously locates the Indian in the remote, romanticized past space where Indians dwell. While the *Nde* people are vibrant and extensive in the Southwestern portion of the United States, their national representation almost always signifies the era of the so-called Apache Wars.[57]

On the surface, the Elsie Allen High School model represents movement toward more equitable treatment with regard to naming practices. Yet, the narrative supporting the school name still constructs the nation as a White space, with newly admitted racialized contributors. As pockets of racialized space, both Elsie Allen and Vallejo high schools (as well as their surrounding communities) already represent exceptions to the normative construction of a presumed White national space. Yet, we must also turn attention to the production of racialized, settler-colonial space. Although these sites are racially contested and diversely populated, we must

[57] Indeed, their "image-sake" Naiche was born in middle of the nineteenth century (1856) and died in

remember that not only can anyone support hegemony (remember the Oorang Indians), it indeed requires such a common sense-ness and a wide-ranging acceptance. The production of a non-indigenous nation space is one such hegemonic construction.

In this chapter, I offer a glimpse into those processes within a readily identifiable site for the production of knowledge: the school (one of Althusser's key ideological state apparatuses). Schools effectively normalize the production of both the Indian figure (most effectively when channeled through the use of mascots), and generate and reify a shared imaginary nation space free of indigenous land claims. I want to reiterate that my argument here is not that if the school and community were better aware of their own mascot that they would then turn their energy towards contesting the continuation of the American nation-state. In fact, I am certain this would not happen. Even the integration of Naiche into the lore of the school's logo would not overturn the implicit nation-building project. If Vallejo High School had adopted a Patwin mascot instead of Apache, again, little would likely change in terms of how that appropriation would be deployed in the production of racialized nation space.[58]

Mascots represent the most obvious and more thorough inhabiting of Indianness. In my formulation, they are an important bridge to other even more mundane means of appropriation and "inhabiting" because they are both fundamentally visual or spectacular flags that nevertheless push us toward (ironically) more masked realms of text and discourse. The two new high school examples I offer

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New Mexico in 1921 (a year before the establishment of the high school).

demonstrate that a key part of inhabitance is the need to empty out some of the potential meanings of the mascot symbols – the Indian – using less visual modes of representation. While using the Indian figure is an ambivalent project, the examples have shown that the actual cultural deployments of Indianness are thoroughly hegemonic in terms of reproducing colonial narratives and discourses of a completed conquest. Once "inhabited" and emptied of meaning, the no-longer ambivalent Indian is reworked to render the American landscape sanitized of (ongoing) occupation. These examples illustrate that mascots are not merely reflections of colonial conquests. Nor do they simply justify such (complex) historical events. Mascots are examples of constitutive cultural work that continues American Indian colonization and the production of a White racialized American nation. Following these insights, in the next chapter I turn attention to another mode of inhabitance, one that more directly, yet more mundanely produces the same spatial constructs – the phenomenon of Indian-themed street names.

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[58] The Patwin traditionally resided in the northeastern portion of the San Francisco Bay Area where Vallejo is now located.

CHAPTER 3: "M-M-M, THIS IS LIVING!": "Inhabiting Indianness" in the United States

New York's Wall Street originated as a tool for protecting colonial space and actively excluding native peoples while claiming the land from under their feet. While today Wall Street is recognized as a global financial center, it began in 1624, when the native Manhattan decided against frontal assault of a new Dutch settlement (New Amsterdam) and instead attacked their supply road. The Manhattan hoped their strategy would cut the colonists off from needed provisions, and force them to abandon their outpost. Instead, their plan prompted the settlers to build a defensive wall along the supply road, again permitting the colony's continued growth and survival. Although the Dutch eventually abandoned their colonial post on the island (when driven out by the English in 1664), their fortified, walled street re-made a native landscape into a space that discursively and physically protected invading settlers from native inhabitants, and marked native peoples as dangerous trespassers on European lands.[1]

Naming and mapping have always been instruments of colonial power, even when they invoke the colonized.[2] During the initial colonization of the Americas, the production of new names reflected European needs and desires for rightful occupation of native lands. Renaming and claiming territories delegitimized not only native lands

[1] For more on this episode, see Venables (2005).
[2] See Anderson (1991) and Rafael (2000).

rights, but also native knowledge as new names were deemed more appropriate for newly "civilized" spaces. More recently, the use of seemingly anti-colonial names often replaces the practice of imposing overtly colonial ones. Whereas New Jersey was named after the British island of Jersey, the streets of Medford Lakes, New Jersey are filled with names like Apache, Cheyenne, Mohawk, and Seminole. Modern residential spaces like Medford Lakes reveal how twentieth century housing developers (for example) are able to discursively include native peoples by marking thousands of residential streets using Indian themes, in contrast to the early colonists' need to rename and thereby claim native spaces through discursive (and physical) markers of exclusion.

Despite the changes, (re)placing Indian names onto the landscape is a disingenuous and ineffective "reversal" of colonial impositions over geography and epistemology. Towns and cities featuring Indian-themed odonyms (street names) are extremely disconnected from native communities, and constructed upon the material gains of colonization. These places are Indian (in quotes) in that they reflect popular non-native ideas about native peoples, but they are not native places. The placement of such names is not accompanied by any re-placement of native people back onto colonially-claimed spaces. Yet, across the nation, American Indian-themes occupy numerous individual streets and clusters, small housing developments, and gigantic residential networks. Like most early suburbs, these developments prove to be White dominated spaces.

As Philip Deloria so effectively documents in *Playing Indian* (1998), non-native "Americans" have long claimed native identities through a variety of mechanisms and for a variety of individual and collective purposes. The construction of residential spaces using Indian names creates another cultural and spatial sphere against which native peoples must constantly negotiate, prove, and protect their identities and sovereignty. In other words, laying claim to citizenship within the Mohawk nation is fundamentally different than laying claim to "Mohawk Street" (however indirectly or unconsciously). Yet, occupying Mohawk Street represents an important means by which non-native peoples simultaneously (re)claim Indianness and occupy colonized native spaces, while invoking it all in the service of banal individualism, or multicultural nationalism. I have termed the process whereby non-natives produce and occupy Indian spaces as "inhabiting Indianness."

It should be noted that the inhabitants to whom I refer are not simply, or even specifically, those who live on Indian-themed streets. While those individuals and families do as a matter of fact reside in and claim those places, I am more interested in the symbolic space in which they are able to dwell. Indian spaces, and the notion to create such spaces, implicate a larger cultural realm where Indians are available for purchase. In this way, the specific residents matter less than the possibility for anyone and everyone to occupy those places.

This chapter is comprised of three elements, each of which helps to reveal the shape of inhabiting Indianness. First, I provide a series of "maps" of the street clusters that use Indian themes, indicating their frequency, extent, and general content. I focus

attention on the largest clusters, using them as models and guides to this nation-wide naming practice. In this first section, I offer little in the way of critical scrutiny, focusing instead on presenting the data that serves as the basis for my later analysis.

After presenting my "maps," I comparatively analyze Indian-themed street names with and against street names that reference other racialized groups. I explore how street names alluding to African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos are explicitly racially marked, and thus serve different purposes than those using Indian names. I specifically point to the ways that Indian themed spaces are unique in that they mark White spaces, and how this practice of naming is a continuation of early colonial practices of epistemological imposition. I ultimately argue that the more recent reversal of colonial naming marks inhabiting Indianness as both more subtle and thereby more entrenched than other naming methods; in other words, hegemonic.

Third, I present a brief case study of one of the earliest Indian-themed clusters. I examine the Clairemont Mesa suburb of San Diego, California to demonstrate how the construction of such residential districts represents a covert racialization of space locally and nationally, and provides discursive maintenance work for the continuation of American Indian colonization. I thus argue that Indian-themed street names are neocolonial technologies used to continue the process of organizing and giving non-native, racialized meanings to national space.

COLONIAL CULS-DE-SAC

As a youth in Santa Rosa, California (during the 1980s), I was always curious about a part of town referred to as Indian Village. As a native person who had intimate relationships with many local native people, I wondered how and when it got its name, and what it could possibly mean to non-native people.[3] This small section of town was not home to many American Indian people, at least no more so than most other parts of town. Yet, clearly the name recognized that this collection of streets was named after tribal communities. Many years later, in San Diego, I was working on a media and commercial iconography project for a graduate course on race and media. I happened to remember seeing one particular street sign that had always caught my attention – it was named "Manitou," an Ojibwe word for spirit. I located the street on a local map and quickly found that housing developers had branded an entire residential area with Indian-themed street names. My youthful curiosity suddenly turned to a set of preliminary research questions. How many more Indian street name clusters existed? Where are these streets located? Who lives in these areas? What is the relationship between the streets and native peoples? What do these clusters mean?

To discover whether Indian-themed street clusters were a common practice, I began by searching for streets named Cherokee, expecting this to be a highly recognizable tribe with historical resonance for even the most unfamiliar with

[3] Through my father's side of the family, I am Ojibwe, with tribal origins in northern Minnesota. Many of my childhood classmates, friends, and mentors were Pomo, the local peoples indigenous to this part of California.

American Indian history and culture. I used the 2003 version of Microsoft's travel software *Streets and Trips*, which allowed for display of all results simultaneously, thus enabling me to document the total number of "hits" for a requested street name.[4] The search term Cherokee proved successful. I found hundreds of examples, many of which accompanied numerous other Indian street names. I recorded my initial findings and conducted a second search using the term Apache. Apache revealed a handful of new sites, as well as underscoring many of my previous results. Finally, I looked for outlying examples by using a series of targeted searches with terms like Blackfoot, Iroquois, Pueblo, Sioux, and Seminole. These searches offered few new substantial clusters, but did implicate every single US state with at least one cluster, except Hawaii.[5]

Using these core terms, I sorted the cities/towns based on the number of Indian-themed streets found and grouped them according to whether they contained "Small," "Medium," "Large," or "Super" clusters (see Table 3.1). I located more than thirty-five municipalities with Small Clusters, those comprised of between ten and twenty Indian-themed streets. I counted twenty-seven municipalities that contain Medium Clusters, or areas with between twenty-one and forty streets. As I conducted only preliminary research on these sites, I speculate that the actual total number of

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[4] I initially began using paper maps, a time-consuming process. As many of the clusters and streets are not in major metropolitan areas, however, this method also proved less than comprehensive, as many paper-version maps are difficult to access and quickly outdated. Other software did not display all possible matches, making it impossible to count instances.

[5] I also found Washington, DC without a cluster. Hawaii presents a unique case in that many public and private spaces now actively use native Hawaiian names and words as part of the state's concentration and reliance on tourism. I did not include these as part of my study, but recognize the parallel in practices, and the shared experiences with mainland native peoples. For more about the history and use of Hawaiian language street names, see Herman (1999).

Small and Medium Clusters is greater than the (already sizeable) sixty-two sites verified here.

I focused my research on those clusters with a larger total number of Indian-themed street names. I located twenty cities/towns that are home to Large Clusters comprised of between forty-one and ninety-nine streets. Along with these Large Clusters, I found five examples of cities/towns containing what I term Super Clusters, or areas exceeding one hundred Indian-themed street names. Thus, in sum, my inquiries produced twenty-five towns or cities that contain at least forty Indian-themed streets.[6] My research concentrates on these Large and Super-sized locations. I outline their origins and briefly explore their demographic and spatial features. The compilation of these cluster cities/towns reflect a nationally pervasive cultural practice and vividly illustrate the scale of this practice (see Figure 3.1).

Table 3.1: Cluster Categories Summary

Custer Category	Number of streets	Number of clusters
Small Cluster	10-20	35+
Medium Cluster	21-40	27
Large Cluster	41-99	20
Super Cluster	100+	5

[6] I have not set out to thoroughly document all of the instances of such clusters. I am most interested in documenting the general preponderance of Indian-themed street clusters and discussing their cultural significances. Thus, the quantitative findings of my research are limited by at least two factors. The first is the limitations of my term selections. Although Cherokee and Apache were productive search terms, it may prove (with further investigation) that other search terms reveal additional instances that I have yet to document. A second limitation to my study is the age of my mapping software (2003). Continued research using more recent software may reveal that additional street clusters have been constructed since the version I have used. Ultimately, I will repeat my searches using a more recent edition. Despite the limitations of my primary research tool (mapping software), and my term selections, I have compiled sufficient evidence to make some substantiated claims.

Figure 3.1: Locations of Top Twenty-Five Clusters
(Microsoft *Streets and Trips 2003*©)

Indian-themed streets generally proliferated between the 1950s and the 1980s, emerging at times when the non-native citizenry had much less volatile opinions of Indians than did the early Dutch colonists described at the beginning of this chapter. Native people were not a military threat to the nation in the mid- and late-1900s. During the 1950s and 1960s western films were hugely popular and generated interest and familiarity with Indians, even as they were depicted as savages or enemies. In the 1970s, American Indian activism and counterculture movements repositioned native peoples as victims of oppression and sources of spiritual enlightenment. By the 1980s, native people symbolically served a growing environmental consciousness, and were figured into a developing national emphasis on multiculturalism.

During these decades, housing developers extensively applied Indian-themes to their residential creations. The clusters sizes vary without strict regard to the size and demographics of its population or its regional location. Compare the city sizes and locations of the Super Clusters in the Ahwatukee suburb (in Phoenix, Arizona) and Cherokee Village (Arkansas) communities. Both are explicitly named in reference to native peoples. Although it is located in the southwest, Ahwatukee is commonly said to be derived from a Crow word meaning "House of Dreams" (from the earlier, Casa de Sueños, see Figure 3.2).[7]

[7] This translation is circulated widely by local officials and oral tradition, although local journalist Geri Koeppel recently determined that the closest and most appropriate translation would be either "land on the other side of the hill" or "land in the next valley." She notes that although Bright (in *Native American Placenames of the United States*, University of Oklahoma Press published 2004) reported the translation as "flat land, prairie," his source told Koeppel (a non-Crow linguist and priest) that upon further reflection, he though the term was probably "something that's made up." According to George Reed, Crow minister of culture, the translation of "house of dreams" into Crow would be "Ashe ammeewiawe." See Koeppel (2006).

Figure 3.2: Detail of Photograph Overlooking Portion of Ahwatukee, Arizona (Public Domain, Wikipedia)

Cherokee Village clearly references the most well-known of the indigenous peoples to originally inhabit what is now the southern state of Arkansas. Phoenix is the nation's fifth largest city with more than 1.5 million residents. The rural, recreational community of Cherokee Village is home to less than 5,000 permanent residents. Phoenix is flanked by native communities located on four reservations, and is home to numerous urban American Indian peoples.[8] While Arkansas is still home to many native people and communities, the state hosts no federally recognized reservations, and almost no native individuals live in the Cherokee Village area. Despite the regional and demographic differences between these two communities, each contains a comparable number of Indian-themed street names. Ahwatukee boasts

[8] The Fort McDowell Yavapai, Ak Chin, Gila River, and Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Communities all reside in the Phoenix area.

more than 120 Indian-themed streets, while Cherokee Village offers more than 150, as well as numerous Indian-named parks and lakes.

Many of the largest clusters can be characterized as suburban spaces, although some have become thoroughly incorporated by the ever-expanding boundaries of large, urban regions. Many of the clusters are unambiguously rural, or small town. All of the street clusters I have examined are exclusively residential areas. Although regional location does not significantly impact the particular names used within the clusters, the use of an Indian theme does appear to be correlated to the environmental setting of the housing development or community. In suburban and rural contexts, these clusters are frequently located near golf courses, bodies of water (usually lakes), and other (sometimes fabricated) idyllic settings. Many of the Super Clusters offer examples of this practice, including Lake Havasu City (Nevada) Cherokee Village (Arkansas), South Lake Tahoe (California), Country Lake Estates (New Jersey), and Lake Royale (North Carolina). The streets constituting the neighboring communities of Enchanted Oaks and Payne Springs in Texas, straddle the 32,000-acre Cedar Creek Reservoir. The mobile home park cluster in Fort Myers, Florida is situated only minutes from the Gulf of Mexico. Clusters located in more urban settings are comprised of single-family, suburban homes with ample spatial buffers like parks and natural features around the home or subdivision. The cluster in Clairemont, California, for example, sits on a network of undulating, discontinuous mesas separated by the undeveloped “fingers” of Tecolote Canyon Regional Park.

The tendency to associate Indians with natural and environmental features is doubly emphasized by the frequent use of the street name qualifier "Trail." Numerous street clusters are completely constituted by streets with names like Iroquois Trail and Shawnee Trail. County Lake Estates, New Jersey (see Figure 3.3) and the roads in the Lake George region of Colorado epitomize this practice. Fort Myers Beach, Florida offers fifteen parallel one-way Trails. While some Trails may coincidentally reference a historical relationship between the current street location and the traditional travel routes of native peoples, most are purely decorative. The Indian-themed mobile home park in Fort Myers Beach, for example, offers no Trails for the Seminole or Calusa (native nations from Florida), but do include geographic outsiders like the Apache (from Arizona), Blackfoot (from Montana), and Seneca (from New York).

The community around Towamensing Lake (also called Yost Swamp), near Albrightsville, Pennsylvania hosts Trails that bring together such unlikely intersections as Chinook with Cochise and Piute with Narragansett. Local historian Robert Alotta notes the same discrepancies in his study of the street names of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Tracing the history of street names selections and changes, he is left no choice but to argue that Indian names must have been selected simply because "they sounded good," since there is an extreme lack of either "local significance" or "geographic similarities" (1975: 84).

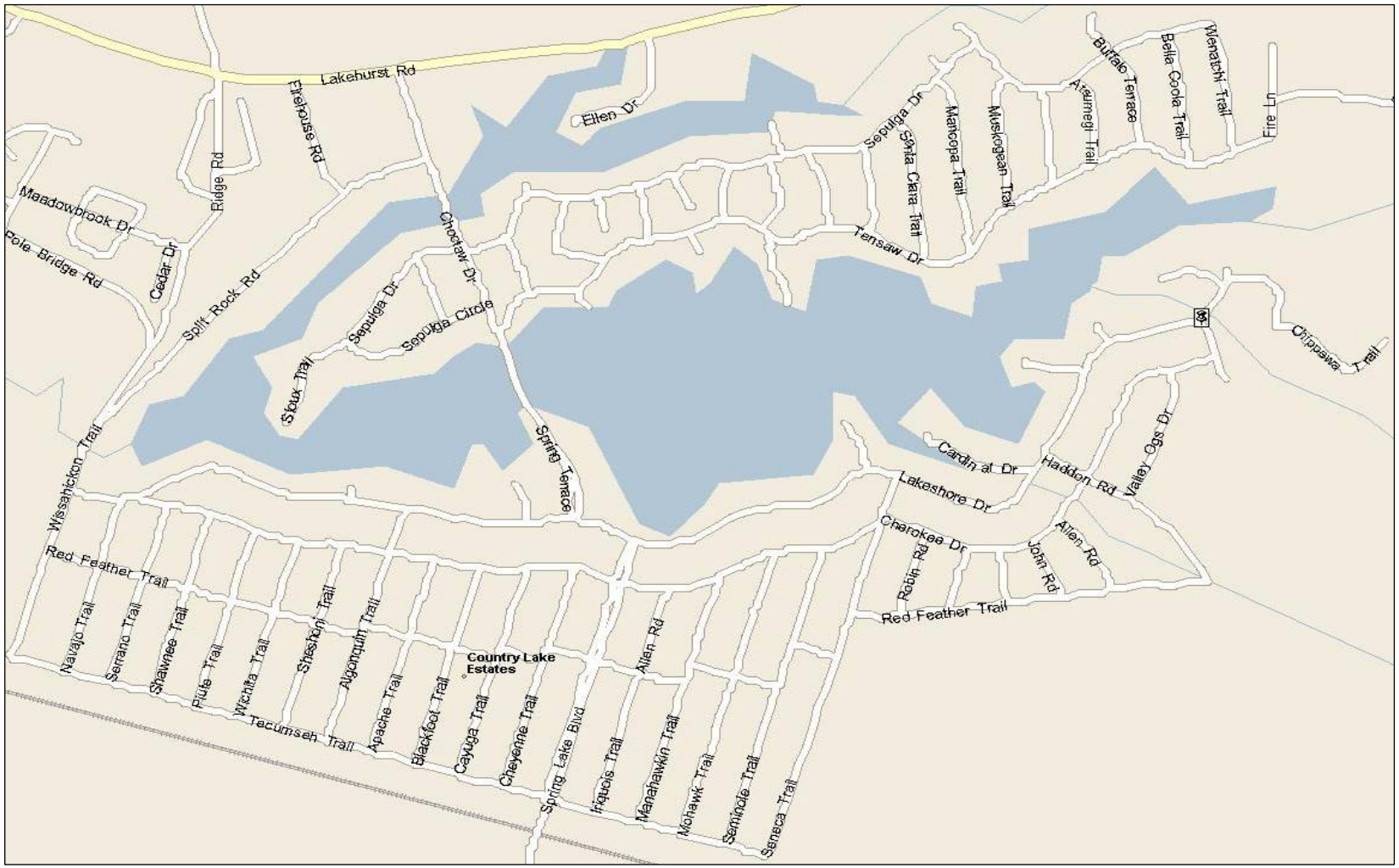

Figure 3.3: Country Lake Estates, New Jersey "Super" Cluster Use of "Trails"
(Microsoft *Streets and Trips 2003*©)

Researching the frequency of Indian-themed street names, it is clear that they are (predictably) used extensively in western states. Looking at the twenty-five largest clusters, however, reveals that numerous eastern and southern cities host substantial examples. Given the imagined and real confinements of native people to western states, it may be surprising that East Coast cities contained ten of the largest twenty-five clusters (see Table 3.2). Dividing the top twenty-five clusters by region reveals five representatives from both the South (Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee) and the East (New Jersey and Pennsylvania). California is home to four of the top twenty-five clusters, as are the Southwest region (Arizona, Nevada, and Texas) and the Midwest (Kansas, Ohio, and Illinois). Colorado contributes two examples.

Table 3.2: Regional Locations of Twenty-Five Largest Cluster Cities

Region	States	Number of clusters
South	AR, FL, NC, VA, TN	5
East	NJ, PA	5
California	CA	4
Southwest	AZ, NV, TX	4
Midwest	KS, OH, IL	4
Colorado	CO	2

Indian-themed street clusters range widely across the national landscape, yet contain a standardized set of contents. I characterize these contents using eight broad categories. Every cluster is constituted by street names from these basic categories.

The eight types are: (1) tribes, (2) historical figures, (3) fictional figures, (4) cultural items, (5) "Red English," (6) site names, (7) native language vocabulary, and (8) derogatory terms.

By far the most common category is "tribes." In many of the clusters, the majority of the streets are named after tribal communities; examples like Dakota and Haida.[9] Not only do clusters draw heavily on tribal community names, they tend to draw from a core group of predetermined or pre-packaged tribes, often with no attention to regional connection as discussed in terms of Trails. Commonly used historical figures include examples like Lakota war leader Crazy Horse and the pilgrim-greeting Samoset (Abenaki). Fictional figures are regularly spliced into the clusters alongside tribes and historical figures. Common are examples like Chief Day Break, and the ever-present Tonto of Lone Ranger fame. Most clusters contain a sprinkling of streets named for stereotypical cultural items or words, like teepee and powwow. A few locations incorporate simulated versions of what Kenneth Lincoln calls "Red English," or supposed pidgin terms such as Laughingwater or Big Look.[10] Occasionally, historic sites such as Wounded Knee receive recognition. Names derived from native vocabularies are uncommon, presumably because the terms are unknown to developers and their potential residents, and the work of translation proves demanding. Rare among the cluster cities, Cherokee Village, Arkansas displays more than thirty examples that are clearly derived from, or intended to be

[9] It should be noted that the names used are not always consistent with the tribal community names chosen by those communities. Many Cherokee, for example, would prefer "Tsalagi" as their more accurate tribal and linguistic designation. Rarely do the street names make use of names as they are spoken in their tribal languages.

derived from presumably Cherokee words and names. Examples include Hotamitanio, Tonganoxie, and Weekiwachee.[11] Lastly, a few communities continue to maintain street names using terms that are generally recognized as derogatory, such as Squaw and Redskin.

Housing developers must formulate street names for their housing clusters that will meet public safety requirements that the names do not cause confusion for police or fire departments responding to emergencies. This practical consideration is commonly referenced in developers' guides and used as explanation for the selections of Indian themed street names. The names provide a vast amount of names from which to draw. Yet, issues of public safety do not account for the vast popularity of such street names, nor does it sufficiently explain the consistent placement of such streets in heavily White spaces.

INDIAN STREET CLUSTERS AND WHITENESS

Although Indian-themed clusters are constructed almost exclusively in residential areas, and relatively widely across the different regions of the nation, they are not evenly distributed in terms of the racial composition of their residents. US Census (2000) data indicate that the residents of these spaces have been, and continue to be, overwhelmingly European American or White. The White population of the largest twenty-five clusters averages approximately ninety percent. Dubbed the

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[10] For more on the use of "Red English" in native communities and speech, see Lincoln (1993).

"Jewel of the Ozarks," Cherokee Village, Arkansas overlaps the boundary between two extremely White counties (98.1 and 97.0 percent, see Figure 3.3); yet the "village" is even "whiter," reporting a population of ninety-nine percent.[12] Most of the largest clusters reflect this demographic characteristic, being populated by predominantly White residents, and located in counties where the vast majority of the people self-identify as White (see Table 3.3)

[11] I did not fully count street names using native language examples, as I was not always able to determine which were and were not examples of a native language, and which were and were not intended to be included with the cluster.

[12] I used demographic statistics allowing for multiple racial identifications. Thus, the total population percentage may exceed 100 percent. My statistics for "white" populations includes those identified as "white" alone or in combination.

Table 3.3: Racial Composition of Largest Indian Cluster Cities/Towns
(Source: 2000 US Census)

Cluster Location	Street count	% White	% White county, [city]
1. Cherokee Village, AR	150+	98.7	98.1, 97.0 [a]
2. Lake Tansi, TN	130	99	98.4
3. Ahwatukee (Phoenix), AZ	121	88.0 *	89.0
4. Lake Royale, NC	111	70	70.7
5. Lake George (area), CO	100	97	96.6
6. Big River, CA	91+	88	80.6
7. South Lake Tahoe, CA	76	96.0 *	92.5, [79.1]
8. Killeen (Fort Hood), TX	68	54.1	72.0 [49.7]
9. Lake Havasu, AZ	68	96.5 *	94.2
10. Medford, NJ	64	99	77.6
11. Apple Valley, CA	63	79.9 *	80.6, [80.3]
12. Spotsylvania, VA	63	82	81.6
13. Albrightsville, PA	58	94	97.9
14. Tobyhanna, PA	50	92.8 *	89.7
15. Enchanted Oaks (area), TX	50	99.2 [b]	91.8
16. Lake Waynoka, OH	47	98.5	98.0
17. Boulder, CO	45	89.9 *	92.9, [88.3]
18. Carol Stream, IL	45	86.3 *	84.8
19. Country Lake Estates, NJ	44	74	77.6
20. Fort Myers Beach, FL	43	99	90.0
21. Bridgewater Center, OH	43	96	97.9
22. Clairemont Mesa, CA	42	85.6 *	79.8, [63.9]
23. Satanta, KS	41	85	97.8
24. Oakland/Franklin Lakes, NJ	40	95.4 *	79.2
25. Sandy Valley, NV	40	94	78.9

+ additional streets with apparent native language terms that could not be verified
* Cluster data calculated from more than one census tract
a – town was incorporated across two counties (Nash and Sharp)
b – data drawn from larger area (smallest available via Census)

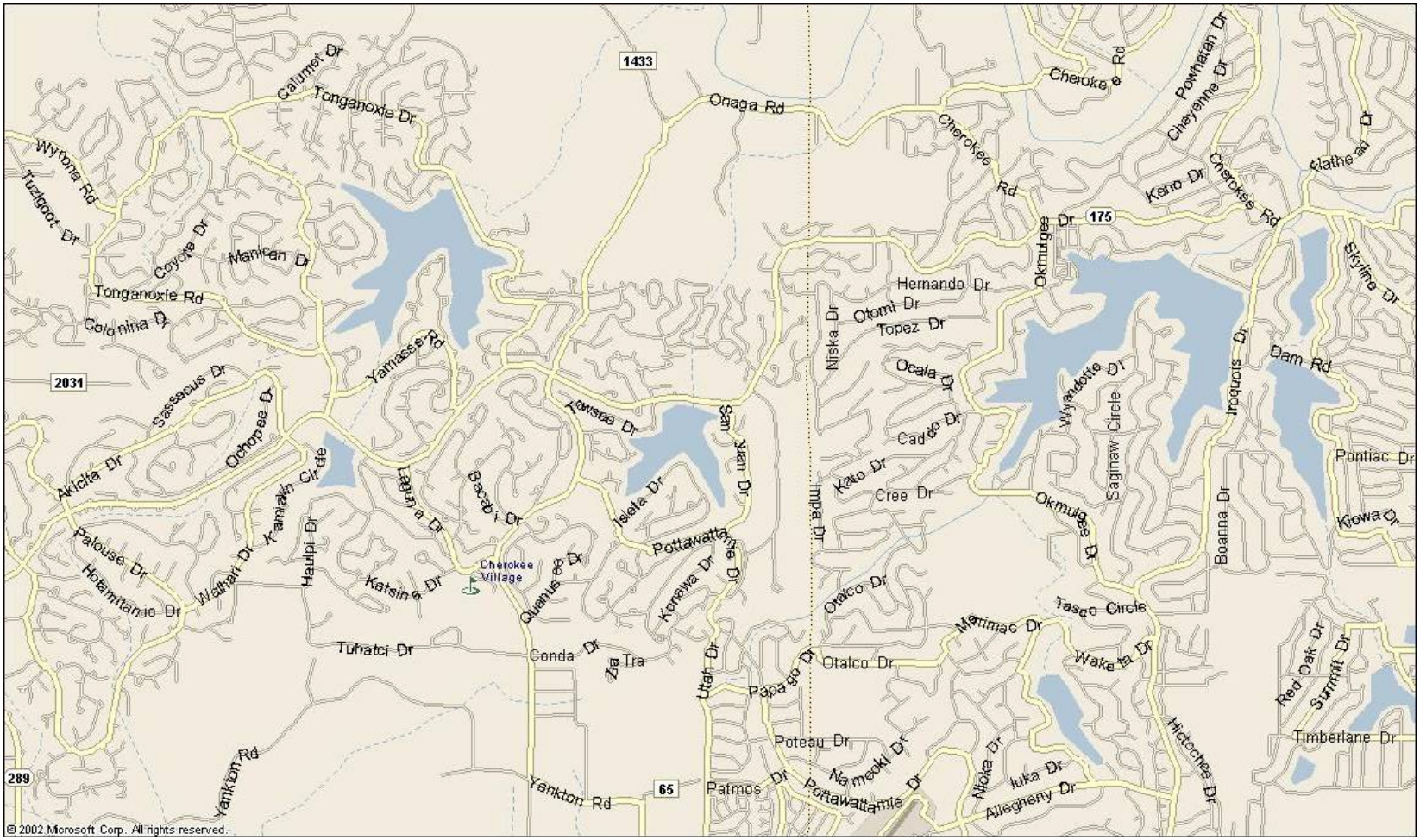

Figure 3.4: Map of Cherokee Village, Arkansas
Nearly every single road in this "Super Cluster" community is named using the Indian theme.
(Microsoft *Streets and Trips 2003*©)

Clusters located in more urban areas contain a relatively higher percentage of "non-white" residents, although like Cherokee Village, these areas still present a higher percentage of White residents than the surrounding community. The three census tract areas constituting the Clairemont Mesa neighborhoods of San Diego, California, for example, showed White populations of eighty-one percent (tract 85.02), eighty-seven percent (tract 85.03), and ninety percent (tract 85.01). In contrast, the 2000 Census reports that White residents make up less than eighty percent (79.8) of the county population, and less than sixty-four (63.9) percent of the total for the city of San Diego (where Clairemont is located).

Although subdivisions like Clairemont can still boast higher inter-ethnic statistics than towns like Albrightsville, Pennsylvania or Fort Myers Beach, Florida, such suburban clusters almost invariably began as exclusively White areas when first constructed.[13] As suburbs are subsumed by surrounding cities, White residents systematically relocate to newer and typically "whiter" housing developments further from the core of the city (the phenomenon of "white flight"). Thus, these clusters historically increase their "non-white" populations only after "whites" leave for "whiter pastures." In 1990 (more than a decade after its beginnings), the four census tracts comprising the "Super" cluster Phoenix suburb of Ahwatukee reported an aggregate 94.5 percent White residents.[14] This percentage dipped to eighty-six percent by the time of the 2000 Census, and following the subdivision's incorporation as one of Phoenix's "local villages." The population explosion in the Phoenix area, along

[13] See Lipsitz (1998).

with the incorporation of the subdivision between 1978 and 1987 helped to facilitate Ahwatukee's subtle but steady demographic changes. By June of 2001, the demographic changes were finally noticeable enough for some residents to feel encouraged by the changing face of what they had unofficially dubbed "All-White-Tukee" (Biggs 2001). In less urban spaces, such "flight" never occurs, allowing many of those communities to retain relatively stable racial demographics.

There are a few notable exceptions to Indian-themed street clusters with disproportionately high percentages of White residents. The Lake Royale community in rural North Carolina, for example, is comprised of seventy percent White residents and thirty percent African Americans. This ratio is nearly identical to the county-wide statistics where the community is located, and actually represents a higher percentage of African Americans than found in North Carolina as a whole (21.8%). African Americans also comprise twenty-two percent of the residents in Country Lake Estates in New Jersey (whereas they make up only 16.7% of county, and 14.5% of the state population). These cases are especially notable in that that most of the clusters have quite small African American populations, reflecting a historic tendency toward the exclusion of "Blacks" from White spaces.

A few other clusters present distinctive demographic characteristics, even as they do not fully disrupt the overall Whiteness of such areas. While the two census tracts that comprise the Chicago suburb of Carol Stream, Illinois are 86.3% "white,"

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[14] The tracts reported "white" population as follows: 1167.07 (92.9%), 1167.08 (96.3%), 1167.10 (94.1%), 1167.11 (93.9%).

for example, they are also 8.9% Asian American.[15] Perhaps most unusual, the town of Satanta, Kansas reports only eighty-five percent White population, and thirty percent "Hispanic" in a county that reports an overall White population of 97.8%. Upon further consideration and investigation, this statistic seems to reflects a large reporting of Spanish or Portuguese heritage (as Hispanic) that should be distinguished from racialized Latinos. Thus, this community would likely be racially experienced as a White space. At the same time, recent documents suggest that Satanta is experiencing a new growth in Latino migrant workers, who are servicing the expanding agricultural industry.[16] Finally, the Killeen, Texas cluster located in the residential sector of the Fort Hood Army base presents the greatest statistical anomaly. The relatively higher percentage of "non-white" residents there (thirty percent African American, sixteen percent Latino) reflects the general over-representation of "non-white" soldiers serving in the US armed forces.

It should be noted that even where some of the street clusters offer relatively higher percentages of "non-white" residents, none house any substantial American Indian population. According to the Census data, 1,000 residents from the Indian-themed cluster in Apple Valley, California identified themselves as American Indian.[17] This relatively large number still represents a mere 2.3% of the cluster's total population of nearly 43,000 residents. Big River, California, which is actually

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[15] Tract 8412.05 (83.9% white, 11.1% Asian American) and Tract 8412.06 (88.5% white, 6.9% Asian American).

[16] In a statement on his agency's services, the director of the Satanta Migrant Services, Ardith Dunn, indicates a rise of "Hispanic" populations "within the last 5-7 years." The new populations, he explains have been in need of "services in Spanish" and additional policy changes to better accommodate "parent communication." See Dunn (2008).

located within the boundaries of the Colorado River Indian Reservation (which stretches over the river from eastern Arizona), boasts the largest percentage of American Indian residents, yet those residents still only comprise 3.9% of the total population for the Indian themed cluster. In addition, this statistic represents a total of only thirty-two American Indian-identified individuals.

While the racial makeup of some street clusters may change, the force of the inhabitance does not necessarily change. Just as the "possessive investment in Whiteness" can recruit non-white adherents and supporters, the shift of heavily White areas toward ethnically/racially mixed or non-White areas does not guarantee a shift in discursive engagement with the Indian. As noted in chapter two (the Vallejo High Apaches), non-white communities participate equally in appropriation of Indianness and still generate much of their narrative frameworks from the larger public discourse.

Further, states with relatively large non-urban American Indian populations – like Montana, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Dakota, Oklahoma – host fewer major clusters, and none in the top twenty-five.[18] In these places Indianness must contend with the concrete presence of American Indian peoples and substantial native communities. In these spaces, inhabiting becomes a much more contestable practice. Further, in many places where American Indians and non-natives share space, Indianness is constructed along much less romantic lines, even to the extreme of being replaced by overtly racist constructions of alcoholic, stupid, or lazy Indian figures decidedly unworthy of appropriation.

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[17] The Apple Valley cluster is comprised of eight census tracts (Tracts 97.10 through 97.17).

Arizona, which ranks seventh (reporting 4.5% American Indian population), provided the only examples of a Super or Large Cluster located in a state with a significant American Indian population percentage. The lack of American Indian presence in such spaces presents a distinctive difference from other places that reference racialized communities. Far from being a random or unique phenomenon, Indian-themed street name clusters are nationally prolific and are frequently extensive in scope. Whether the populations of these clusters are vastly White or multi-ethnic/multi-racial, they are decisively not native spaces and they are constructed through normative notions of Indianness.

BLACKNESS, BROWNESS, ASIANS, AND Indians

In his section, I specifically address the similarities and distinctions between streets named using Indian themes and those referencing African Americans, Asian Americans, or Latinos. In addition, I consider the parallels and divergences from streets using Spanish vocabulary. These comparisons reveal not only that spatial markers differ in reference to differently racialized groups, but also that the use of Indian spatial markers are specifically applicable toward the task of maintaining colonized land claims. I highlight the differences in the amount of Indian-themed street names as measured against other racialized groups, and also suggest that the

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[18] Alaska topped the list with 13.1% of its residents identifying at American Indian/Alaska Native. New Mexico reported 9.7%, South Dakota 8.6%, Oklahoma 6.8%, Montana 6.3%, and North Dakota 5.2%.

distinctions between the street name contents in differently racialized spaces are important indicators of the variability of racialization.

The dominant narratives of the United States have long represented race as a matter of managing the inclusion of "blacks" within an unmarked White society. This persistent and false black-white dichotomy determines how street signs are linked to race and how they are managed at the local and national levels. Over the last several decades, African Americans have wielded enough social/political power to force symbolic inclusions within the textual landscape. The vast majority of such symbolic, textual inclusions have been explicitly memorial or honorific. Where once prominent place names were all White affairs, African Americans have steadily secured names in public spaces. In addition, activists from all ethnic backgrounds have successfully challenged names that celebrate people or events of questionable racial politics. Such contestations and changes reflect a change in public politics, but also partly reflect demographics. In areas where the African American population is significant or politically viable, streets are more likely to be named with reference to African Americans. Such locations symbolically insert that portion of the population (however large or small) into the political and cultural landscape. Where "blackness" is absent, however, city officials and developers do not typically name streets using African American references. No other racialized group has yet wielded the same nation-wide social/political power.

Street names serve as markers for public memory, commemorating a widely respected or popular figure. As African Americans have historically dominated

discursive and political discussions of race, no major Asian, Asian American, or Latino figure has received any significant (national) memorializing via street names. Bruce Lee's surprising appearance in Kennewick, Washington equals that of Buddha (Mitchell, Indiana). Signage for Gandhi fares little better, with only two references (in Boulder, Colorado and Fuquay Varina, North Carolina). West Lafayette, Indiana offers a solitary example of Confucius Way. No recent/contemporary Asian or Asian American figure appears on more than a small sampling of streets. Only twelve cities have streets named after farmworker-organizer César Chavez, probably the most widely recognized Chicano and Latino civil rights figure. Half of Chavez's dozen streets are confined to the small, agricultural towns of California where Chavez lived and conducted most of his work.[19] As is the case with Asian/Asian Americans, no other contemporary figure is widely honored with a street name.

The range of memorial and honorific street names stretches from athletes and historical figures, such as Muhammad Ali (Louisville, Kentucky) and Sojourner Truth (Roxbury, Massachusetts) to celebrities and social/political personalities like Bill Cosby (Camden, New Jersey) and Nelson Mandela (Oakland, California). Shreveport, Louisiana features a small cluster of streets named after figures such as Booker T. Washington, Jackie Robinson, and Jesse Owens. Despite many such namings, the only street name that cities regularly generate in reference to African Americans is that of Martin Luther King Jr.

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[19] Chavez is honored in the small towns of Brawley, Oxnard, Delano, Calexico, and Brentwood (all in California) and in San Francisco. Three municipalities in Texas – Austin, Alamo, and San Juan – officially recognized Chavez. El Mirage and Somerset of Arizona, and Minneapolis, Minnesota complete the dozen.

In this way, King is often used to symbolically stand in not only for all of "black America," or even for "diversity" itself. According to Mitchelson, et al (2007), no less than 777 cities had streets named after King. Tilove characterized Martin Luther King streets as "Black America's Main Street," referencing its symbolic importance in constructing African American identity and history (2003). In contrast, only twelve streets are named after Malcolm X, possibly the next most recognizable and symbolic African American figure who might "demand" public memorializing. In places like Harlem, New York, streets named Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. contribute to rare mini-clusters honoring African Americans. Even a globally recognized historical figure like Cleopatra is marked only eighteen times, four within ancient Egyptian-themed clusters.

While King is memorialized to represent politics of peaceful demonstration and an appeal to moral conscience, most citizens do not expect streets named after him to manifest his philosophical and theological views. Rather, they expect, as comedian Chris Rock has famously noted, a place where there is "some violence going down." In contrast, Indian-themed streets frequently draw on *explicit* violence. Tomahawk stands as the single most common Indian theme name in the nation's street clusters.[20] In Odessa, Texas, Tomahawk Trail intersects with War Paint and Warbonnet Trails.[21] Like dozens of other cities, Macon, Georgia and Salem, Connecticut offer an Indian-themed street that marks the cluster with a Warpath.

[20] I have counted an astonishing 612 instances for "Tomahawk."
[21] The road also intersects with Crazy Horse, Sioux, Apache, and Mohawk.

These residential spaces are not constructed as places of violence despite the proliferation of these violent terms, and despite the implied historical violence in streets named after figures like Lieutenant George Armstrong Custer (which intersects with Winchester Road in Eloy, Arizona and with Cheyenne Avenue in Grover, Colorado). One lone exception, it might be argued, are the clusters located on military bases, such as the one found on Fort Hood in Killeen, Texas (where they apparently do not shy away from any violent names). Since the clusters on Fort Hood are sites of residence for the soldiers and their families, and not part of the direct training grounds, however, even these streets may likely be considered spaces of respite from militaristic exercises.

The differential racialization of bodies means that spaces of "blackness" are places of violence, and the spaces of "Whiteness" are places of tranquility, or at the very least, places not specifically marked as violent. So powerful are these assumed characteristics, that even when the name and honoring of an imminently non-violent figure is applied to a location, it remains seen as a violent space. Likewise, no matter the depth of the epistemological and textual violence implied by the use of terms of war and genocide, Indian places of "Whiteness" remain constructed as non-violent.

In sum, there are four differences between the use of streets referencing African Americans and those using Indian themes. As indicated, African American-influenced street names are concentrated on memorializing individual figures. Martin Luther King Jr. serves as the most prominent and prolific example. King's abundant commemoration represents several hundred more instances than the highest single

instance of any Indian-themed street name. Indian-themed streets focus on tribes, emphasizing collective identities even to the point of selecting highly esoteric names.

Second, streets referencing Africans or African Americans are "isolated" phenomena, rarely contributing to clusters, and never to comparably sized clusters. While cities apply King to their streets at greater regularity, applications of Cherokee (for example) are likely to be accompanied by dozens of additional Indian-themed street names. African American themed clusters like that found in Shreveport, Louisiana represent a rare exception, and still pale in terms of the scope of the cluster.

Third, streets referencing African Americans are anchored to public notions of "blackness." Alderman finds that the placement of King streets is heavily dependent on the size and location of the African American population. Such streets are disproportionately "located in census areas that are generally poorer and with more African Americans than city-wide average" (2000: 672). It is clear that city officials and citizens overwhelmingly see King primarily as a symbol of blackness and thus expect such public markers to be naturally placed in black spaces. Indian-themes clusters are largely "unmarked," revealing them to be in actuality heavily White spaces.

Finally, despite the implied violence in many of the Indian-themed street names, streets named after King are much more likely to be perceived as spaces of violence. This discrepancy follows the discursive linkages commonly made between

persons of color and violence.[22] Black implies a level of violence, while ironically Indian implies a de-racialized (read: White) and thus non-violent space.

While King streets are regularly located in "black" areas, most ethnic enclaves exist without street names that explicitly mark them as racialized spaces. In Oakland, California, the streets between 6th and 12th streets comprise the eastern and western "boundaries" of Chinatown. Despite this section's recognition as a "Chinese" or "Asian" space, the street names do not figure into the way that such a space is racialized. The numerical street naming system is abstract. The eastward and westward streets, likewise, contain no overt indication that the area is an "Asian" district.[23] It should be noted that by 1986 Oakland added a secondary set of Chinese-language signs to Chinatown's streets.[24] Indeed, many cities and tourist agencies have implemented such bi-cultural practices in ethnic enclaves, placing sets of Japanese-language signs in their Japantown (San Francisco) or Korean-language signs in their Koreatown (Los Angeles). In 1993, the Houston, Texas city council funded the placement of bilingual signs on thirteen of its "New Chinatown" streets (Ho 1993).

Despite the cultural compromise implied in the placement of such non-English signs, they do not replace the content of the street names. The added non-English language signs usually simulate or simply translate the English street names. In Oakland's Chinatown, the signs under 6th Street, for instance, give the Chinese (Cantonese) terms for the number six. Where the street names are not directly

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[22] See Wilson (2005).
[23] The streets from north to south are named Broadway, Franklin, Webster, Harrison, Alice, Jackson, Madison, and Oak.
[24] I have not yet been unable to verify the year Oakland first installed the Chinese character signs.

translatable, the sound of the word is simulated. A street named Macdonald, for example, could be phonetically imitated using a nonsensical combination like "Ma-Da-No."[25] Oakland Chinatown residents roughly simulate Franklin Street by the combination "Fu-Lan."[26] Thus, while the addition of Chinese-character signs can respond to an area's ethnic character, it does not entirely disrupt or replace the abstracted and non-racially specific "content" of its spatial markers. Such enclaves therefore exist without direct reference within the street names.

While some (xenophobic) residents no doubt lamented the addition of Chinese language street signs in Chinatown, the addition came only after a general acceptance of multiculturalism, and they simply marked the already long-conceded demographic reality of that space (it is, after all, "Chinatown"). When a community works to change the content of a street name to better reflect its ethnic, racial, or even political character, however, the change frequently generates conflict. Every year, communities battle over changing street names, especially when they are struggles over "political correctness." In 2003, community members in Denver, Colorado organized to force local authorities to rename 38th Avenue after Cesar Chavez (*La Voz* 2003). In 2004, local activists were finally successful at pressing the residents of both Fannett and Orchard Texas to change the name of Jap Road (*Northwest Asian Weekly* 2004 and Matsudaira 2004).[27] In San Francisco, city supervisor Bevan Dufty

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[25] In colonial Singapore, Cecil Street was transliterated as Si-Shu Kai (kai meaning street) (Wong 2006: 330).

[26] Thanks to Steve Chin for gathering this information from his grandmother, a longtime resident of the Oakland Chinatown.

[27] The road was changed to Boondocks Road after a local restaurant. The Houston chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League apparently overlooked that "boondock" references rural Filipino

successfully lobbied the city to rename part of 16th Street as José Sarria Court after the city's first openly gay board of supervisor candidate.[28]

Indian-themed names have rarely generated public discussion, and then only in cases where ethnic slurs are being applied. I have not found any evidence of Indian street names being contested, although such names as applied to geographic features are regularly challenged and sometimes changed, especially instances where the term "squaw" is applied (California's Squaw Valley, for example). In Lake Havasu, Arizona and Hailey, Idaho streets named Squaw Way and Red Devil Drive (respectively) remain secure on city maps, with little apparent interest in their contestation.[29] In contrast, Mitchelson et al (2007) and Alderman (2000 and 2003) document that despite the popular acceptance of Martin Luther King Jr. as a historic national figure, municipalities frequently quarrel over applying the name within their district. Residents and business owners express fear over the implications of having the name "Martin Luther King Jr." adorn their homes and businesses, and thus generate fierce resistance to marking "their" space with what they see as a symbol of "blackness." At the same time, African American supporters of such naming debate about *which* streets should be re-named. They pin their respective opinions on whether they are hoping to empower "black" spaces, or whether they are seeking to

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mountain regions and people. The activists had hoped the residents would change the name to "Mayumi Road" in honor of the Japanese American rice farmers that once resided on the road, but residents claimed they could not pronounce Mayumi.

[28] Sarria ran unsuccessfully in 1961. In the late 1970s Harvey Milk became the city's first openly gay elected official.

[29] Numerous towns and cities have streets using some variation of term "squaw."

enhance interracial relations by (re)naming streets so as to encompass both "black" and White spaces (Alderman 2003).

American Indian people are rarely in the statistical or political position to demand the kind of symbolic insertion into the political and cultural landscape as have been African Americans, and increasingly, Latinos or Asian Americans. Yet street names referencing American Indian peoples outnumber and overwhelm those of any other racialized populations. Significantly, and in contrast to other street naming, none of the Indian street naming was initiated by American Indian communities. As I have shown, Indian-themed street signs are predominantly placed in White spaces.[30] If the amount of representations placed on public spatial markers were a matter of demographic or political power, such disparities would be reversed. American Indian references would be scarce. If the matter were a logistical matter of finding a suitable number of names to apply to vast street clusters, developers could turn to numerous untapped categories.[31]

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[30] These spaces, because they are not specifically marked as racialized – as "black" or "Latino," for instance – are rendered "white" by default. Few places are popularly acknowledged as "white" unless they are either severely homogenous demographically (high ninety percents) or vehemently racially exclusive. More frequently, such a designation requires both of these characteristics before many people will acknowledge a place's Whiteness. By contrast, any area with any significant non-white presence is quickly deemed a racialized space – the ghetto, Chinatown, the barrio. Thus, the lack of an explicit racial marking is often one of the marks of its Whiteness.

[31] Few cities name clusters after African, Asian, or Latin American nations, although only a handful name clusters after European nations (Anchorage, Alaska), nationalities (Clearwater, Florida) or languages (Lafayette, Louisiana) either. Cities do not draw on non-native, racialized ethnic groups, with the rare and limited exceptions like Zulu (San Diego, California) and Maori (Chesapeake, Virginia). In some cases, these references are lumped in with Indian clusters, like in Silver Springs, Nevada (which includes Zulu). Individual European references are used extensively. Hundreds of cities and towns have labeled their streets with names like English, Irish, French or France, and Poland. In a few instances, these streets are grouped with "related" terms, where Irish is grouped with Shamrock and Dublin, or where Dutch is grouped with Windmill and Holland.

Given the frequency and intensity with which street names are debated, the prominence of Indian-themed names reflect a specific intersection of history, politics, demographics, and culture that marks them as apolitical and non-racialized. This de-racialized and apolitical standing distinguishes Indian street names from those that reference other racialized populations. I have shown that Indian-themed sites are not constructed or intended as spaces for native peoples. Similarly, I think it is a commonly understood that most sites using Spanish names are similarly not constructed or intended as Latino or even "Hispanic" spaces.[32] The use of Spanish can reference a racialized population, but when the language is deployed for spatial markers like street names (or apartment complexes or city names), Spanish often become de-racialized.

In this way, the sites where developers apply Spanish street names parallel those where they apply Indian-themed street names. Developers commonly make use of Spanish words for residential streets, specifically those located in suburban and acutely White spaces. Housing developers choose names like La Hacienda or Del Boca Vista with the intention of discursively inducing homeowners to imagine a romantic, sleepy and idyllic (often coastal) Mexican village.[33] As discussed above in regards to Indian street names (and in contrast to African American related street

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[32] I use the term "Hispanic" here, and in quotes, to signify the distinctions between "cultural" and "racial" connotations of these terms.

[33] In the immensely popular sitcom *Seinfeld*, the parents of two of the shows main characters move to a retirement home in Florida. The fictional community of Del Boca Vista serves as the basis for a series of jokes, all of which are dependent, to some extent, upon the irony of petty, implacable conflicts occurring in a space designated as a peaceful relaxed environment where elderly residents can enjoy their later years. The name of the community provides one of these layers, and the character Frank Costanza seemingly revels in belting out the name in his gruff, antagonistic voice. His wide open and

names), street namers understand that Spanish site names imply peaceful, serene settings.

While Spanish and Indian names share this similarity, they are also distinguishable in the ways in which each is deployed. The English speaking majority uses Spanish, ironically, as a way of maintaining and re-creating a separation from Spanish speakers. Anthropologist and linguistics scholar Jane Hill effectively illustrates how the use of Anglo-Spanish is best read as a "distancing" mechanism that distinguishes between non-white racialized peoples who use Spanish as an everyday means of communication and expression, and non-Spanish-speaking individuals that use it as a marker of class status and cultural dominance (1993: 147).

The current Governor of California exemplifies this distinction. In his immensely popular role as an android assassin in the action film *Terminator 2*, Arnold Schwarzenegger's character is schooled in the use of "Anglo Spanish," learning key socializing phrases such as 'no problemo,' and the now iconic 'hasta la vista, baby' (Hill 1993). Despite partially constructing his fame and fortune by dabbling in the use of "Anglo Spanish," however, the governor recently volunteered to a San Francisco conference for "Hispanic" journalists that Latinos should "turn off the Spanish television" and avoid using Spanish-language media (Associated Press 2007). Schwarzenegger, like many mono-lingual English speaking Americans, is eminently comfortable borrowing words and phrases from Spanish so long as the pronunciation is properly "Anglicized" (or in his case, Austrian-Anglicized), and the marked

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bellowing mouth parallels the translation of the name, "view of the mouth," while the force of his voice

distinction between "Anglo Spanish" speakers and "Spanish-Spanish" speakers remains clear. Spanish is acceptable as an "add-on" to the dominant culture, but is not tolerable when it challenges that hegemony.

Referencing Schwarzenegger's role, Hill reminds point out that "Spanish is not taken seriously, but seems to exist only as a loose agglomeration of symbolic material entirely available to be rearranged according to the whim of English speakers" which makes it "funny and ridiculous" (1993: 163 and 168). When Spanish is linked to racialized bodies, it is seen as a threatening cultural force, reflecting social and political fears around immigration, border-crossing, and cultural and ethnic dominance.[34] Indeed, states are constantly waging political battles over English-only policies, while developers fill expanding suburbs with more Spanish street names.

While Spanish street names and Indian-themed streets frequently serve as markers for white racialized spaces, the separating mechanism in the use of "Anglo-Spanish" reveals a key distinction. The use of what Meeks (1998) calls "Hollywood Indian English" in popular film, television, print media, and other forms of cultural performance marks native people as racialized "others" (and maintains constructed identities of "Whiteness"). Yet Indian-themed street names do not draw heavily on "Hollywood Indian English" (what I call Red English above), and thus do not emphasize racialized boundaries in the same way. Indeed, the matter-of-factness of streets using tribal community names like Cherokee suggests a convergence of native and non-native identities. In contrast to the separating mechanism of "Anglo

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contrasts with the intended appeal of the retirement community.

Spanish," American Indians constantly hear European American tales about how their great-grandmother was "a Cherokee Princess."

The use of these names reveals the ambivalence within each of these colonial practices. At one level, Spanish street names potentially threaten the linguistic hegemony of English in the United States. This threat is partially managed, however, through the exaggerated re-pronunciation of the words themselves. Anglicizing Spanish terms and phrases renders some control over the ultimate meanings potentially suggested by their very usage. Indian-themed street names could potentially threaten to denaturalize non-native occupation of native lands and reintroduce the moral dilemma of colonization. Assuming the identity of native peoples, however, renders some control over the ultimate meanings suggested by the application of tribal names onto colonized spaces. The inhabitance of Indianness thus enables the use of tribal identification terms without the attendant danger of connecting contemporary colonial spaces with actual native peoples.

INDIANS AND "RACE-FREE MEN" IN PARADISE

In light of the problematics in the different racialized, spatial markers I have reviewed, it is fitting that I now turn to the more specific case study of San Diego, California. San Diego wonderfully encompasses all of the features I have discussed in relation to racialization and the practice of street naming. Local city builders and developers have a long history of encouraging a Spanish-rooted, romanticized vision

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[34] See Zentella (1997).

of the city (a characteristic true for much of southern California).[35] The city also carries a history of conflict over African American and Latino segregation, as well as its own disputes over the (re)naming of Martin Luther King street.[36]

The Clairemont neighborhood in San Diego, California also stands as the earliest Indian-themed Super Cluster. The history and the "content" of the street names there offer important insight into the time period when Indian-themed street clusters began to appear in widespread and elaborated fashion, and how the names function discursively within larger cultural and political contexts. In Clairemont, American Indian peoples figured into San Diego's development as individuals marked for exclusion, as figures of cultures deemed "backward" and worthy of extinction (nationally and locally), and as symbolic textual markers for legally and economically protected residential spaces of Whiteness.

At least as early as 1900, cities marked groups of streets using an Indian theme. In that year, Philadelphia's Chestnut Hill neighborhood changed a series of numbered streets (27th, 29th, 30th, 33rd, and 35th) to Shawnee, Navahoe, Seminole, Huron, and Cherokee (Alotta 1975: 84). Alotta speculates that Philadelphia made the changes in honor of William Penn, who is often narrated as one of the nation's greatest "friend of the American Indian." Regardless of the soundness of such a suggestion, most cities across the nation cannot reasonably claim such a figure in their genealogy. Rather, their clusters simultaneously reveal the colonization of the

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[35] For more, see Barnd (2002) and Kropp (1999).
[36] After changing Market Street to Martin Luther King Jr. Way in 1987, the city council restored the original name, after petitioners secured a referendum and voters cast their ballots in favor of Market.

Americas, elide the continuing presence of native peoples, and uncritically reproduce the epistemologies of manifest destiny.

The housing development team of Louis Burgener and Carlos Tavares began construction on the Clairemont (and North Clairemont) community during the postwar building boom period of the early 1950s. During this era, new subdivisions sprang up quickly in response to rising interests in suburban lifestyles. The United States' military victories in the Second World War gave many citizens and homebound soldiers a renewed sense of hope and prosperity, and these hopes were further fueled by federal funding programs aimed at bolstering the purchasable housing stock. Industries worked furiously to fill the global market void created by the war's devastation of Europe's major industrial cities. The soldiers' return facilitated an increase in family size (a phenomenon labeled the "Baby Boom"), created job growth, and fostered an increasing desire for commercial products. The federal government subsidized massive housing construction projects, and made available veteran and low-interest Federal Housing Administration (FHA) home loans. These changes fed a boom in housing construction and purchasing throughout the nation, especially in military cities like San Diego. Between 1950 and 1960, the Clairemont Mesa area increased from containing only one percent of the city's population (3,372 out of 334,587), to comprising nearly eleven percent of its residents (62,137 out of 573,224) (City of San Diego Planning Department 2006: 25).[37]

See *San Diego Tribune* (1990). On December 31st, 1987, *The Tribune* listed the street naming controversy significant enough to be one of the year's top ten stories. See Levin (1987).

[37] During this same time period, the number of housing units in Clairemont increased from 1,133 to 18,111, a jump from one percent of the total housing to nearly ten percent (9.4). See City of San Diego

As Burgener and Tavares were completing "Clairemont Hills" for its future residents, they ran an advertisement for their new homes. The commercial featured an illustration of a woman's face and hands below the caption "M-M-M: This is Living!" (see Figure 3.5). She appears European American, with flawless makeup, precisely manicured eyebrows, and a neatly trimmed hairstyle. She seems enraptured, with eyes closed and mouth pulled into a subtle but unmistakable smile. She holds her hands in near-prayer position, straightened fingers interlaced in front of her. The back of her hands caress the bottom of her chin and cheek. In all, she appears comforted, relaxed, satisfied, blissful. This presumed middle-class, white American housewife is constructed as enjoying or imagining her future enjoyment from the wonders of a new "Clairemont Hills" home that has "everything." For many San Diegans, residence in the new Clairemont Mesa developments was indeed "living." Many gained access to new, low cost homes and the promise of an easier, happier life for the first time in their lives. The location on the mesas overlooking Mission Bay was just minutes from downtown, and promised a life that balanced an enjoyment of the area's climatic and geographic splendors with easy access to employment centers. Residents who bought their homes in Clairemont Mesa purchased the privileges of mobility and space unavailable to many others.

Planning Department (2006: 23). Showley indicates that by 1957, 38,000 residents called the affordable new Clairemont-Mesa development home (1999: 124).

Figure 3.5: 1957 *San Diego Magazine* Advertisement for "Clairemont Hills" (San Diego Historical Society)

The social privileges marketed in the advertisement stands in stark contrast to the housing options available to the vast majority of native people and people of color in San Diego during this same time period. Racial mandates thoroughly guided the 1950s housing boom. Banking institutions carefully regulated home loans through racially discriminatory restrictive covenants and the practice of "redlining." Non-whites were actively denied access to "white areas" by police harassment, public discrimination, and economic restrictions. Bank policy required residents in areas deemed "in transition" from "white areas" to "non-white" or "mixed" areas be excluded from home improvement loans.[38]

In the April 1956 issue of *San Diego Business*, the Union Title Insurance and Trust Company ran a telling advertisement displaying the overt racism of the era, and revealing its explicit linkage to home ownership and notions of space. The ad featured a hand drawn depiction of a pitch black-skinned man in "tribal African" garb, playing a conga-style drum. The caption above the dancing musician reads, "He doesn't have much chance to own San Diego County real estate," before reassuring the presumed "white reader," "but YOU do! Now is the time to call your broker" (San Diego Business 1956: 3). While a racially segregated housing experience was no doubt one of the amenities enjoyed by many of the new Clairemont residents, the streets connecting the new homes ironically featured a comprehensive Indian theme. One subcontractor recalled that the Indian theme was chosen merely in order to meet fire department regulations that require distinctive street names to avoid confusion and

[38] In San Diego, banks and real estate companies assigned areas grades of A through D, contingent upon

facilitate public safety (Dane 2007). Distinguishing tribe names like Cheyenne, Mandan, and Winnebago predominate the cluster. The subdivision also includes historical and mythological figures Hiawatha, Massasoit, Pocahontas, Samoset, Tecumseh, and Tonto. Given the size of the development project, some street names also sport uncommon terms, like Echochee and Epanow.[39] A few streets are named for randomly selected cultural references like Feather, LaCrosse, Manitou, and Mocassin. In all, more than sixty-six streets in Clairemont and North Clairemont bear Indian-themed names.[40]

Although Clairemont's cluster discursively re-placed Indians onto the local streets, the developers conspicuously displaced local native peoples. Although the subcontractor suggested that the Indian theme was chosen simply as a way to meet public safety regulations, the absence of streets called Kumeyaay, Luiseño, or Cupeño (all local native groups) suggests a more socially and politically motivated selection process. Indeed, most of native California's diverse and numerous native nations are denied reference on Clairemont's green and white grid markers. Only the Karok and Tolowa are granted presence. Such an omission is not unprecedented, as San Diego's history is replete with evidence that early city builders worked hard to discursively (re)construct their homeland as a modern White space free from the "Indian problems"

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the degree of racial homogeneity and stability. For more see Marciano, et al. (2008).

[39] The subcontractor's daughter (a current resident of Clairemont) expressed her frustration growing up with the esoteric street names, as she lived on Echochee Street (Dane 2007).

[40] Several intersections form disturbing pairings, such as the meeting points between Dakota, or Ute, with Tomahawk.

of its past.[41] Abstracted Indians did not generate the same kinds of discussion as local native peoples who might make legitimate claims to city lands or refresh local histories of removal and frontier-like conflicts. Given the constant effort by San Diego boosters to present the city as a cosmopolitan equal of Los Angeles and San Francisco, Clairemont's street namers "placed" only those California tribes that traditionally resided at the opposite end of the state (some 600 miles away and near the Oregon border). In this way, they deployed racialized notions of geography as a means of displacement. In their eyes, the Indians their streets referenced ensured no cartographic conflict.

While families moved into segregated Indian-themed San Diego developments in the 1950s, new and ongoing racial barriers constructed at the national and local levels impacted American Indians living in the city and on the county reservations. Although American Indians served the US military with distinction during World War II, politicians turned their postwar energies toward constructing policies aimed at disassembling tribal communities.[42] Lawmakers in Washington were convinced that many American Indian people were now, finally, ready to join the larger mainstream society, which meant that they needed to leave behind their "backward" tribal ties and

[41] See my thesis "Erasing Indians in the Construction of Paradise: San Diego's Panama-California Exposition of 1915."

[42] In 1968 the government officially acknowledged (through declassification) its highly effective secret-message coding system and the key role played by native soldiers in such critical operations as "code-talking." In 2002, Hollywood superstar Nicolas Cage starred in the major motion picture *Windtalkers*, a work of historical fiction that offered many American movie goers (and later cable subscribers) their first exposure to the vital tasks Navajo soldiers accomplished during the war. For more on American Indians in World War II see Bernstein (1991) and Townsend (2000). For more about American Indian code talkers, see Bixler (1995) ad Meadows (2003).

cultural distinctiveness.[43] The 1950 Termination Act was specifically designed to integrate American Indian people into the mainstream by "terminating" the sovereign status of tribes and reversing less than two decades of policies that had supported (albeit limited) tribal self-governance and cultural revitalization.[44] Between the years 1945 and 1960, more than one hundred tribes were terminated. Fixico estimates that twelve thousand American Indian individuals lost their tribal affiliation (1986: 183).

The United States redirected the vigor used to move Japanese Americans out of American cities and onto isolated internment camps in the 1940s, toward the new task of moving American Indian peoples out of isolated reservation lands and into American cities in the 1950s. So, while the larger project of managing racialized communities to the benefit of the White majority remained the same, the method of those achieving national goals took different means. In 1950, President Truman made the links between the two projects explicit when he appointed Dillon Myers to oversee tribal termination as the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Myers was fresh off his World War II assignment of directing the Japanese American internment camps.[45]

As termination approached implementation, tribes in San Diego were openly concerned about the implications of any policy that would legislatively deem them political equals and then thrust them into a racially unequal social and economic structure. On January 11, 1950, *San Diego Union* reporter Edmund Rucker offered

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[43] American policies toward American Indian peoples have bounced from annihilation to assimilation to self-governance and cultural revitalization several times since the earliest practices. See Fixico (1986).
[44] In 1934, the Bureau of Indian Affairs had initiated the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), which encouraged tribal leadership and cultural reclamation. In 1975 Congress effectively ended the termination policy by passing the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act.
[45] For more about Dillon Myers and the Termination policy see Drinnon (1989) and Fixico (1986).

perspectives from three local native peoples. Although their voices were severely edited (despite Rucker's interesting claim to the contrary) these individuals make it clear that they are concerned about the impending Indian Termination Act. While there seemed to be agreement among tribal leadership that native peoples should regain full control over tribal affairs, there was obvious concern that a federal withdrawal would leave an already devastated population in a position of great vulnerability. The Los Coyotes reservation voted 35 to 4 to maintain their relationship with the federal government via the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Rucker affirmed that the political stance taken by Los Coyotes was shared by every "Indian leader with whom [he had] talked" (Rucker 11 January 1950: B12). Even assimilation-oriented Mr. and Mrs. Sat Calac (from the Rincon reservation, but living in the town of Escondido) agreed that while "there should be an orderly withdrawal of the government" that such a process should take place "over a period of years" in order to allow the tribes to prepare themselves for the challenges they would face internal and external to tribal communities (Rucker 11 January 1950: B12).

Despite clearly articulated concerns by tribal leadership and individual native people, Rucker interpreted native reluctance to accept termination solely as their "inability" to manage themselves. Rucker could not fully perceive the dilemma of native "independence" in a society with racially stratified social and economic structures that assume rights over native lands and resources. Federal policymakers clearly shared Rucker's overestimation of assimilationist policies and his inability to recognize the dangers of withdrawing federal protections for American Indian

communities. Beginning in 1956, Congress passed the American Indian Relocation Act to complement the Termination policy. Relocation provided a practical mechanism for ushering native people away from their communities and implanting them within the urban "mainstream." Individuals and families were provided with transportation, limited financial assistance, and job training if they formally agreed to relocate to pre-selected cities like Chicago, Denver, and Los Angeles. The program proved enticing for many American Indian people, as reservations offered few jobs, and returning veterans often found reservation life less fulfilling after their global experiences and travels. Between 1952 and 1967, more than 60,000 American Indians participated in the training programs, while more than 20,000 moved to urban areas across the nation between 1952 and 1957 (Fixico 1986: 190 and 235).

Lawmakers understood that moving native people off of reservation lands and terminating the sovereign status of tribal communities would simultaneously release the government of financial responsibilities required by treaty obligation and open more lands to profit-making enterprises. More than 1.3 million acres of land was affected by the policies. This meant the government could recover millions of dollars worth of funds allocated to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and gain unrestricted access to natural resources (like natural gas, coal, minerals, oil, and timber) from tribal lands.[46] In 1954, the secretary of the interior immediately cut the Bureau of Indian Affairs budget by $12 million (Burt 182: 21). Through termination, the federal

[46] In opposition to the termination policy (and partly motivated by fear of new financial burdens being shifting to state budgets), Senator William Langer of North Dakota contrasted the government's spending of less than $100 million on reservations with the billions of dollars spent in foreign aid. See Burt (1982: 67-68).

government opened more than 1 million acres of land held in trust for tribes to private real estate interests. Official rhetoric argued that termination would "free" American Indian peoples. Ironically, President Eisenhower even proclaimed there was "something un-American about the idea of reservations" (quoted in United States Congress 1976: 1640).

As the federal government sought to disassemble tribal communities and reduce financial support for reservation communities, American Indian housing conditions (and options) differed starkly from those moving into the new Clairemont homes. During the first third of January 1950, the *San Diego Union* ran Edmund Rucker's ten-part series on the native peoples of San Diego County. Rucker's articles repeatedly emphasized the poverty and dire living conditions of the native people living on local reservations, and the discrimination faced by those living or working off the reservations.[47] In his January 8th entry, Rucker discussed the sad state of the housing for the reservation residents with a non-native informant. They both thoroughly agreed on the poor conditions of what Rucker variously referred to as "shabby old shacks," "tumbledown shacks," "huts," and "flimsy hutches" and speculated on the reasons for this residential depravity.

Despite the violence of native removal and the virtual incarceration of tribes on San Diego's arid and mountainous reservation lands, Rucker's informant attributed the poor housing conditions to the native residents' ill-advised desire for items like "new cars" and "washing machines," as well as their fondness for "firewater" (Rucker 8 Jan

[47] San Diego County is home to seventeen reservations, the most of any county in the United States.

1950: A17).[48] Implicitly, Rucker's article criticized the reservation residents for not trying to establish permanent and proper homes. Despite his own documentation of native experiences with discrimination, Rucker and his informant assessed native interests in items of reliable mobility like new cars or tools for self-presentation like washing machines as superfluous. Assuming that the reservation residents were truly making these choices, Rucker is unable to see any relevant connection between the lingering "anger" over removal, colonization and the assessment of native peoples as unprepared citizens (Rucker 6 January 1950).

As a voice of the dominant media at the time, Rucker and his informant reified the racialized discourse on American Indian lives, their troubles, and solutions. Native people were presented as poor and troubled. Observers and readers were expected to express their sympathy at the "Indian's plight." Yet Indians were to be unequivocally blamed for their "inadequacies." Given the racialized loop of logic that informed and reinforced their interpretations, it is no small irony that Rucker's informant was named Race Freeman. Rucker and his informant operated in 1950s San Diego as "race-free" men left unmarked by their Whiteness. Unlike the native peoples confronting a racialized social structure, Rucker and Freeman remain willing and able to reap the institutional privileges afforded to them by their "lack" of racial identities, and by the (un)marking of San Diego as White space.

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[48] Rucker's third entry (on January 3, 1950) also featured the issue of alcohol, entitled "Bootlegged Firewater Blamed for Much of Indian Distress." For more on the early history of native people in San Diego, see Carrico (1987) and Shipek (1988). In the early 1900s, the Cupeño people were forced off the so-called Warner Springs Ranch lands in a highly publicized and criticized removal effort.

By the end of his series, the "grim findings" Rucker promised in his first installment led many of his readers to seek answers for how to assist the tribes. Nourishing their desire for charity, the *San Diego Union* printed a brief supplemental article directing interested donors to send "clothing or food" to Rev. Father Januarius Carillo at the Santa Ysabel Mission (San Diego Union 1950). Content with this gesture of goodwill and philanthropy, Rucker never suggested, nor likely ever considered, granting full recognition of native land claims. Nor does he ever think to demand adequate housing for the counties' native inhabitants. In all Rucker's narrative re-constructs and maintains discursive production of a racialized American national space (and a local San Diego space) despite the availability of counter-narratives. Philanthropy for the "poor Indians" stood in for confronting colonial spatial productions, and Rucker's media reports helped readers to discursively re-consume local native geographies.

While San Diego avoided recognition of local native peoples in their effort to rename new suburban spaces, the choice to draw upon Indian names (and to offer sincere, if problematic, news reports) reveals a significant ambivalence about the nation's colonial history. Indians are available for use, and indeed necessary as part of a larger national narrative of European American "native-ness" to (or at least ownership over) this continent. The namings, however, leave open the possibility of contesting the names and the meanings layered within the texts. Local American Indian peoples, of course, potentially offer the strongest geographic and spatial contestations. Indeed, native people frequently offer a wide variety of counter-

geographies (indigenous geographies). In Mark Warhus' text *Another America: Native American Maps and the History of Our Land*, he offers several native-informed maps, including the "Map of Zuni Land Claims" and an Ojibwe "Historical Map of Temagami."

The 1987 Zuni map reasserts cultural and political sovereignty, using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) technology. The map is divided into "Trust Areas" and "Taking Areas," indicating which regions are still under Zuni control and which were taken via earlier colonial cartographic impositions. The document offers six components corresponding to historical and legal moments when portions of traditional Zuni lands were extracted. The Zuni research indicates that since the United States annexation of New Mexico as part of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican-American War, the Zunis lost a total of 14,835,892 acres of land, while retaining (or being returned) only 419,374 acres (much of which is water). In all, the map is clearly intended to serve as more than just a historical documentation of the land transfers. The Zuni created the document in order to reassert their continuing claims over their traditional lands. As Warhus correctly points out, the maps are "symbolic of the difference between the world views of Native Americans and the western culture of the United States" in that most tribes believe traditional lands are still theirs even if they hold no genuine hope of ever recovering those places (Warhus 1997: 220). This sentiment is made explicit when the Zuni Governor hailed the maps as an assertion that 'Zunis want to retain [the] identity…of [their] forefathers'" (Warhus 1997: 222). For the Zuni, Warhus asserts,

"the map begins with the full extent of their ancestral territories," indicating the ongoing belief in their right to those lands (Warhus 1997: 220). Thus, the map offers an alternative understanding of the space and the cartographic representations of the lands of what is now called New Mexico and Arizona. The Zuni map uses the same cartographic techniques used to usurp their lands in order to explicitly challenge the assertion that these territories now belong to the United States. It openly denies the authority and legitimacy of the transactions and policies that led to the granting of those lands to (mostly white) American citizens during the ninety-one years between 1848 and 1939, and the renaming of them as non-Zuni spaces.

Using a slightly different technique, the "Temagami Map" re-inscribes Ojibwe names and meanings to parts of what is now Eastern Canada (around Ontario and Quebec). It offers a distinctly Ojibwe cultural view of the lands, reversing the colonial process of naming and claiming the lands of the so-called "New World." The Ojibwe map reasserts an Ojibwe history and tenure, using modern cartographic technology, both revealing and simultaneously appealing to that mediums continuing "authority." In some places, names are given to places where official Canadian maps have no name, and versa. Thus, the map constructs a distinctly different cultural space than that "objectively" mapped out by national cartographers and traversed by European Canadians.

In 2000, Kumeyaay (Campo) scholar Mike Connolly Miskwish produced a map of Kumeyaay lands that included the original territories of the collective Kumeyaay peoples while also referencing current US politically-recognized territories

(see Figure 3.6). The cartographic representation of current reservation lands is overlaid with the much larger, traditional geography. In this way, Connolly orders his map spatially, rather than temporally. His boundary lines offer only a passing reference to the existence of the nation-states of Mexico and the US, each marked simply with Baja California and California, as well as noting major contemporary cities. Offering a time frame ("1769-2000") that spans European colonization, Connolly rejects the confinement and historicization of the Kumeyaay landscape, (re)placing its continued existence in both the past and the present (at least as of 2000).

None of the above discussed maps offers what might be called a direct opposition to their tribal colonization. They make no call to open resistance, even while their respective tribal governing bodies work through the channels of legal and cultural redress for land reclamation. They do effectively offer what Jane Jacobs calls "disruptive inhabitations of colonial constructs" in that their cartographic productions provide an anti-colonial alternative that reveals previous objective maps to be colonial, subjective, and thus contestable (1996: 14). The phrase "disruptive inhabitation" is doubly meaningful when applied to maps, as they actually interrogate geographic spaces of inhabitance, of lands claims, and political consequences. The colonial construct in this case being both the epistemological framework created by the mapmaking, and the physical, geographic constructs formed by borders and property rights and usages.

Figure 3.6: "Kumeyaay Lands 1769-2000" Map
(Mike Connolly)

Unlike the more indirect and epistemological challenges presented by the Kumeyaay, Ojibwe, and Zuni maps, the Kumeyaay also directly challenged the city of San Diego's land claims over tribal territories in 1993. When the federal government closed the 550-acre Naval Training Center near the city's downtown area, a coalition of eighteen Kumeyaay bands submitted a claim on the land. Long confined to mountainous inland reservations, the Kumeyaay sought a way for their people to "touch the ocean again" (Burnham 2005). The coalition proposed to construct both commercial and residential spaces on the decommissioned federal land, hoping to

realize the success achieved by the Sault Ste. Marie Chippewa (in Michigan) which built 275 housing units and four small businesses on ninety-eight acres of recovered lands (Burnham 2005). The ultimate rejection of the Kumeyaay claim by the city and federal courts (in 2005) reasserted the legitimacy of native colonization. City officials raised no contention over abstracted Indians markers of city spaces, yet (again) denied local native peoples any tangible recognition on those occupied lands. The irony of the decision mirrored the practices and policies first enacted more than half a century earlier while developers assembled Clairemont upon the "open" mesas.

CONCLUSION

Street names represent one profound example of how Indianness is deployed in mainstream American cultural practices as a mundane force in the production of racialized space. It stands as one of the distinctive characteristics in the specific racialization of American Indian peoples – their identity is subject to wholesale appropriation and ownership in ways that do not correspond with appropriations of culture and identity of other racialized peoples. Unlike space of "blackness" of other forms of Otherness, Indianness directly (rather than through negation) marks white space. Beyond street names, one can look to the examples of military aircraft, personal vehicles, computer software, and clothing as similar examples of how Indianness is inhabited in mundane cultural practices that reify the existence of unmarked, de-racialized space.

United States Army regulations have codified the use of Indian themed names for its helicopter models – names like Chinook, Apache, and Comanche. Car owners across the nation likewise have for generations purchased thousands of Dodge Dakotas, Jeep Cherokees, Pontiac Azteks, and Mazda Navajos.[49] The prolific software industry which provides the tools for the creation of websites and databases is dominated by the digital infrastructure of Maya and Apache. The multi-purpose mega-store Target markets an affordable and extensive line of Cherokee clothing items to their massive customer bases.[50] Chippewa boots have long been a favorite for those seeking work boots.[51] Park and Ronin offers a chic, upscale line of shirts and pants named after Dakota, Mohican, and Seminole, among others.[52]

The range of the products is astounding. Less prolific than those mass marketed examples include Stockton, California's agricultural shipping company Cherokee Freight Lines and Express's camera straps.[53] More frightening than any of these commercial uses of the "Indian," however, is the US military's use of tribal names to designate testing instances of nuclear weapons. Under the banner of Operation Redwing, a series of tests were conducted in various locations around the

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[49]Pontiac began vehicle production in 1926. This offshoot of General Motors was named after the Odawa war leader from the mid-1700s using a "Indian head" logo before changing to a stylized arrowhead logo in 1956. Jeep (American Motors Company) changed its line of Wagoneers to Cherokee starting in 1974. The Aztek was first sold to the public in 2001. Winnebago started its line of recreational vehicles in 1966, and its brand name has come to stand for motor homes in general although there are other manufacturers. The Navajo began in 1991, the Dakota in 1987.

[50] The California-based Cherokee, Inc was founded in 1971. By 2007, the company reported annual sales of nearly $3 billion in the United States and twenty-four other nations.

[51] Chippewa began making its lines of boots in 1901.

[52] The line features shirts named Algonquin, Dakota Stripe, Iroquois Stripe, Minehaha, Mohican, Ojibwe, Seminole, and Shawnee. The pants line features the names Cherokee, Cheyenne, Chippewa, Hiawatha, Lakhota, and Narragansett.

globe in 1956 (one was conducted in 1962). Each was named after a different American Indian nation, including the Apache, Aztec (1962), Blackfoot, Cherokee, Dakota, Huron, Mohawk, Seminole, and Zuni. In addition to Operation Redwing, the 1957 Shasta test (Operation Plumbbob) and the 1958 Sequoia test (Operation Hardtack) featured Indian named detonations.[54]

In chapter four, I turn my attention to the ways that native artists speak back to the ownership of Indianness, like the kind deployed in the use of Indian-themed street name clusters. I should note that most of the artists do not speak directly to the phenomenon of street names. I do not, for example, illustrate examples of American Indian protests against the use of Indian-themed street signs, even though the contestations over the use of names like "squaw" and "redskin" is important and ongoing. Rather, the artists' work contest the larger realm of cultural neocolonialism and the subtle epistemologies sustained in their reproduction.

This disparity is instructive with regards to how contemporary colonialism, or hegemony functions, and how the subjects of colonial state must access and negotiate colonial space differently. Thus, while I attend to the ways that street signs help to articulate the identities of colonial settler individuals and the nation, I must turn to the popular cultural productions of native artists in order to locate responses to the settler

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[53] Express features a series of camera straps that draw on many of the most "accessible" tribes, along with the less typical addition of Maya. They also include the Apache, Aztec, Cherokee, Choctaw, Comanche, and "Navaho."

[54] I assume that neither Sequoia nor Shasta was intended as American Indian references, although all contemporary uses the name Seqouia appear traceable to the famous Cherokee figure and inventor of the Cherokee syllabary. Shasta clearly refers to the mountain as Operation Plumbbob also included names from notable mountains such as Smokey, Diablo, Whitney, and Hood. Nevertheless, Shasta does originate from the Shasta people in what is now northern California. Visual records of most of these

articulations. It is inevitable that the cultural productions by these native artists will be read differently by settler colonists than intended. Yet they remain effective in terms of re-incorporating native Others into a national and personal narrative. The closest approximation of a direct dialogue seems to "take place" in the realm of space, through the creation of territories, the identities formed through those places, and the articulation of its meanings.

The artists I consider are intently concerned with the production of space I outline above, and about reasserting indigenous geographies erased through those processes of meaning production. In this way, my two sets of data (from street names and native artists) correspond precisely to one another. Reflecting my own research concerns, the artists are interested in the larger picture of what contemporary cultural imperialism looks like. Ultimately, their work helps us to see that Indian-themed street signs are cul-de-sacs – when viewed and used uncritically they unvaryingly lead us back into the dead end of neocolonialism.

(and other) spectacular and horrible tests were compiled in Michael Light's (2003) stunning photography book *100 Suns*. My thanks to Phil Klasky for turning my attention to this text.

CHAPTER 4: PUNCHING JOHN WAYNE IN THE MOUTH:
Contesting Indianness and Reclaiming Indigenous Geographies

Elvis was a hero to most
But he never meant shit to me
He was a straight out racist
That sucka was simple and plain
muthafuck him and John Wayne

("Fight the Power," *Fear of a Black Planet*, Public Enemy)[1]

In this chapter, I look at works by several native artists who deploy popular culture as a means of speaking back to the American cultural ownership over Indianness. The artists' unauthorized appropriation of popular culture and media icons (like John Wayne) function to recover native identities from the clutches of misrepresentation and "simulacra," and to reclaim indigenous geographies covered over, although never fully erased, by American settler-colonialism (Clark and Powell 2008: 10). The artists articulate a response to the ways that Indianness is constructed and deployed, and more specifically, to the way that it is ultimately owned or "inhabited" by non-native peoples. In this contestation, the artists must work against a discursive formula that equates Indians with land, specifically, a "past" land now thoroughly reshaped by and claimed through colonization and American nation-building. Their work suggests that the production of the United States as a modern

[1] This song is also the feature track from film director Spike Lee's *Do the Right Thing* (1989) about interracial tensions and relationships in New York City. According to lead vocalist Chuck D, Lee asserted that the song was "crucial to the impact of the film" (1997: foreword).

nation-space cannot be separated from its emergence through colonialism (even if a former colony), nor can it be proclaimed clean and absolved of its residual and surviving aboriginal existence.

As the example from hip hop group Public Enemy above illustrates, culture workers frequently employ art as a salient cultural site from which to hold discussions, issue challenges, and re-create identities. African Americans have long been provided "space" in music, and so that form of cultural production has often provided a logical (although constrained) medium for cultural and political resistance, and for the reconstruction of "blackness." In the immensely popular 1989 song "Fight the Power" quoted above, Public Enemy explicitly targeted two of America's most loved cultural figures – Elvis Presley and John Wayne.[2] As the signature song on the explicitly pro-Black political album *Fear of a Black Planet*, Public Enemy used "Fight the Power" to declare the normative cultural heralding of entertainment figures like Presley and Wayne directly antagonistic to anti-racist cultural work.

In the same way, the struggle over native sovereignty is waged and shaped as much within the field of culture as it is defined legally within the courtroom. The works of the native artists that I present in this chapter address forms of media – writing, film, and art – where Indians have been granted space, and where Indianness has been given much of its (Eurocentric) meaning (largely as a metaphor for the land

[2] Public Enemy specifically denounces the "institution of Elvis," which represents the appropriation, popularization, and profiting off of "black" music during a time when mainstream society considered it a marginal and suspect artistic form. Presley, although initially controversial, soared culturally and economically, while the black originators and performers of rock-and-roll were left in anonymity and poverty. Thus, the racially determined success of the music and its earliest white performers reflect the

itself).[3] These artists redeploy popular culture in an effort to redirect its power, to reclaim native peoples from the "Indian," and to draw critical attention to the ongoing spatial contradictions of colonization. Not only does their work reveal the force of culture, and attempt to recover Indianness, it provides an opportunity for native people to reclaim indigenous geographies hidden beneath the narratives of American nation-building and those concealed in plain sight along the asphalt roads of suburban housing developments.[4]

All of the artist's selections I present (except one) take aim at the motion picture icon John Wayne. My interest in native artists' re-presentation of John Wayne began with a viewing of *Smoke Signals* (in 1998) which featured the song "John Wayne's Teeth." As a critical moment in the film's development of the two main characters, that scene had always stuck with me. When I encountered Bunky Echo-Hawk's painting of Wayne, I decided to actively seek out other native artists' engagement with the western film star, realizing their potential to speak to issues of space through cultural (artistic) practices. I chose these artists for their re-productions of John Wayne, because of their accessibility to a wide audience (those who regularly consume popular culture), and due to their differing artistic genres (writing, film, music, and painting).[5]

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historical power relations that allowed a larger white mainstream to contain, (re)define, and ultimately claim ownership over rock-and-roll music. See Chuck D (1997: 196).

[3] "Indians" figured prominently in early American media forms such as plays, dime novels, and captivity narratives.

[4] Biolsi (2005) effectively argues for the production of at least four concurrent kinds of indigenous geographies.

[5] I have found only a few other examples of artists who have directed targeted Wayne, Tlingit visual artist Jesse Cooday being the most notable exception. I did not pursue Cooday's work as I was unable to find evidence that his art is currently circulating as widely as Echo-Hawk's.

I offer succinct readings of the following works: (1) the installation and conceptual art of Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds (Cheyenne/Arapaho), (2) a poem ("Dear John Wayne") by Ojibwe writer Louise Erdrich, (3) a short story (also called "Dear John Wayne") by Spokane/Coeur d'Alene author Sherman Alexie, (4) the song "John Wayne's Teeth" from American Indian written and directed major motion picture *Smoke Signals,* and (5) "Your Hero," a painting by visual artist Bunky Echo Hawk (Pawnee/Yakima). Using different mediums, Erdrich, Alexie, and Echo-Hawk each take their turn trying to tackle the imposing American cultural figure (and University of Southern California ex-footballer) John Wayne. While those three artists target John Wayne and popular culture as it is commonly understood, Heap of Birds more directly addresses the intersection between everyday cultural and spatial practices. I developed part of my framing for the artists who address John Wayne using the work of Heap of Birds, specifically his installation work on the maintenance and production of indigenous and non-indigenous spaces.

Below I first offer a brief introduction to all four artists, before turning to a more detailed account and analysis of Heap of Birds' work. Following my discussion of Heap of Birds, I review John Wayne's cultural symbolism and analytical importance before continuing to the specific work of the three remaining artists (Erdrich, Alexie, and Echo-Hawk) who directly engage with the "cowboy" icon.

AMERICAN INDIAN INTELLECTUAL TRADITIONS AND INDIGENOUS GEOGRAPHIES

Louise Erdrich and Sherman Alexie are both primarily writers, although each is deeply involved in other forms of art and performance. Erdrich and Alexie are currently two of the most prominent contemporary native writers in the United States. Perhaps appropriately, both have published works entitled "Dear John Wayne." Erdrich's "Dear John" letter appears in the form of a poem, while Alexie's takes shape as a short story. These pieces form the core of their direct engagement with John Wayne, although I also examine additional pieces, including a song Alexie co-wrote and that reverberates in his hugely successful independent film *Smoke Signals*.

Relatively unknown in comparison to the wildly popular and well published writers Erdrich and Alexie, Bunky Echo-Hawk and Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds work in mediums much less accessible to the general public, but also deeply engaged with American popular culture. Echo-Hawk is an up-and-coming young visual artist whose paintings circulate widely among national museums and cultural centers, and is effectively expanding native and non-native audiences through his massive online networks and Native American Rights Fund campaigns.[6] Heap of Birds works in mediums that are often difficult to categorize, using (at times) combinations of paint, text, and sculpture producing both museum-mountable work and more "active" public installation pieces. His work is internationally recognized, and yet frequently locally specific. While Heap of Birds does not directly address Wayne, his work confronts

[6] Greenberg (2007) notes that Echo-Hawk also showed at a Frankfurt, Germany museum in 2004.

popular culture at the most foundational level – unearthing the very structures of Wayne's iconicity.

Turtle Mountain Ojibwe writer Louise Erdrich grew up in Wahpton, North Dakota along the Minnesota border. Erdrich entered Dartmouth in 1972 as part of the first cohort of women entering the newly co-educational college. Erdrich achieved extraordinary success during the 1980s and 1990s by producing award-winning novels, children's books, and educational materials, much of it in collaboration with her late husband and scholar Michael Dorris (Modoc). After graduating with a Master's in Fine Arts from Johns Hopkins University, Erdrich published her first full-length fiction, *Love Medicine*, which was awarded the National Book Critics Circle Award and the *Los Angeles Times* Award for best novel in 1984. She was honored with national Magazine Fictions Awards in both 1983 and 1987, and has received numerous other recognitions (Malinowski 1995 and Mortiz 1989). A tetralogy of novels form the core of Erdrich's early work, comprised of *Love Medicine* (1984), *The Beet Queen* (1986), *Tracks* (1988), *The Bingo Palace* (1994), and *The Antelope Wife* (1998). In 2001, she opened Birchbark Books, a Minneapolis bookstore specializing in native authors and art, and hosting cultural and literary events.

Spokane/Coeur d'Alene writer Sherman Alexie grew up on the Spokane Indian reservation in Wellpinit, Washington, which sits along the Idaho border. When only six months old, he was diagnosed with a brain condition that required major surgery (Schick 1998). Since he was subject to seizures as a result of his medical condition, he grew up as what he calls an "outcast" and became an active "bookworm." His

marginal status on the reservation was further solidified when he attended nearby, largely non-native Rearden High School, where he starred in basketball for the Indians (Schick 1998). Alexie began writing and publishing his poetry and prose at Washington State University and quickly became a nationally recognized and sought after writer. He has since published critically acclaimed collections of short stories including *The Toughest Indian in the World* (2000). Alexie oversaw the adaptation of his short stories from *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven* (1994) into the popular independent film *Smoke Signals*.[7] In 2003, he turned his collection of stories and poetry in *The Business of Fancydancing* (1992) into a second film by the same name. He has written two highly popular novels, *Reservation Blues* (1995) and *Indian Killer* (1996), and recently released *Flight: A Novel* (2007). *Indian Killer* was a national bestseller, listed as a "notable book" by the *New York Times*, and made top ten selection by *People* magazine. In addition to his writing and filmmaking, Alexie is an active public speaker/comedian and performance poet ("retiring" in 2002 as the

[7] *Smoke Signals* is a widely distributed major motion picture written by Sherman Alexie and directed by Chris Eyre. The film is based on a series of short stories from Alexie's book *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven* (1994). The film received the Filmmaker's Trophy and Audience Award at the Sundance Film Festival in 1998 and was awarded best film and best director honors at the American Indian Film Festival in San Francisco, California. Shortly after its festival successes, *Smoke Signals* was distributed by Miramax films, where it became one of the top five grossing independent films of the year, bringing in more than $6 million (source?).

The film's director, Chris Eyre (Cheyenne and Arapaho) grew up in Oregon and was raised by non-native adoptive parents who "never tried to give [him his] Indianness" (Thompson 2003). Eyre completed a degree at the University of Arizona before moving on to New York University's film program. One of his early projects, *Tenacity* (1995) won best film at the university's "First Run Film Festival" (Thompson 2003). Eyre develops his films partly around his concern that earlier film depictions left native people with the "wool pulled over our eyes about humiliation of Indian" and unable to recognize themselves (Thompson 2003). His subsequent projects, *Skins*, *Doe Boy*, and *Skinwalkers*, while less financially successful than *Smoke Signals* continue to feature 'good stories" and "smaller, personal movies" that present native people in a more complicated light while "inevitably reflect[ing] their particular circumstances as residents of reservations" (Thompson 2003).

four-time, undefeated champion of the World Heavyweight Championship of Poetry in Taos, New Mexico).

Bunky Echo-Hawk was born in Toppenish, Washington on the Yakima reservation. He graduated from the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Beyond his formal training, Echo-Hawk (Pawnee/Yakima) comes from a prominent American Indian activist family. His uncle, John Echohawk, has also long served as the Executive Director for the Native American Rights Fund (NARF), a national organization dedicated to supporting tribal sovereignty and providing legal support for native nations. His father, Walter Echo-Hawk is the Senior Staff Attorney for the organization. Bunky Echo-Hawk is understandably active with NARF, producing artistic materials for their campaigns and fund-raising events. He also co-founded and now serves as executive director for INVISION, a non-profit native youth development program which focuses on the production and support of native art and culture. A student of the information age, Echo-Hawk now deploys his political and artistic training through inspired outreach campaigns that utilize the immense Myspace.com online network. His recent works include contributions to the traveling national exhibit "Impacted Nations" (sponsored by Honor the Earth) and "Living ICONS," currently showing in Arizona.

Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds is the lone artist who directly engages with the kinds of spatial markers analyzed in chapter three. Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds

(Cheyenne/Arapaho) grew up in Wichita, Kansas.[8] He received training from well-known native artists including Blackbear Bosin (Kiowa) and longtime National Museum of the American Indian director Richard West (Cheyenne), as well as gaining political schooling from prominent American Indian activists such as Vine Deloria and Russell Means (Rushing 2005: 366). Heap of Birds attended the Tyler School of Art in Philadelphia, the University of Kansas, and The Royal College of Art in London, England. He has traveled the globe installing his work and finding opportunities to work with indigenous artists in Africa, Asia, Australia, and the Americas. He is currently professor of Art and Native Studies at Oklahoma University. His recent installation art includes work placed in Seattle ("Day and Night") and the Denver Art Museum ("Wheel").

In the hands of these four artists, the spatial significance behind John Wayne's iconicity is re-deployed to draw attention to marginalized voices, and to provide a platform for counter-colonial narratives. The artists turn attention to those "empty spaces" where hegemony is most effective, the places where American Indian peoples and nations are transformed into national citizens, minority groups, or simply ethnic-Americans (Kobayashi and Peake 2000: 400). Their works reveal the ways that space is racialized, and demonstrate that racialization need not (and should not) be left to exist as simply part of a natural landscape. They turn the spotlight onto the processes by which landscapes are quietly but continuously made into White spaces and thus

[8] Hachivi is the artist's recovered family name, which is now often written phonetically as Hock E Aye Vi. While many Cheyenne warriors were being held at the Fort Marion, Florida prison, officials translated the name into "Many Magpies" before it morphed into his current last name, Heap of Birds (Rushing 2005: 370).

how colonization continues along quieted tracks. The targeting of John Wayne, then, appropriately remodels one of the key contemporary cultural figures in the discursive (and material) processes of ongoing colonial transformation. In their capable and talented hands, these artists remind us that alternative, native-centered geographies exist within and despite American (and previously European) colonization.

In *Tribal Secrets*, Osage scholar Robert Allen Warrior effectively explains how native cultures contain institutionalized mechanisms for collective, critical self-analysis. Pointing to key (late) native figures like Lakota scholar/activist Vine Deloria, Jr. and Osage writer/activist John Joseph Matthews, Warrior demonstrates that even as native traditions have been attacked, weakened, and sometimes nearly destroyed, contemporary native scholars and culture workers (can) help maintain these long-established mechanisms of cultural sovereignty.[9] Most importantly, American Indian intellectual traditions do not preclude the adoption of "non-native" cultural practices, items, or concepts. Indeed, American Indian intellectual traditions are heavily concerned with assessing the value of incorporating, critiquing, and then advocating or rejecting innovation and cultural change. "Traditional revitalization" efforts, he tells us, are powerful precisely because their strength is found "not in their formal superiority but in their adaptability to new challenges" (Warrior 1995: 94).

Native artists are perfect candidates for this cultural post, as artistic endeavors constantly confront or reaffirm the limits and boundaries of their cultural contexts. The artists discussed here build upon native intellectual traditions by employing, and

in fact (counter-) appropriating, elements of American popular culture. Yet, their works are aimed at strengthening American Indian cultural sovereignty. They actively reclaim physical and narrative space from the discursive formations circulated in popular culture – in effect working toward a limited kind of de-colonization.

The works of Louise Erdrich and Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds fit the American Indian intellectual tradition model nicely, for example, in that they are largely rooted in the artists' own tribal traditions and intimately tied to specific geographic places in the world – the Ojibwe and Cheyenne homelands, respectively. They are deeply committed to using their skills for re-visioning indigenous geographies, languages, and ontologies. They share and they protect, they play and they pray. Bunky Echo-Hawk and Sherman Alexie, on the other hand, draw upon another model of American Indian intellectual tradition, the clown. Clowns are legendary for their creative and uninhibited usage of "outside" materials, whether as chastisement or as proof of incorporation and acceptance.[10] Some clowns are noted for performing entire sacred ceremonies in reverse –speaking backwards, walking backwards, or carrying out a ritual order from last to first.

As clown figures (traditional cultural critics), all of the artists examines here specifically invite their "readers" to observe their efforts to transform their own relationships with John Wayne and the space of the American nation. This transformation is not merely an anti-colonial cultural critique, but also a performance

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[9] Warrior, focused on internal self-reflection and criticism, argues the need for struggles over American Indian "intellectual sovereignty" (1995: 98). As laid out in chapter one, in my articulation, "cultural sovereignty" is an extension of and the source for intellectual sovereignty.

of cultural (and intellectual) sovereignty. The artists enact sovereignty. As Warrior points out, "if sovereignty is anything, it is a way of life…it is a decision – a decision we make in our minds, in our hearts, and in our bodies – to be sovereign and to find out what that means in the process" (1995: 123). Being sovereign through the mode of cultural revitalization means both shedding the Indian and proceeding to "work every day not knowing whether what [you do] is going to have any lasting effect; [to be situated] in the same place as the earth, struggling to regenerate itself against the greatest odds anyone could have ever imagined" (Warrior 1995: 124). That work tackles challenges that originate from "inside," those from "outside," and those that overlap and intersect with both internal and external. As it turns out, John Wayne is a crucial part of that work.

More conceptually, all four artists help draw attention to the intersection between Indianness and the production of colonial space. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Indian is a European/American concept that still allows the US to discursively incorporate native people. As Clark and Powell point out, the simulacra Indian becomes "hyperreal" or "more real than real" than actual native people (2008: 10, 14-15). Indians thus textually mark physical spaces of the nation, most notably in places where actual native people are largely (made) absent. While Indians abound, actual native nations must constantly negotiate and struggle to retain and reclaim their rights of sovereignty. These political and spatial discrepancies confirm Cherokee artist and scholar Jimmie Durham's observations that native people "must be spoken

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[10] See Nesper (2005) for more general description of American Indian clowns and clowning traditions.

of mythically" as a part of the production of the United States (Durham 1992: 429). This absent presence is necessary, he argues, "precisely because it *is* our land" and therefore "the settlers must consume us" (Durham 1992: 428-429, emphasis original). Anderson and Domosh likewise explain that settler colonies (like the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand), must contradictorily narrate the native other as "both us and them" as part of an "imagined past, place and people" while simultaneously "denying that place and people a presence" (2002: 126).

Former possession of the North American continent constitutes one of the chief characteristics of the Indian. The notion of colonized space in the United States presumes an ongoing occupation of native lands, even if those lands are never expected to be returned.[11] When colonized space is unnamed, it is normatively understood simply as the American nation. The "Indian," then, is at least partially defined by the assumption that the lands were *formerly* occupied by native peoples, and that it inevitably transferred from native control to that of European American settler colonists (both past and present). Thus even though native people have survived colonization and demographic catastrophe, contemporary US spatial productions historicize and trap/preserve Indians in order to maintain the existence of the nation. Thus, any discussion of the Indian and any treatment of Indianness necessarily links to the production of colonized space and its concomitant denial as native space.

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[11] The United States further codified this relationship in 2007 when the country (along with Australia, New Zealand, and Canada) rejected the (otherwise adopted) UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Yet, we frequently see resistant assertions concretely (and textually) displayed on reservation boundary signs (see figure 4.1). Such signs do not merely mark the political limits of an assigned treaty land. Rather, they note *retained* lands, and perhaps imply unofficial claims over additional lands not currently retained (consider the Ojibwe and Zuni maps and the Kumeyaay proposal to reclaim traditional coastal lands in San Diego, as discussed in chapter three). These signs mark colonization, and they are not mere markers of history.

Figure 4.1: Barona Reservation Sign in San Diego County, California
(photo by author)

These four artists whose work I examine articulate a response to this production of American nation space and work towards decolonizing internalized

cultural constructs. They insist that such a construction is not a natural configuration, and remind readers that such productions require constant maintenance and sustenance. In their work, we are called to recognize that native peoples formulated and continue to maintain alternative geographies that overlap with those produced as the US nation (as in reservation sovereignty signs). Like native assertions of political sovereignty, these artists assert control over the equally critical facet of cultural sovereignty. They clearly understand the force and weight of popular culture, both for dominant spatial (and other) practices and for counter-hegemonic projects.

As already suggested, two of the artists (Erdrich and Alexie) are already widely received (especially as writers) in public and academic circles. Furthering their possible reception, their work on the iconic cultural symbol (John Wayne), pledges to reach across an even wider spectrum of individual readers. Echo-Hawk is not as widely received as Erdrich or Alexie, yet his foray into the mass media world of the internet and social networking websites promises to instantly carry his messages to broad sets of younger generations. By working through electronic communications technologies, he is tapping into an invaluable new mode of cultural transmission; in effect taking his paintings into the homes of web-surfers. Heap of Birds, to whom I will turn next, presents his work to mass audiences without nearly as much reliance on digital communications, although his work is readily accessible through his website and art venue sites. Because his work is often situated outside of the normal boundaries of art, it might be argued that he does not effectively utilize popular culture. Yet, he presents his works in a more explicitly confrontational, and

undeniably public manner (or, within those places commonly understood as public space).

HEAP OF BIRDS: RE-PLACING INDIGENOUS GEOGRAPHIES

Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds' work is perhaps the most suited for generating a critical discussion around the production of colonial space and the insistence upon indigenous geographies. As mentioned previously, his work does not address John Wayne specifically, although it does speak volumes about the "West," western mythologies, and American history-making. Indeed, most of his art might best be understood as undertaking serious and explicit engagements with the juncture between culture, history, and space. Unlike the artists appropriating the figure of John Wayne, Heap of Birds does not delve into what most commonly understand as popular culture. While I would reject this division of what constitutes popular culture, it does serve to differentiate his work from that of Erdrich, Alexie, and Echo-Hawk in important ways. Because his work publicly re-labels what is commonly held to be "real" and abstract as (instead) narrative and fluid (or constructed), it invokes immediate contestation. As I show below, this point of distinction contrasts with the work of Erdrich, Alexie, and Echo-Hawk, whose works of art may be more susceptible to dismissal because they are explicitly fictional or "artistic," thus more subtle in message and mode of delivery, and ultimately more acceptable as subjective expressions. In contrast, Heap of Birds contests and redefines dominant US historical narratives (including the construction of nation space) within the very public spaces where they most cooperatively manifest.

In my reading of Heap of Birds' work, I turn to a basic of definition of installation art, and focus on two motivating concerns shared by most installation artists: relationships and space. As Oliveira, Oxley, and Petry point out, installation art "rejects concentration on one object in favour [sic] of a consideration of the relationships between things and their contexts" (1994: 8). In other words, installation art de-emphasizes the model of a piece of art hanging on the wall in a museum. Installation artists typically seek to shape experience so that the viewers become consciously implicated in the artistic process. Often, the artists locate such work outside of the standard art settings – the art gallery, the museum, the studio – in order to draw attention to the the relationship between viewers and the world they interact with, and remind them of how placement is being used (or what space is being created).

The conceptual frame offered by installation art need not be limited to works that easily fit under that (necessarily limiting) category. I therefore extend this theoretical approach (of attention relationships and space) to my readings of the writing, filmmaking, and painting of the (non-installation) artists I examine below. Framed in this way, we can see how the artistic creations of Erdrich, Alexie, and Echo-Hawk contain parallel conceptual concerns and political motivations to those of Heap of Birds. Namely, a serious engagement with relationships and space.

Heap of Birds' art explicitly works to uncover the importance of mundane spatial markers in producing and maintaining a particular, racialized, and sanitized version of colonization. He targets the same kind of spatial markers that I examine in

chapter three, and literally re-marks. Heap of Birds cleverly appropriates the authority of public street signs in order to subvert their power. He re-marks public signs normally considered little more than civic infrastructure, subverting the standard messages, and revealing the standard signs as works of popular culture. Here, popular culture is redefined as normative practice, whether or not it is commonly categorized as cultural. Following the same logic I used in recasting public spatial markers as overlooked mechanisms of popular culture, Heap of Birds insists that street names/signs shape our understandings of the world, and do not simply order an otherwise abstract space. He recognizes the constructive power and therefore the appropriative value in such mechanisms, since public "signs are all thought to be true" by the average citizen (Rushing 2005: 376).

In the all-textual piece, titled "Don't Want Indians" (2005), Heap of Birds simultaneously critiques anti-Indian violence, the colonization of native lands, and the appropriation and commodification of American Indian cultures (see Figure 4.2).[12] On one hand, the title suggests that native peoples are not wanted – that their destruction is preferred. On the other hand, it can be read as his own refusal of the figure of the Indian – the fabricated national symbol used without for native peoples. In either interpretation, the title draws attention to the removal of native peoples from the national landscape. Heap of Birds encourages inconsistency or a break in the

[12] A later version of this piece is re-titled "Telling Many Magpies, Telling Black Wolf, Telling Hachivi" and forces the previously bare words to "fight for recognition amidst a fluttering field of black shapes" (Rushing 2005: 370). The art has been installed in differing forms in different locations, although a permanent installation resides at the Oklahoma Historical Society in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Heap of Birds is most noted for work that incorporates word and images, or what Ohnesorge calls "imagetext" (2008: 51).

dominant spatial narrative by reversing the word natural. The reversal calls the word into question, and thereby de-naturalizes the subsequent concepts (the relationships and spaces). Shading the words mascots, machines, cities, products, and buildings pink, Heap of Birds alludes to both the relative skin tone of (many) European Americans and the "cool and uncaring attitude that the majority of America feels toward the serious crisis that faces the American Indian" (Heap of Birds 1991: 341).[13]

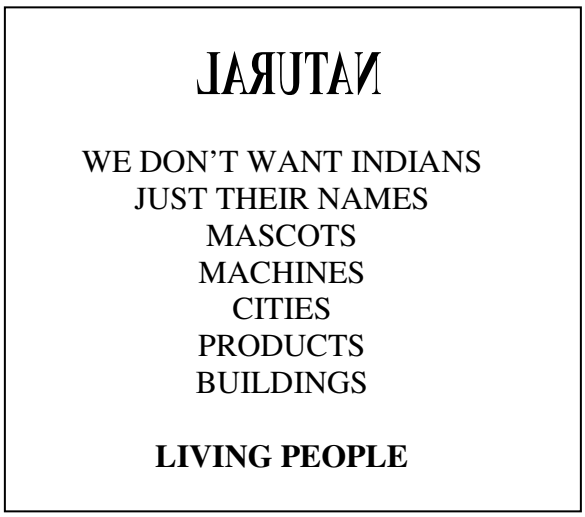

Figure 4.2: "Don't Want Indians" (2005)
(Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds)

The color schematic and textual implications of "Don't Want Indians" signals the colonial ambivalence towards American Indian peoples while listing the mechanisms for spatial re-ordering. Native people are erased while their names are applied to sports teams (mascots), to vehicles (machines), to the landscape (cities), to commercial goods (products), and to physical structures (buildings). These

[13] These words are contrasted with 'living people,' which is rendered "yellow-green" in order to "give

appropriated names and symbols contrast with the "living people," and thus ultimately deny native presence and continue the (necessarily continual) process of colonization.

In 1988 Heap of Birds installed a series of public park signs in New York. Each of the signs in the series *Native Hosts/Reclaim*, referenced the indigenous peoples of what is now New York state: Manhattan, Mohawk, Seneca, Shinnecock, Seneca, Tuscarora, and Werpoe (Slocum 2004, see Figure 4.3). In each, the sign reminds New Yorkers that they are being "hosted" by the (respective) local indigenous group. Their messages are articulated in the same standardized, almost unnoticeable "wet grass" park sign format. There is no further explanation, certainly no apologies, and no explicit direction on what to do with such information. The work expects, perhaps, that the reader simply absorb and understand the information provided. The intent, of course, is that such information will initiate the kind of courtesy and deference that any guest should show toward his/her host. Regardless of the intent or the reception, Heap of Birds' signs proclaim in dramatic fashion the unequivocal persistence of indigenous geographies even in a place as culturally complex and historically layered as New York.

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the sense of the living, vital, and growing American Indian" (Heap of Birds 1991: 341).

Figure 4.3: "Today Your Host is Shinnecock" (1988)
(Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds)

Marked with even more authority, "New York: Purchased? Stolen? Reclaimed?" (1997) borrows its aesthetic from the standard green and white highway sign (see Figure 4.4). In contrast to the "wet grass" kind of sign, this version offers an explicit assertion of indigenous geographies. Heap of Birds inserts historical and spatial indicators as substitutes for road distance indicators (i.e. New York 10 miles, Boston 80 miles), In his version, Purchased and Stolen are marked with a question marks, suggesting the same kind of colonial spatial production generated by the Dutch

when they constructed their walled street (discussed above) and New Amsterdam (later New York). The final indicator Reclaimed, however, hints at the refusal of the native peoples to simply concede the loss of their lands. The persistence of the Iroquois in asserting their sovereignty and making intermittent claims on the land exemplifies the notion that land might eventually be reclaimed, or that they in fact already are, even if only within the cultural framework of indigenous communities. This, however, is the nature of spatial productions.

Figure 4.4: "New York: Purchased? Stolen? Reclaimed?" (1997)
(Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds)

The power to enforce and monitor place boundaries ultimately only validates claims within a political framework, it cannot entirely control the bounds of cultural practices (which largely defines space).

Taken together, *Native Hosts/Reclaim* directly and physically confronts the ways that the US (as a colonial nation) discursively creates its landscape over and against native geographies by literally inserting insurgent spatial markers and issuing anti-colonial directives. Heap of Birds' sign mimics authoritative street signs in presenting simple, direct statements with no artistic elaboration that might distract from or contextualize the message (or reveal the co-productive relationship between sign and viewer). The work draws from the same mundane authority as street signs, yet it undoubtedly raises eyebrows, as viewers must reconcile the ordinary format with the explicitly "insurgent message" of the content (Slocum 2004). While Heap of Bird urges his viewers to contend with the inconsistency of an authoritative sign displaying an anti-colonial message, he also hopes to lead them toward a more full recognition of all such authoritative signs – to cause a moment of pause, whereby the mechanisms of hegemony can be made visible. In the context of American Indian geography, he seeks to "[re-label] the landscape to exile the white viewer" (Ohnesorge 2008: 59).[14]

[14] In online statements for the Walker Art Museum in Minneapolis, Heap of Birds explains how his public creations are specifically intended to generate discussion and disrupt simplistic, and especially colonial, narratives. He acknowledges that "public discourse is part of the work" and actively works to generate an awareness of the relationships between artist, art, audience, and context (Heap of Birds 2007). He understands these intersections to be part of the definition of what he does, and ideally, the process by which all public art should strive. "I expect it, I deliver it, and we deal with it. It's not just the work, it's what happens between the art and the public – that's public art" (Heap of Birds 2007).

When native artists produce work that addresses popular culture and media, they do not just address concerns over accuracy of representation, or even the material consequences of those practices. They confront one of the most significant locations for the production of colonial place and space. At the same time, they assert the ongoing memory and presence of native geographies – places where native people produce meaning. Heap of Birds' model serves as a more explicit version of the work done by the other American Indian artists working with the figure of John Wayne. Many of Heap of Birds early public installation art and concept art pieces actively engaged in a kind of symbolic "reclamation of social space" (Rushing 2005: 375).

Heap of Birds works with mundane and practical productions, while the others tackle more commonly recognized realms like painting, writing, and film. All draw from popular culture. Where Heap of Birds works to directly confront a general and unknown populace within public places, Alexie, Erdrich, and Echo-Hawk interact with readers and viewers in places and through mediums where one expects to engage with ideas, narratives, and representations: classrooms, museums, living rooms, and movie theaters. In their respective works, these native artists demonstrate a thorough comprehension of the power of popular culture, and thus work to turn such power on its head by drawing upon the very cultural forms that have been used to justify and maintain systems of inequality, racism, and colonial occupation.

Berlo and Phillips suggest that Heap of Birds holds a deep appreciation for the long and important history of native artists using modern art forms to convey "insurgent messages." They quote, for instance, Heap of Birds' insistence that

imprisoned Cheyenne ledger book artists used their drawing as a way of "defending native peoples," rather than just documenting their incarceration experiences or reminiscing over previous times (Berlo and Phillips 1989: 214). As Heap of Birds has stated, and all four artists make clear, native artists often "find it effective to challenge the white man through [the] use of the mass media … the insurgent messages within these forms must serve as our present-day combative tactics" (Heap of Birds 1991: 339).

Rather than target John Wayne as a means for deconstructing dominant discourse, Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds' work draws attention to the cultural force of mundane spatial markers like street signs and targets collective, historical memory "loss." By re-designing ordinary streets signs and posting public "orders," Heap of Birds boldly calls out the role that uneven social relations continue to play in the suppression of native space. His public installations and conceptual art pieces re-name public spaces and ultimately acknowledge the persistence of an anti-colonial, American Indian spatiality. Appropriating and then redeploying words to serve his purpose, Heap of Birds borrows the authority of public signs to repossess spaces claimed and owned through the use of official words (like street signs, histories, laws) and conveniently disregarded deeds (like colonization, assimilation, and anti-Indian violence) to re-place indigenous geographies.

WHO'S YOUR PILGRIM?

Before presenting the work of the final three native artists, I offer a brief contextual sketch of John Wayne as an actor and as a political figure. While the installation art of Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds provides the conceptual frame for the John Wayne works by Erdrich, Alexie, and Echo-Hawk, the actor himself provides the "content." The relationship between John Wayne and American Indian peoples is complex and contradictory. On the one hand, native people are often among the biggest fans of Wayne, cowboys, and western films. Chippewa sociologist JoEllen Shivley (1992) found, for instance, that native men often identified with Wayne's characters, and western films in general, because of expressed overlapping values between rural and native traditional life, including: self-sufficiency, hard-work, strong moral codes, and intimate relationships with the land. A brief visit to many reservations would also quickly reveal that native people often present themselves as "cowboys" and "cowgirls" in addition to being native (Yellow Bird 2004).[15]

On the other hand, many native people tacitly recognize the implications of Wayne's popularity and a western film genre built on pitting violent, inarticulate, and undeserving savages against peaceful, upstanding, virtuous, and civilized white Americans – in effect, celebrating a national history of racist, violent, and sometimes genocidal anti-Indian activities. The cowboy has long represented the creation of "the West," which also implies the denial and destruction of native space. In addition,

[15] See Penrose (2003) "When All the Cowboys are Indians: The Nature of Race in an All-Indian Rodeo.

while the cowboy may represent desirable traits or values, local non-native cowboys are just as likely to be seen as "rednecks" or racists.

The narratives and images of traditional westerns, and especially those of John Wayne's era, offer viewers a national heritage that implies the inferiority of native peoples and cultures and justifies anti-Indian policies and activities. For most of their heyday, western films offered a romanticized vision of the nation's past that (1) celebrated European American occupation of native lands, (2) advocated frontier violence against native peoples and cultures, (3) rejoiced in individualism, (4) denounced tribalism, (5) supported repression of native cultures and languages, (6) dehumanized native peoples, (7) demonized or negated native cultures and religions. In addition, native nations and individuals were commonly constructed as either hyper-masculine, violent, and thus irrational beings in need of suppression, or as culturally and physically racial inferiors, living an inadequate, "feminized" existence and "naturally selected" for extinction. Even when presented as noble savages, native societies were narrated as doomed to succumb to the cultural/racial and technological superiority of European Americans (thus, the popular "Last of the Mohicans" trope).

As a result of such narratives (initially constructed long before the advent of film), filmic Indians are regularly and abundantly killed or subdued. Native men charge around the landscape threatening innocent White settlers and townspeople, before being shot from their ponies as they yelp and scream indecipherably. Native women are usually mute entities, although they habitually appear to silently confirm their irrepressible interest in becoming a white man's sexually available and

subservient "squaw."[16] In most westerns, native nations have no discernable family life, and the films hardly ever grant any existence to children or elders. This lack of family is fortunate according to the films, since native communication is sparse, simple, or inhuman, often consisting of little more than grunts and hand motions (Churchill 1998: 184-186). Unfortunately, the stereotypical "ugh" and "how" still resonate with audiences to this day.[17]

Given the weight of these images and narratives, it may seem obvious as to why so many native artists (and critics) would target John Wayne; perhaps the world's single most identifiable "cowboy." Even by a casual account, Wayne is a cultural and filmic phenomenon. It seems that nearly everyone (at least from my generation and before) can muster up an example of a relative or friend who perpetually plays John Wayne films on their television set.[18] His long career, starting from the earliest years of television, have helped him become a "peoples' favorite." Born Marion Michael Morrison in the Iowa town of Winterset in 1907, Wayne rose to stardom as "the Duke" through his appearance in hundreds of films across the span of fifty years (1926 to 1976).[19] As autobiographer Garry Wills notes, film distributor polls consistently find Wayne to be one of the nation's most popular stars. In 1995, at least one national poll listed Wayne as American's favorite actor, followed by Clint Eastwood, Mel

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[16] The term "squaw" historically referred (often in a derogatory manner) to native women available for sex or marriage, especially to non-native men. It has also been used generally as a term for all native women. See Hoxie (1996).
[17] I have consistently confirmed these utterances firmly entrenched in my students' cultural lexicons.
[18] The 2007 Harris Poll found Wayne most popular among the "Baby Boomers" demographic, which they defined as those between the ages of 42 and 60.
[19] Wayne won an Oscar in 1969 for his depiction of a US Marshall, "Rooster" Cogburn (in *True Grit*), who tracks down a murderer hiding in Indian Territory.

Gibson, and Denzel Washington (Wills 1997: 11)[20] This result is even more amazing given that in 1995 Wayne had already been dead for sixteen years, and had not made a film in nearly twenty. To this day, he continues to rank highly in such annual polls. A 2007 Harris Poll still ranked Wayne third behind only current megastars Denzel Washington and Tom Hanks (Harris Poll #4 2007).

The majority of Wayne's characters were comprised of archetypal Western traits. As Kimmel (2006) and Riggin (1992) have convincingly argued, the cowboy figure, and John Wayne in particular, appeal to social demands for uncomplicated moralities and traditional symbols of masculinity. These unwavering sets of heteronormative, paternalistic values are at least partly responsible for Wayne's incredible popularity. Wayne's characters are patterned after idealized version of the men that braved the dangers of a wild, unknown West, and ultimately secured the frontier from the irrational and culturally/racially inferior native inhabitants. John Wayne' name is indisputably synonymous with the mythical cowboy of American imagination. They were hyper-masculine men of unerring action. They never made mistakes, and they never apologized for their views. They were men of few words, and the words that were used were simple, direct, and driven by a sense of individual moral certainty. Each character was composed of equal parts "individualism, self-sufficiency, strength, nonconformity, and loneliness" (Levy 1988: 54).

For generations, audiences and filmmakers turned to Wayne's fictional role models to provide an unwavering example of a "real man." Innumerable men have

[20] In 1993 and 1994 he finished second to Eastwood.

emulated Wayne's example, including such notable political leaders as one-time Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, and former Presidents Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan (Wills 1997: 13).[21] The press has consistently compared our current president, George W. Bush, a self-proclaimed Texas cowboy, to figures like John Wayne.[22] Indeed, American media have labeled Bush's notorious foreign policy tactics as "cowboy diplomacy."[23]

While his characters garnered great following, Wayne also took the ideals built into his characters to heart, going so far as to name one of his sons Ethan after an overtly racist character (Ethan Edwards) he portrayed in *The Searchers* (1956).[24] Wayne was an unabashed nationalist. In many ways, he became indistinguishable from the characters he played. Wayne actively worked to ferret out Communists in Hollywood, and waged a personal war to eliminate what he considered political propaganda. He offered public support for Senator Joseph McCarthy's House Un-American Activities Committee. In 1947, the Motion Picture Alliance for the

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[21] Gingrich apparently spent much of his youth copying Wayne's distinctive gait (Wills 1997: 20). Nixon frequently appealed to Wayne's values in order "to explain his own views on law and order" (Wills 1997: 29). Reagan openly "tried to imitate Wayne, on and off the screen" (Wills 1997: 13).

[22] Mexico's President Vicente Fox ridiculed Bush in his autobiography, *Revolution of Hope* (2007), for theatrically walking "like John Wayne" and for declining to ride one of his ranch horses. Fox later suggested that Bush was a fake, or "windshield" cowboy, referring to what Fox thought was Bush's clear preference for cars over horses.

[23] See, for example, Schneider (2002) and Allen, et al. (2006).

[24] Edwards is an ex-Confederate soldier who devotes several years of his life to tracking down a Comanche leader (ominously named "Scar") who killed his family and kidnapped his young niece. Clearly, the film can be read as a rudimentary critique of racism, as Wayne's character fought with the Confederacy, is unreasonably antagonistic towards his "breed" (mixed Cherokee and European American) nephew, and is lethally patriarchal towards his niece. Edwards is outraged to eventually find the niece married to the "chief" and plans to kill her in order to relieve her from her interracial spoiling. Yet the narrative of the film offers no critique of colonization or racial domination, and unequivocably presents Wayne's character as the hero of the story; the only figure with sufficient courage, moral fortitude, and "manly" frontier skill required combat the savagery of "Scar" and the "Comanch," and to bring his niece "home."

Preservation of American Ideals elected Wayne their president. Despite his campaigns against "political propaganda" in film, he openly worked with the State Department to make a film (*Back to Bataan,* 1945) about the "Philippines guerilla forces" (Levy 1988: 43). Two decades later, *The Green Berets* (1968) received significant financial backing from the Department of Defense (Levy 1988: 324-325).

Cultural critics have often found Wayne an imperative target given his publicly conservative political stances and multi-generational megastar status.[25] The narratives and characters in Wayne's films clearly mark him as a ready symbol of colonial and racist ideologies. Yet, the government, the postal service, and the US military have all recognized and celebrated Wayne for his personal and fictional political efforts. In 1979, Congress posthumously honored the actor with a Congressional Gold Medal. In 2004, the United States Postal Service paid tribute to him with a commemorative stamp (an acknowledgement that will be discussed below). Despite the fact that he never served in the military, General Douglas MacArthur personally congratulated Wayne at an American Legion convention for his ability to "represent the American Serviceman better than the American serviceman himself" (Golson 1981: 267).

In an interview with *Playboy* magazine in 1971 (and elsewhere), Wayne revealed many of the aspects of his personal politics that confirmed him as a staunch

[25] Wayne is a popular target, and a logical choice. Public Enemy's pro-black musical assault demonstrated the tensions inherent in the anti-black racism underlying the mythological west of Wayne's films, most viciously evident by the lynching campaigns of the post-civil war years (see Gunn 1996). Even American counterculture movements have likewise rejected Wayne and the virtuous "cowboy" figure, as illustrated by "anti-westerns" like *Little Big Man* (1970) and *The Unforgiven* (1992). For American Indian peoples, one would be hard pressed to find a more symbolic figure than the ultimate icon of westerns and American history.

cultural and political conservative.[26] Like many champions of normative American history, he resisted presenting the brutality of violence and the contradictions of US nation-building. As a filmmaker, he explicitly preferred the "illusion" of indirect, "fairy tale" violence (Golson 1981: 265). He openly chided makers of "gory" films that contained "shots of blood spurting out and teeth flying," preferring the simple "humor" of a "good head cracking" that supposedly "nullified" rather than "glorified" violence (Golson 1981: 265). Wayne's active aversion to graphic violence extended beyond a "protective" concern for viewer sensitivities. He openly preferred to romanticize controversial historical realities rather than challenge nationalistic goals. He consistently turned down roles that were "unpatriotic," refusing, for example, to accept a role in *The Dirty Dozen* (1967), a film that explored racial hostilities within American military units during the World War II. He later was "reported to have been furious at the suggestion of including Stanley Kramer's *Home of the Brave*," in an ABC special about "War Movies and John Wayne" (Levy 1988: 47).[27]

Wayne's stance often required him to either ignore or support simplistic and vicious portrayals of racialized others and non-Americans. In his personal life, he is most notorious for his statements that he believed in "white supremacy" to the extent that it should be maintained "until the blacks are educated to the point of responsibility" (Golson 1981: 268). Qualifying his remarks in order to indicate his "reasonableness," Wayne argued that in his own films he was always sure to give "blacks their proper position" by having, for example, a "black slave in *The Alamo*"

[26] The 2007 Harris Poll found that Wayne (along with Tom Hanks) was the favorite actor among those

and the "correct number of blacks appear" within the military units in *The Green Berets* (Golson 1981: 269). He was openly appalled by homosexuality, calling the film *Midnight Cowboy* (1969) a perverted "story about two fags" (Golson 1981: 265).

In relation to American Indian peoples, Wayne explained the colonization of the Americas as a battle between "selfish" Indians on under-utilized lands and deprived, deserving Europeans/Americans hungry for opportunities. Wayne told the interviewer, "I don't feel we did wrong in taking this great country away from them [native peoples]. There were great numbers of people who needed new land, and the Indians were selfishly trying to keep it for themselves" (Golson 1981: 269). Wayne's statement perfectly espouses the ideologies of manifest destiny and the concept of the Doctrine of Discovery, and is consistent with his overall white, working-class, conservative view on the "place" of women, homosexuality, African Americans, American Indians, and liberals. As native scholar Michael Yellow Bird (Sahnish [Arikara]/Hidatsa) reminds us, despite the narrow historical and geographical range of these western figures, "cowboys have remained, in the hearts of most Americans, an evocative representation of American values, toughness, enterprise, forward-looking attitude, and whiteness" (Yellow Bird 2004: 43).[28] Wayne and the genre of movies from which he developed his fame present foundational cultural texts that represent and champion contemporary, mainstream understandings of westward expansion and

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self-identified as "conservative."

[27] Kramer's film also "deals with racial prejudice and hatred in the army" (Levy 1988: 47).

[28] During the introductory walk of the 2004 Winter Olympic Games, the American athletes were uniformed as cowboys – corresponding with the practice of countries appearing in their most distinctive (and stereotypical) traditional dress.

Manifest Destiny. This foundation constructs the US nation-state as a place where such values were (and are) valued, lived, and maintained.

ERDRICH: DE-FACING THE WEST

I read Erdrich's poem, published in a collection of her poetry called *Jacklight* (1984), partly through the notion of a "borderlands poetics" described by Robin Fast (1999). In her study of American Indian poetry, Fast explains that "native poets working in the borderlands are engaged at once in the work of continuance and of confrontation: they reweave connections among Indian people, with the land, and with ancestral cultures, and confront the powers that would control, subdue, or deny Native stories, relationships, and voices" (Fast 1999: 207). For Fast (and many borderlands theorists more generally), the borderland signals not just a physical place or an area between two distinctive places, but rather the notions of space produced about such places and in the context of the relationships generated in creating and being created out of such places. This approach offers a way of thinking about native poems as negotiations over complicated layers of historical and contemporary relationships and spatial practices. In this way, the borderlands work done in Erdrich's poem (discussed below) further reflects the conceptual frame (of relationships and space) found in the installation art of Heap of Birds. Most importantly, Erdrich pushes for the continuance of (hybrid) indigenous spatial practices and a confrontation of the colonial logics threatening such survival.

In Louise Erdrich's poem "Dear John Wayne," she situates several native characters at a drive-in movie, confronting John Wayne and the simulacra Indian. The poem's film takes its audience to the lands of the "Sioux or some other Plains bunch," for a critical narrative moment in United States history. The appearance of Plains Indian nations indicates the film is set during the vaunted (and stereotypical) "closing of the frontier," when the American military confronted well-equipped and fiercely resistant nomadic tribes during the second half of the 1800s. Undaunted, the characters read the film and John Wayne's character resistantly – refusing to simply bear passive witness to nation-building, or to affirm the meaning of the space produced by the film's narratives. The narrator and her companions easily predict the film's storyline, mock the formulaic presentation, and reject its expected conclusions. Even before the filmic battles begin, the narrator predicts that the American settlers will "die beautifully" at the hands of native warriors cast as savages in need of taming.[29]

Erdrich's drive-in setting signals a keen attention to space and land. All films allow movie watchers entry into places and times beyond the physical seats they occupy. Erdrich's drive-in theater setting, however, also erases some of the separation between patrons and the outside world, as movie-goers bring their vehicles inside while never leaving the outside. Drive-in theaters present a tension between traveling to another place and time through film-watching, while remaining more consciously

[29] Within western filmic narratives, the killing of "innocent" European American settlers implies a rightful, racially determined claim to the land of the "savage Indians" who perpetrated the "heinous" crime, if for no other reason than retributive "justice." Even in later counter-narrative films, native

rooted in a particular place (an outdoor theater located some place). Yet, patrons are released from the normal confines of a darkened indoor theater, limited instead only by the vastness of the universe overhead. As Erdrich describes, her audience lounges more or less comfortably beneath the "sign of the bear" (some unspecified constellation).

The release of the movie-goers from the restrictions of a confined indoor theater mirrors the resistance the narrator shows toward the narrative confinement of the film they are viewing. As the film proceeds, "a few laughing Indians fall over" ridiculing Wayne's bold assertion over native lands (even as the laughter must contain nervousness over the material weight of that colonial claim). By the end of the film the native movie-goers have gone full circle, entering the anti-native world of the filmic cowboy, before being able to resettle "back in our skins." In their engagement, Erdrich's characters actively consume popular media, but challenge and disrupt its intended messages. Despite the resistance, Erdrich is concerned with maintaining and extending this disruption, of countering the kinds of dislocation faced by native peoples (Fast 1999: 120). Erdrich asks, "How can we help but keep hearing his voice" after the "movie" is finished, and given that native people remain "speechless and small" in the context of national narratives and spatial practices that deny indigenous lands (and sometimes the peoples very existence).

In her question, Erdrich considers how to counter the larger cultural discourse that sustains John Wayne as much as she is pondering how to escape his particular

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peoples are commonly constructed as noble savages – admired for their positive cultural and individual

voice. She finds an answer at the center of this voice. Erdrich repeats a message delivered by Wayne's character (either verbally or narratively) that, when read from a colonial perspective, promises annihilation as the consequence of resistance. "*It is/not over, this fight, as long as you resist*" (emphasis original). Read from an anti-colonial position, however, the statement becomes an assurance that continued resistance will deny completion of the colonial project (hegemony is always incomplete, forever in process). As postcolonial wisdom tells us, the kernel of rebellion always settles in the center of any empire. Thus, if you resist, it will not be over.

Although Wayne's on-screen eye sees and lays claims to the land, saying: "*Everything we see belongs to us*" (emphasis original), Erdrich and her poem's characters contest this assertion over native lands. In the face of such a threat, Erdrich's poem/letter to "John Wayne" (as national synecdoche) insists that indeed the fight is *not* over. As long as native geographies continue to be produced and remembered, as long as colonial geographies are contested, an indigenous existence cannot be denied, will not be completely expunged from the landscape. Indeed, explicitly presenting such a declarative statement keeps opens the inevitability of its contestation, and creates room for doubt as to its authenticity. Such a statement ("everything we see belongs to us") presumes the need to make such claim, which implies a realm of uncertainty, and therefore the need for (colonial) self-reassurance. Such proclamations are utterly unnecessary where they are uncontestable, where contrary assertions are inconceivable.

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characteristics, but still predestined to extinction or providing spiritual guidance for non-natives.

In 2004, the editors of *Native Universe: Voices of Indian America* paired Erdrich's poem with an image of Roxanne Swentzell's painted clay *Kossa* figure "Hands Up!" (McMaster 2004: 304-5). *Native Universe* served as an "inaugural" publication, coinciding with the opening of the National Museum of the American Indian, the final museum to be located on the National Mall in Washington, DC. [30] The book's editorial team selected Erdrich's poem to serve as the concluding text for their volume of native voices. As co-editor Clifford Trafzer suggests, these two final pieces (the poem and the clay *Kossa* figure) "shake things up" and challenge readers/viewers to "rethink and reinterpret the place of American Indian people within the Native Universe and beyond" (Trafzer 2007). The *Kossa* are Santa Clara Pueblo's sacred clowns, representing a culturally structured "serious play" (McMaster 2004: 304). Similar to the more recognized trickster figure, clowns supply a critical, embedded voice of dissent and disruption amidst sacred ceremonial practices.[31] They challenge conventional ideals, punish community offenders, and mock ceremonial proceedings.

Swentzell's horizontally-striped figure stands with hands raised above his head, as if surrendering at gunpoint. Yet, a *Kossa* does not "give up," but rather "shakes things up," and thus the hands-up posture should be read as mocking the notion of capitulation. Clowns are powerful, unpredictable figures eliciting laughter, teaching lessons, and often inspiring fear among ceremony participants and observers.

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[30] The dust jacket includes a small inset that names the volume "the inaugural book of the National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C." Both the museum and *Native Universe* were charged with the daunting task of representing American Indian cultures, histories, and peoples to the world.

[32] Yet, the Kossa always reaffirm traditional knowledge and wisdom, protect cultural survival, and in many instances, possess special medicine knowledge. As figures of both discipline and reflection, they recount and revise indigenous spaces, most commonly perceived through the ongoing, ceremonialized relationships between humans and the land.

Erdrich fills a similar role in a Pan-Indian context through poems like "Dear John Wayne," where her critical voice prompts indigenous and non-indigenous readers to reaffirm and protect cultural survival. Erdrich's poem recognizes that Wayne's body is key to the contemporary production of western space. In order to make the relationship explicit, she describes his body parts by employing the same abstracted concepts of land brought to the Western hemisphere by colonists and settlers. Wayne becomes the (colonial) land itself, and Erdrich points symbolic neon signs toward that embodiment to ensure detection of the transition from native space to fully-colonized, American nation-space. She assesses enormous Wayne's on-screen eye in "acres," one of the units of measurement reserved for dividing land into tidy, definitive boundaries – boundaries that would be appraised and owned, homesteaded, bought and sold, or transferred by way of guns, swords, and treaties. When he enters the scene and surveys the lands, presumably looking for savages to tame or gun down, he fills the screen with a single eye; "The sky fills, acres of blue squint and eye." When Wayne's full face is visible, Erdrich describes it as "pitted/like the land" and full of

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[31] Nesper notes that "clowns play a role in the emergence of antistructure" (2005: 188).
[32] Increasingly, native ceremonies ban "outsiders" who trespass their lands with "wrong" understandings of their relationship to indigenous space and peoples. These "tourists" assume various

scars and "ruts." When the actor smiles at the end of the film, his mouth widens into a "horizon of teeth."

The acre-unit of measurement historically provided the means by which the United States relocated native peoples onto bounded and guarded reservation lands. In 1882, during the height of the Plains battles over land and native sovereignty, Hunkpapa Lakota leader Sitting Bull (Tatanka Yotanka) drew a square in the dirt with his finger before telling an American writer "There! Your soldiers made a mark like that in our country, and said that we must live there" (McMaster 2004: 192). The act of carving land into "manageable" plots also references federal efforts to forcibly assimilate native peoples through the 1883 Dawes Allotment Act, legislation that meted out sixteen-acre allotments to native heads-of-household as a way of "break[ing] up their tribal mass," extracting lands for non-native settlement, and fiercely pressuring native people to adopt sedentary farming lifestyles.[33]

The division of lands in this way differed greatly from the understandings of space used by native peoples. While native nations unequivocally laid claim to lands, battled over boundaries, and occasionally even usurped the lands of defeated neighboring nations, they never produced abstracted parcels nor attributed them to individual landholders. When confronted with forced removal to a reservation, Nez

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levels of authority, taking up excessive space in their consumer-minded interactions, and disregarding the persistence of non-American, indigenous geography.

[33] The quote comes from President Theodore Roosevelt's 1901 "State of the Union" speech to Congress, in which he famously referred to the allotment policy as a "mighty pulverizing engine." Despite Roosevelt's appreciation of American Indian physical hardiness during an era of "soft," "unmanly" urban citizens, he strongly supported the allotment policy and just as strongly opposed American Indian ways of life. The allotment policy facilitated extraction of more than 90 million acres of native lands between 1883 and 1934.

Perce spiritual leader *Toohoolhoolzote* asked US Army General Oliver Howard, "what person pretends to divide the land?" (quoted in McMaster 2004: 116). *Toohoolhoolzote's* fellow tribesman *Im Mut Too Yah Lat Lat* (also known as Chief Joseph) later added the observation that when the "Creative Power" (God) made the land he "made no marks, no lines of division or separation on it" and therefore concluded that it was "too sacred" for humans to pretend to assign it any monetary value let alone sell and purchase (quoted in McMaster 2004: 116).

Erdrich effectively references these philosophies of indigenous geography when her poem's narrator reminds John Wayne that "death makes us owners of nothing" since ultimately "the dark films over everything." Traditional productions of space insisted on a comprehensive understand of relationships between humans and the world around them, including non-tangible elements that made up that world. The land inevitably reclaims all of our individual bodies, regardless of the presumptuous claims to ownership we make during our short lives. Native geographies stand in stark contrast to European American ones. Erdrich thus resurrects indigenous geography by pointing to traditional relationships with human mortality.

Erdrich's poem and the clay *Kossa* figure both defy John Wayne's material and metaphoric assertions over the land. The land policies of the United States (and the invading European nations before) exemplified conscious efforts at producing colonized spaces. In Erdrich's poem, John Wayne comes to signify these spatial

contests. [34] He acts God-like (in a Christian model) toward native peoples. He demands recognition, but makes no concessions to others. He requires submission, but would never surrender. His facial landscape represents the production of western space.

ALEXIE*:* QUEERING THE WEST

Erdrich's drive-in theater narrator could be a young Sherman Alexie, another purveyor of drive-in movies (indeed, all movies), especially those relating to American Indian peoples.[35] In a *Los Angeles Times* article, Alexie claimed that he had "read every book and saw every movie about Indians, no matter how terrible," which obviously includes numerous John Wayne films (Alexie 1998). This thorough engagement with popular culture allowed him to scrutinize contradictions between the realities of his life experiences on the Spokane reservation and the "cinematic Indian" who was too brave, strong, wise, violent – in other words, an entirely White construction (Alexie 1998). Sixteen years after Erdrich's "letter," Sherman Alexie included his own version of "Dear John Wayne" in a collection of short stories called *The Toughest Indian in the World* (2000). In this work and several others, Alexie

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[34] She extends this metaphor to its extreme, noting at the end of the piece that the destructive ideologies of colonization are the very features which ultimately claim Wayne's life in the form of cancer – a disease that expands and spreads until it causes enough complications to cease life. "Even his disease was the idea of taking everything/Those cells, burning, doubling, splitting out of their skins"

[35] In Alexie's prose poetry "Reservation Drive-In" (1993) his own semi-fictional movie patrons seek temporary psychological freedoms from the boredom and desolation of their reservation lives. They watch the latest movie stars and try to mimic their heroic film exploits, one week defeating their enemies with Bruce Lee-inspired Kung Fu and another week traversing the (reservation) universe, fighting villains and "dark father[s]" with light-sabers (Alexie 1993: 16-17).In "Imagining the Reservation" (1994), Alexie writes "Survival = Anger x Imagination. Imagination is the only weapon on the reservation" (150).

turns to the same concerns about relationship and space expressed by Heap of Birds and Erdrich.

Both Erdrich's poem and Alexie's short story recall the breakdown of a relationship, implied by the "Dear John" letter heading. The "letters" anticipate a difficult separation. Yet both also hold the promise of a healthier, more fulfilling future, as hinted at by Alexie's drive-in imitators. The intimacy implied in both authors' works suggests to their readers that they take honest inventory of their "relationship" with Wayne, and then join in with the "break-up." In Erdrich's version, her characters literally "face off" against Wayne and the logic of manifest destiny informing his popularity. In Alexie's clown-inspired (with its unabashed engagement with sex and sexuality) edition, he reclaims Wayne (the actor) by re-narrating him as a reluctant participant in the heteronormative, masculinist, and racist discourses that comprise both his on-screen characters and that drive the narratives of American history. He casts off Wayne (the icon), leaving behind, a bare and exposed counter-hegemonic figure that appears not only plausible, but downright reasonable (in other words, human).

Alexie's "Dear John" letter tells the story of a 118 year-old Spokane woman. A Harvard professor interviews elder Etta Joseph, who claims to have lost her virginity to the actor during the filming of *The Searchers*. As the story unfolds, the reader learns that Etta Joseph and John Wayne maintained an ongoing secret relationship (something for which Wayne was noted in his real life). Like most of Wayne's fans, Etta Joseph starts off entranced by the character of John Wayne. She is

taken in by his symbolism, convinced that the already legendary John Wayne "didn't lie" (Alexie 2000: 198). At his request, however, Etta Joseph eventually becomes comfortable enough to call Wayne exclusively by his birth name, Marion.

Through the intimate affair and a series of revelations about the rugged, manly cowboy, Alexie works to restore John Wayne as Marion Morrison. Etta Joseph's account slowly uncovers increasingly significant contradictions between John Wayne the actor (or Marion) and John Wayne the icon (who supposedly always plays true-to-life characters). First, we learn that Marion cries in Etta Joseph's arms over her initial inability to see past his screen persona. Then, she discloses that Marion cries after every time the two make love. Alexie's recasting soon reveals that Marion is afraid of horses, a mortal sin for any "true" cowboy.[36] Finally, Etta Joseph discloses that Marion embraces "harmless gender play." When he catches his sons wearing lipstick and makeup, they burst into tears fearing their father's reprisal. Instead or ridiculing or punishing them, Marion lovingly encourages the boys to "embrace the feminine" within themselves (Alexie 2000: 202-203). In Alexie's telling, Marion confides to his sons that he has a "public image to maintain" which requires him to inhabit the normative masculinity of the day – to be "John Wayne." He reassures them, "I may act like a cowboy, I might pretend to be a cowboy, but I am not a cowboy in real life, do you understand?" (Alexie 2000: 203).

While Alexie's version of John Wayne (as Marion Morrison) asks his children if they understand, Alexie is essentially pleading with his readers to understand as

[36] See again Mexican President Fox's evaluation of US President George W. Bush from footnote 13.

well. Like the anthropologist/interviewer character, Alexie expects readers to approach his text with preconceived notions about John Wayne. All of these notions are thrown into chaos by Etta Joseph, who forces the reader (like the anthropologist) to question his/her own positionality (as all good anthropologists should) in relation to John Wayne (or our presumed knowledge). At the end of the piece, Alexie's cultural anthropologist character is torn about how to respond to the story he has been told. He initially came to the interview seeking information about powwow culture, and was quickly redirected by Etta Joseph's agenda and her John Wayne story. He is unsure whether or not to trust Etta's tale about John Wayne.

Alexie, as omniscient narrator, carefully guides the reader and the anthropologist (or the reader as anthropologist) toward considering the cultural value of the story versus its objectively factual and verifiable value. Applying the only use of third person narration in the entire story, Alexie challenges the reader considering "Was the story true or false?"[37] The narrative voice insistently asks "Was that the question Spencer [the anthropologist] needed to ask?" (Alexie 2000: 208).[38] In asking this final rhetorical question, Alexie leads his audience to the more important issue of how and in what ways we create and destroy narratives. As a self-proclaimed cultural critic (a clown or trickster working the intellectual tradition), Alexie assumes all narratives are constructed out of both truths and lies (both/and instead of either/or), and that their retellings produce new truths, as well as new lies.

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[37] Students in my literature courses often first interpreted or contested the story as evidence of Wayne's "true" character.

[38] Likewise, when Alexie's *Smoke Signals* character, Thomas Builds-the-Fire, answers whether he wants to hear a truth or a lie, Thomas indicates that he "wants both."

In "Dear John Wayne," Alexie also flips the normative narratives from one that owns Indianness to one where an elderly American Indian woman actually owns narrative power over John Wayne, a European American anthropologist, and by extension the (narrated) nation. The story convincingly proposes a reality where a native person uncovers meanings hidden beneath the surface of the nation symbolically represented by John Wayne. Instead of confiding ancient American Indian secrets (ala New Age "as told to" books), Etta Joseph shares uncomfortable White secrets – secrets that reveal the most cherished symbols of nationhood at best as misconstrued, and at worst as fraudulent. She dislocates the narrative from the landscape. Alexie offers similar counter-narratives in other writings and in the feature film (*Smoke Signals*) based on his short stories.

In "The Trail of Thomas Builds-the Fire" (from *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven)*, Alexie prompts the reader to consider Yakima historical figure Qualchin.[39] During a Bureau of Indian Affairs trial, Builds-the-Fire explains that in a previous life he existed as one of the 800 Spokane ponies captured by Colonel George Wright in 1858.[40] The character recounts how he survived the (historically

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[39] I have adopted Trafzer's spelling of Qualchin. I italicize Alexie's spelling "Qualchan" to avoid confusion. As a storyteller who angers his own people by his honesty, Builds-the-Fire is Alexie's most consistently autobiographical character. In an interview for *Studies in American Indian Languages* 9(4), however, Alexie admits that Adams so effectively became Thomas Builds-the-Fire that the character in-turn became Adams, and thus the actor actually took Thomas "away from [him]" (Purdy 1997: 2). In the film *The Business of Fancydancing* Alexie and Evan Adams (who plays Builds-the-Fire in *Smoke Signals*) directly explore the tensions of a reservation storyteller who gains national fame and then returns home to face the upset "subjects" of his stories – a direct narration of Alexie's own experiences.

[40] Builds-the-Fire is being tried by the court because of his incessant storytelling and "extreme need to tell the truth" (Alexie 1994: 93). Alexie employs Build-the-Fire to explicitly converge fiction with non-fiction, history with contemporary life, in ways that reflect his own understanding that everything is story, everything is metaphor.

documented) full-day's worth of animal-executions in a place now officially commemorated as Horse Slaughter Camp.[41] Builds-the-Fire then proceeds to tell the judge that he also once lived as Qualchin during US military actions against the Spokane, Yakima, Palouse, and Coeur d'Alene peoples. During tensions between the United States military and local native peoples over American settler encroachments, Qualchin agreed to meet with Colonel Wright and discuss peace terms. When they met, Wright immediately seized and hung the Yakima leader.[42] In a truth-telling moment that blurs the line between fiction and non-fiction, Alexie (as Builds-the-Fire) then calls attention to a non-fictional construction site where the city of Spokane, Washington was deploying, and ultimately claiming ownership over, the name of the Spokane leader. Builds-the-Fire tells the court that the city is in the process of "building a golf course named after me, Qualchan, located in the valley where I was hanged" (Alexie 1994: 99).[43] The developer's application of Qualchin's name to a golf course site, precisely repeats the residential street-naming practice discussed previously (in chapter three), and reveals a specific case where colonization's attendant violence is (partly) depoliticized through naming. [44]

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[41] The herds were killed in order to immobilize the tribes and to try and force them to take up residence on reservations.

[42] The Colonel later celebrated the encounter in his journal stating that "Qual-chin came to me at 9 o'clock this morning and at 9 ¼ a.m. he was hung" (quoted in Trafzer 1986: 91). Several other tribal members were hung at the same time.

[43] The "River at Qualchan" golf course and resort opened for business in 1992. In an ironic set of reversals, the golf course is named after Qualchin, while the creek that runs through the site in now called Latah Creek, rather than its earlier designation, Hangman Creek. Equally ironic, the golf course touts its membership in the New York State Audubon Society because of its "natural setting" and standing as a "sanctuary of many species of birds and wildlife" (Spokane Golf 2008).

[44] Latah is locally rumored to mean "fish" in the Spokane language, although apparently nobody has bothered to ask the Spokane.

In his prose poem "My Heroes Have Never Been Cowboys" (1993) Alexie asserts, tongue-in-cheek, that "in 1492 every Indian instantly became an extra in the Great American Western." This sarcastic, metaphorical statement references the narrative place of American Indian peoples in the spatial re-construction of western, indigenous lands into the United States (102). Alexie clearly refuses this narrative. His narrator recounts how when the children of his reservation played "Indians and cowboys" (the name of the "game" purposely reversed) they always fought together "against the cowboys" and they "never lost" (Alexie 1993: 102). Despite the fact that the narrator's "brother" thinks that "'God probably looks like John Wayne,'" he assures the reader that "we've all killed John Wayne more than once" (Alexie 1993: 103). In terms of native geographies, then, Alexie's poem offers a telling reassertion of indigenous geographies. Refusing the logic of manifest destiny, the narrator proclaims that "Indians never lost their West" despite insistent media articulations about "How the West Was Won" constantly emanating from the wall of televisions sets inside the "Sears Home Entertainment Department" (Alexie 1993: 102).

ALEXIE: SONGS OF DISLOCATION

As in his poems and short stories, the narrative force of Alexie's song from the film *Smoke Signals* (1998) explicitly defies native displacement and insists on the continued existence of alternative (indigenous) geographies. *Smoke Signals* follows the lives of two young men, Victor Joseph and Thomas Builds-the-Fire, who grow up

together on the Coeur d'Alene reservation in Idaho.[45] In the film, the two protagonists sing an impromptu, "49"-style song.[46] "John Wayne's Teeth" is a song of redemption, one that explicitly rejects the insistence that, "every song remains the same here in America, this country of Big Sky and Manifest Destiny, this county of John Wayne and broken treaties" (Alexie 1993: 104). While simultaneously addressing the weight of the figure of the Indian and internalized native racism, Alexie's placement of this song addresses the centrality of spatial contestation.

The most significant scene depicts a conflict between the two main protagonists and two White men. After a poignant conversation between Thomas and Victor about the meaning of what it means to be an Indian and how Indians act, Thomas tries to emulate Victor's vision of a tough, stoic Indian who strikes fear into others – especially non-Indians who might otherwise "take advantage" of native

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[45] *Smoke Signals* is commonly, and correctly, praised for its complex, modern, and humorous presentation of native people. Yet, the film is largely ignored in terms of its underlying critique of American occupation and the attendant confrontation between cultural sovereignties (native and U.S. American respectively). Hearn (2005) offers one of the better treatments, and a similar reading of "John Wayne's Teeth." The first indication of Alexie's critique arrives early in the film, as Thomas Builds-the-Fire recounts the house fire that tragically takes the lives of his parents. He tells the audience that on the Fourth of July in 1976 his "mother and father celebrated white people's independence" by throwing a party in their reservation home. From the outset of the film, then, the audience is made acutely aware of the distinction between "white" independence and Indian independence. This explicitly nationalistic and racial separation marks differing political and epistemological positions that are informed by the history of occupation, and the cost of this "misplaced" or ironic celebration is death. Thomas shares with the audience that a fire that "rose up like General George Armstrong Custer" and killed Thomas' parents. In this description, the fire performs a continuation of the work of American military men like Custer as it "swallows up" the lives of two more native people. Although the Coeur d'Alene people never battled directly with Custer, Custer has a pan-Indian resonance that signals both the shared process of colonization and the shared commitment to resistance as symbolized by the common valorization of his famous defeat. Custer was killed in the "Battle at Little Big Horn" (as it is called by the Sioux and Cheyenne) or "Custer's Last Stand" (as it is often called by American historians) in 1876. A renowned "Indian fighter," Custer was defeated by a coalition of several thousand Sioux and Cheyenne warriors.

[46] A "49" song refers to singing commonly done during an informal gathering (a "49") after the conclusion of a powwow. The songs are much less formalized, and often more colloquial and

peoples. Thomas physically transforms himself by releasing his hair from the restrictions of his braids and by donning a "Fry Bread Power" t-shirt modeled after the famous triangular red, blue, and yellow Superman chest logo. Immediately after this exchange about Indianness, however, the act of performing a threatening male, native figure is shown both simplistic and ineffective.

Upon re-boarding their Arizona-bound bus, the characters find two "cowboys" occupying the seats in which they were previously sitting. In the dialogue that follows, the cowboys assert their claims to the seats, and leave the protagonists pondering the current condition of Indian and non-Indian relations, given the failure of their attempts at individualized intimidation.

Thomas:	Excuse me, those are our seats
Cowboy:	You mean these *were* your seats
Victor:	(*stepping forward*) No, that's not what he means
Cowboy:	Now listen up. These are our seats now, and there ain't a damn thing you can do about it. So why don't you and 'Super-Injun' there find someplace else to have a powwow, OK?[47]

While the silent "cowboy" sports standard attire – rimmed hat, buttoned shirt, jeans – the speaking "cowboy" is dressed in a flannel shirt, a vest, and a trucker cap with the

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humorous. These gatherings might be thought of as an unregulated after-party following the more culturally ordered powwow.

[47] The protagonists stand silent for a moment, expressing a combination of disbelief and anger. The reference to "Super-Injun" (partly alluding to the Superman-inspired logo) reflects the tendency to view native people who assert their cultural and political rights as trying to be more than what is acceptable in a world ordered by assimilationist and benign multiculturalist notions. At the same time, the scene is a parody of Thomas's attempt to enact his new, more assertive Indian identity – which is partly constructed by non-natives and used to justify colonization (and filmic representations of manifest destiny). Indeed, during their discussion, Victor tells Thomas that they should look like warriors, like they "just came back from killing a buffalo" in reference to the stereotypical representation of "Indians"

logo "My Gun-Cleaning Hat." The hat's message, in addition to the men's antagonistic response to the protagonists clearly intensifies the threat of the confrontation. The logo references the historical record of European Americans' willingness to use violence to take native lands and resources, and to enforce racialized policies aimed at securing the pilfered wealth. After making his brief and definitive statement, the cowboy – supremely certain in his assertions, and utterly confident that the native men cannot or will not respond – calmly closes his eyes, tilts his head into the seat back, and prepares to sleep.

After humorously remarking on how the "warrior look" did not seem to change how they were treated (by White people), Thomas concludes that the "cowboys always win." Resisting his troubling assertion, Victor decides to show Thomas that they can still defeat the cowboys. Rather than physically confront the cowboys, the protagonists engage in an act of cultural defiance; in this case a song that references the history of westward expansion and colonialism and specifically targets one of the most potent symbols of colonial epistemology – John Wayne.

Thomas:	(*disappointed*) Man, the cowboys always win…
Victor:	(*indignant*) The cowboys don't always win.
Thomas:	Yeah they do. The cowboys always win. Look at Tom Mix. What about John Wayne? Man, he was about the toughest cowboy of them all, *enit*?
Victor:	(*smirking*) You know, in all those movies, you never saw John Wayne's teeth. Not once. I think there's something wrong when you don't see a guy's teeth.

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as Plains warriors from the late 1800s. He scoffs at Thomas's culturally and historically correct assertion that the Coeur d'Alene were fisherman and (like most native people) "never hunted buffalo."

(*a brief pause, while the characters smile at one another in mutual recognition of their next move – Victor begins beating a rhythm on the seat back with his hand*.)

Victor: (*singing*) John Wayne's teeth, hey-ya
John Wayne's teeth, hey-ya
Hey-ya hey-ya hey

Both: (*singing*) John Wayne's teeth, hey-ya,
John Wayne's teeth , hey-ya
Hey-ya hey-ya hey
Are they fake?
Are they real?
Are they plastic?
Are they steel?
Hey-ya hey-ya hey

In their eruption into impromptu "49"-style singing, the characters deploy one form of cultural production against another.[48] Their song comes into direct contestation with the entire arsenal of John Wayne's film, and by extension all westerns. It both acknowledges, and then challenges the narratives of colonization and the unquestioned discourse of Eurocentric histories that support what Michael Yellow Bird calls "this nation's most passionate, embedded form of hate talk" – the trope of the cowboys and Indians narrative (2004: 42).

The selection of John Wayne is pointedly significant in at least two important ways. Within the context of the film, the first and most immediate reason for the selection of Wayne is in order to symbolically assault and belittle the two cowboy characters who have just stolen the characters' seats. Any parody of John Wayne would undoubtedly provoke anger in self-identified "cowboys" since Wayne is almost

universally revered as a western icon – a model for those adopting a modern cowboy or hyper-masculine persona. Further, within the context of the film, the song represents a battle between and across cultural productions. As a film, *Smoke Signals* clearly draws from the power of film media in order to tell its stories and in this case to speak directly to the larger history of American film (particularly westerns). More pointedly, these films constitute significant cultural mechanisms in the production of western (meaning US) space as non-native spaces – or spaces that transitioned away from being native places to being White American ones.

The response by the individual characters addresses the immediate interaction, and this might be seen as a viable meaningful, resolution. The song transitions the film away from a tense moment that cannot in fact be resolved. Yet, the structured discrepancies that inform this moment remain intact. The Indians may indeed "win" the verbal joust, but the cowboys remain firmly entrenched in their newly acquired seats. Yet, the audience is clearly expected to side with the main characters and be angered by the overt racism (and general unreasonableness) of the two cowboys. When the song is performed, we are expected to laugh at the ridiculousness of the thought of a toothless John Wayne, and perhaps help to collectively render him and the ideologies he commonly symbolizes vulnerable to further critique.

Ultimately, while Thomas and Victor save face, they have not (and could not have) reversed their dislocation. They are not able to retrieve their seats and they

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[48] The characters' conversation and the song's message disclose a process that Michael Yellow Bird has referred to as "decolonizing of [the trope of] cowboys and Indians" (Yellow Bird 2004: 34). According to the soundtrack credits, the song is co-written by Alexie and the Eaglebear Singers.

remain, after all, on a bus traveling through a powerful "foreign" country.[49] The performance of "John Wayne's Teeth" only has "bite" to the extent that the critique is extended beyond the scenario of cowboys taking bus seats, beyond seeing Wayne as something other than godlike, and applied to the larger colonial conditions that allow the continued occupation of native lands by a nation that extracted those lands through immoral and often illegal (even by colonial standards) means. Thus, while the two disrupt the hegemonic narrative of John Wayne and legitimized occupation, they remain confronted with the ongoing colonialism that makes them "Injuns" and "vaccinated" tourists in the United States.

Smoke Signals provides its audience with a visual text that highlights the difficulty of modern American Indian efforts to retain and assert sovereignty in meaningful ways. This difficulty is heavily rooted in the constant production of the space of the United States as a nation, a production which many understand to preclude the full survival of native nations. Thus, in addition to its pure entertainment value, the film offers a voice of dissent against American mainstream endeavors to culturally and politically incorporate American Indian peoples. The film has the potential to lay exposed the process of producing fully colonized spaces, and the corresponding elision of native spaces. As opposed to notions of multiculturalism and the standard immigration narratives of the United States as a place where culturally distinct groups of people come together to form one more or less unified nation, Alexie's figures assert (sing!) notions of native political and cultural sovereignty.

[49] At the beginning of their journey, two female characters tease the protagonists about their impending

Indeed, according to Alexie the "greatest challenges" to native peoples are "the challenges to our sovereignty – artistically, politically, socially, economically …cultural appropriation" (West and West 1998: 37).

ECHO-HAWK: DISPLACING HEROES

Like Erdrich and Alexie, Bunky Echo-Hawk draws attention to John Wayne's physical embodiment of colonized space, successfully turning this very same "body" back upon itself. Alexie revealed an unexpectedly intimate John Wayne body and rewrote him as a contradictory set of romantic relationships, sexualities, and gendering. In contrast to Alexie's intimate exposure and elaboration of Wayne (at one point in Etta Joseph's story, she describes his penis), Echo-Hawk flattens the icon both visually and conceptually, drawing attention to the contours of the historically racialized landscape from which his celebrity emerges. Following in the work of the clown, Echo-Hawk appropriates Wayne's image and suggests a more critical relationship with the cultural icon. He effectively mirrors the concerns outlines by Heap of Birds' installation art as his painting turns attention to the ongoing production of colonial geographies, re-signaling Wayne as both actor and political individual.

Bunky Echo Hawk (Pawnee/Yakima) takes aim at John Wayne in a painting he calls "Your Hero." Through his work, he argues that the institution of John Wayne is "deeper than movies" and actively uses the "mass media against itself" (Echo-Hawk 2006). In "Your Hero," Echo Hawk "mis-colors" Wayne, using bright pastels with

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trip and adequate preparation with vaccinations. They tell the young men that for reservation residents,

little detail or embellishment (see Figure 4.2 below). Following the directly critical approach taken by Erdrich, Echo-Hawk's painting pushes back against Wayne's iconicity as a hero, suggesting that he represents something less than heroic, particularly in context of spatial productions. Using simplified color schemes and flattened depth, he recasts Wayne as a sort of cartoon; a simplified representation that deserves a simple and direct response.

Echo-Hawk initially created his painting as a means of relieving family tensions, yet it offers important insight into the connections between mass media, the production of space, and cultural/racial identities. Echo-Hawk created "Your Hero" after having several difficult, uncomfortable interactions with his (non-native) fiancé's father. During visits with her family, his future father-in-law continually referenced John Wayne movies as a way to try and connect with Echo-Hawk. For Echo-Hawk, John Wayne's movies presented disturbing and stereotypical representations of native peoples. The films actively (re)produced the "Indian," an American cultural symbol with which he felt not only unconnected, but outright opposed. Echo-Hawk looked forward to the creation of his new family and wanted to generate a genuine, mutually acceptable relationship with his father-in-law. Echo-Hawk decided to begin "Your Hero" (and later an entire series) as a way of "putting on [his] history professor hat" and launching some courageous family discussions (Echo-Hawk 2006).

While Echo-Hawk produced the painting to help facilitate a family discussion, he also understood its value and relevance to a larger audience. As my survey of John

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the US is "as foreign as it gets."

Wayne's symbolic value recalls, Echo-Hawk's father-in-law is not alone in his appreciation for Wayne or in his interpolation of the actor's western cultural meanings. "Your Hero" is thus notable as an artistic statement and as a point of family discussion precisely because it re-scripts John Wayne to produce an unfamiliar, perhaps even uncomfortable narrative about the actor and his symbolic cultural meanings. The piece prompts viewers to ask, "why would someone paint Wayne in such a way?," (if it does not simply anger them) and challenges them to recognize the boundaries they have constructed around Wayne's identity.[50]

In "Your Hero," Echo-Hawk composes Wayne out of bright pastel colors, producing a fashion flamboyancy never adopted by the actor or his characters, and possibly suggesting the kind of "non-normative" masculinity and male sexuality Alexie produces in his "Dear John Wayne." While all of his series tend to utilize vibrant color schemes, including his series of "Living ICONS" (honoring contemporary American Indian cultural figures) his paint choices conflict with Wayne's standard depiction in normatively-determined, un-ostentatious and "masculine" colors. Wayne's hat and scarf are bright green. Pink space looms above his head. A bright orange fills the spaces between his shoulders and curving (now seemingly undulating) cowboy hat brim. Wayne's face is contoured with intense shades of pink, perhaps feminizing his features, perhaps emphasizing and drawing attention to his Whiteness (via his non-brownness). Echo-Hawk's initial painting of John Wayne proved so successful that it quickly segued into a collection (initially

[50] Happily, Echo-Hawk's work successfully opened a healthy dialogue and initiated a more productive

called “Face Value”) appropriately named “Weapons of Mass Media” (Echo-Hawk 2006).[51]

“Your Hero” redeploys one of the nation’s most symbolic figures (John Wayne) to challenge the meanings of the American landscape. The painting actively engages in the contestation of hegemonic definitions of the space of the nation, offering a counter production of that same space. In Echo-Hawk’s appropriated version, Wayne becomes a symbol of articulation for the recovery of an indigenous landscape. John Wayne means indigenous geographies. Echo-Hawk’s textual insertions into his art indisputably challenge film viewers (and all non-natives) who feel they can remain at a safe distance from and feel “guilt-free” of the processes which (still, continually) allow them to occupy “stolen land.”

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relationship with his father-in-law, who is now one of his “biggest fans.”

[51] The series appropriates American popular culture institutions, like the *Star Wars* movies and news-talk celebrity Larry King. He features Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong remade as Darth Vader in one work, while another presents George Lucas’ Jedi-master character Yoda dressed as a Pawnee Straight (Traditional) Dancer. Echo-Hawk presents an interview between historical Hunkpapa Lakota leader Sitting Bull and Larry King, as a live-news “ticker” “scrolls” across the bottom of the “screen” mentioning trust mismanagement in the new Bureau of Iraqi Affairs. See www.bunkyechohawk.com.

Figure 4.5: "Your Hero" (2004)
(Bunky Echo Hawk)

In contrast to Echo-Hawk's rendering of Wayne, we might consider a United States Postal Service production (see Figure 4.3) issued in the same year (on August 11) that Echo-Hawk produced "Your Hero."[52] Both Echo-Hawk's version and the image created for the Postal Service were based on the same black-and-white publicity photograph used to advertise the 1962 release of *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (United States Postal Service 2004a).[53] The USPS stamp was designed by Drew Struzan, a notable artist actively engaged in the visualization of Hollywood narrative (United States Postal Service 2004b) The press release announcing the John Wayne commemorative stamp pointed out that Struzan was Steven Spielberg's favorite artist and that his work was actively collected by *Star Wars* mogul George Lucas – and he has in fact worked for both men on many of their (fantastical) film projects.[54]

[52] The Postal Service initially printed 100 million of the stamps. They issued a limited edition of stamp puzzles again in 2007 which included the Struzan image (United States Postal Service 2007).
[53] This image was earlier re-presented (in 1995) by Tlingit artist Jesse Cooday in a painting titled "Wayne's World."
[54] See www.drewstruzan.com.

Figure 4.6: John Wayne Commemorative Stamp by Drew Struzan (2004)
(United States Postal Service)

While "Your Hero" presents a challenge to the hegemonic depiction and narrative value of Wayne, the Postal Service depiction (predictably) re-produces a standard, mainstream representation. The commemorative stamp aimed to honor John Wayne both as actor and as person, effectively (continuing the) merging his personal identity with that of his characters. US Postal Service Chief Financial Officer and Executive Vice-President Richard Strasser made such a link an explicit part of the presentation of the stamp. He affirmed: "courage, justice, and rugged individualism; these are the iconic American traits that John Wayne brought to his roles and his life" (United States Postal Service 2004a). Struzan likewise aimed for his trademark realism, re-coloring the black-and-white photograph following the color schemes of a Confederate soldiers uniform and the hues of Wayne's real-life hair, eyes, and skin. The Postal Service version also boldly labeled the top of the stamp with the actor's name in simple font, simulating a simple presentation of reality-as-it-exists. Yet the stamp simultaneously presents the actor in costume, dressed as the fictional, uniformed Confederate Army soldier Ethan Edwards from *The Searchers*.

In obvious contrast, Echo-Hawk writes he phrase "living guilt-free on stolen land" on the bottom half of "Your Hero."[55] The isolation of these terms neatly summarizes the project of American expansionism and manifest destiny, the articulated moralities of the core of the western film genre, as well as one of the ongoing major struggles many native peoples are engaged. Issues around land are critical to contemporary arguments about the retention and reclamation of cultural and

legal sovereignty. Using the terms "stolen land" suggests a discursive recovery or reclamation of that land. If the land is stolen, then it does not belong to those who claim it, and thereby it must belong to those from whom it was stolen. Just as Erdrich's Wayne asserted an insecure claim over the land ("everything we see belongs to us"), Echo-Hawk's Wayne-attributed claim clearly implies that the American landscape still belongs to native peoples (even if just counter-discursively).

The Postal Service stamp image explicitly depends upon the shared, common understanding of Wayne as a cultural hero, a figure deemed sufficiently revered to avoid being seen as controversial. Indeed, according to the selection criteria of the Citizen's Stamp Advisory Committee, all persons and things considered for commemoration must be suggested by the public, must have "widespread national appeal and significance," and must meet the committee's standards of being "consistent with public opinion" (United States Postal Service 2008a).[56] As if the re-creation of Wayne's cowboy persona were not enough to secure colonial narratives about space and Indianness, the Postal Service also offered (on August 21, 2004) a series of stamps featuring "American Indian art." As Ohnesorge points out, the art series relied heavily on standard notions of Indianness. They featured the generally accepted authentic forms of traditional (read: practiced in the past) native content and mediums established at least since the earliest anti-modernist movements of the 1930s

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[55] The words "Guilt-Free" and "Land" are written in red, potentially referencing the violence (blood) required to extract lands from native control.

[56] The Postmaster General appoints the Citizen's Stamp Advisory Committee to evaluate public-generated suggestions for stamps. The year that Wayne was selected, the fourteen-member committee included former Notre Dame basketball coach Richard "Digger" Phelps and actor Karl Malden. Harvard professor Henry Louis Gates joined the committee in December of 2004. See Feeney (2004).

(especially those focused on the Southwest) – "tribal dolls, textiles, and ceramics" (2008: 53). As Echo-Hawk proclaims: "The battlefield is just more abstract now and sprawls through every facet of our life. We are still fighting to retain our basic human rights, keep our land, restore our languages and religions, and maintain our identity. Our ancestors may have lost the battle against colonization, but we continue to fight against its effects" (Echo-Hawk 2008).

CONCLUSION

In a poem called "How to Write the Great American Indian Novel" (1996), Alexie laments the American desire to simultaneously claim Indianness, to displace and replace actual American Indian peoples, and to erase the contradictions of colonization. Indeed, Indians are not actually people at all, but anthropomorphized spatial relationships. In a (hetero-)sexualized scene, he proclaims that "when the Indian man unbuttons his pants, the white woman should think of topsoil" (Swann 1996: 28). On the final line, after recounting myriad Indian story tropes, such as "Indians must see visions" and "Indians always have secrets," he tells the reader that in the great American Indian novel "all of the white people will be Indians and all of the Indians will be ghosts" (Alexie 1996: 28-29).[57] Alexie reminds us that the appropriation of Indianness (geographically or otherwise) actively perpetuates colonization, as it erases the contemporary social and political existence of native peoples, in effect leaving them to exist only as "ghosts."

[57] In *The Business of Fancydancing* (2003) protagonist Seymour Polatkin reads this poem to non-native audience.

Erdrich, Alexie, Echo-Hawk, and Heap of Birds help draw attention to the intersection between Indianness and the production of colonial space. As Clark and Powell point out, the simulacra Indian becomes "hyperreal or "more real than real" native people (2008: 10, 14-15). As a European/American concept, the Indian still allows the US to discursively incorporate native people even as it denies them spatial reality. Indians thus textually mark physical spaces of the nation, most notably in places where actual native people are largely (made) absent. While Indians abound, actual native nations must constantly negotiate and struggle to retain and reclaim their rights of sovereignty.

These artists work to reveal the processes of spatial production, especially as it is articulated through mass media such as film, largely through the figure of the Indian. Western films stand as one of the most prolific and effective media to articulate the narrative of American colonization. While recent counterculture has rejected some of the original narrative structures, the production of western space remains under-contested. All four of the artists discussed here work to make colonial productions uninhabitable spaces, and to make anti-colonization normative. Following Stuart Hall's understanding (following Gramcsci) of the value of contesting representation, the artists render both the Indian and the uncritical occupation of native lands "ridiculous," thus hoping to disable their availability as legitimate narrations (Hall 2002). They are engaged in spatially focused counter-hegemonic work; work that is aiming not just to replace one dominant narrative with another, but rather to be critical of how all narratives shape the very spaces we inhabit.

CONCLUSION

Early on the morning of August 4, 2005, several groups of native Californians gathered along the foggy shore of the San Francisco Bay to welcome indigenous visitors from the other side of the Pacific Ocean.[1] They sang, dance, and spoke for an incoming boat full of Maori ambassadors from Aotearoa, or New Zealand. The Maori and Ohlone (most directly) engaged in long-standing traditional "protocols" for entering another people's land (Striplen 2006). The Maori asked for permission for entrance, their request was granted, and representatives from both sides of the ocean exchanged ceremonial greetings. That monumental trans-Pacific indigenous meeting unapologetically proclaimed the persistence of indigenous geographies globally. The groups celebrated their shared cultural and spatial continuation and reciprocated recognition.

The meeting between native communities from distant parts of the world dramatically manifested the kinds of cultural sovereignty and spatial presence shared by the artists' work discussed in chapter four. The gathering honored indigenous geographies, ceremonially recognizing what (and those peoples who) are discursively and legally denied by the nations occupying their homelands. The meeting also stood in direct contrast to the ways that Indianness is inhabited in chapters two (through mascotting and school naming) and four (through street naming). The Maori asked for permission to share their culture and to partake in those of their California hosts. They

[1] See Striplen (2006). The welcoming delegation included members from the Ohlone, Hupa, Yurok, Karuk, Pomo, Coast Miwok, Tongva-Ajachmem, Chumash, Northern Mewuk, Tlingit, and Wintu.

actively refused the convenience of presuming a US nation-state established through colonization, which could enable them to simply arrive unannounced and without regard for the native peoples of that land. They came to share their art, but they also carried with them an indigenous sense of space.

I end with this story because it exemplifies indigenous spatial practices and frames the purpose of my research. My training in ethnic studies demands that I account for how the scholarly contributions I intend to make are relevant beyond the intellectual exercise. Who does this research impact and how? Why should anyone care if this work is completed or not? Answering these questions is doubly important when working with issues that affect American Indian peoples and communities. This is a personal, moral reflection on the century-plus worth of academic work that has pilfered and damaged the kinds of communities where I come from and that I aim to strengthen. Being sure that one's work is responsible from conception to execution simply fulfills the justifiable expectations of accountability and responsibility most native communities hold for scholars. The labor and trust of non-academics and everyday community members constantly subsidize the work of intellectuals. Thus, we owe them each our best contributions and our intellectual courage. These moral requisites apply even in a work as theoretical and non site-specific as mine. Perhaps more so.

This dissertation speaks to a wide community of scholars and non-academics interested in social justice generally, and American Indian or indigenous colonialism specifically. Because my work focuses on culture, it asks all of us to reconsider our

assumptions and activities, especially as it pertains to our spatial practices. This is not merely an exercise in self-reflection, however, as issues of identity and space become increasingly significant in a shrinking global community. Our assumptions and practices are exceedingly important to a growing number of indigenous communities that seem to be finally gathering the collective strength to begin a potentially astounding decolonization effort.

The cultural and spatial exchange on the San Francisco Bay nicely reiterates one of the key concerns of my research – the recognition of indigenous geographies – but also suggests at least one intriguing way that the study might be extended. Since scholars from outside of the United States generate a great deal of the work on indigenous geography, it seems logical to consider a comparative, transnational project that examines the spatial practices of current settler colonies, namely the United States, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia, but only so long as community concerns are not superseded by international ones. Such a study might reveal productive nuances that differentiate how indigenous geographies are expressed and how they are appropriated in these English settler colonies. It might also contribute to the growing interest in global indigenous identities and political activism. As the Maori-California gathering clearly indicates, such developments already circulate widely across and through a variety of indigenous communities.

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