



Do You Consider Me a Native?

The negotiation of ethnic and cultural identity
among Native Americans in San Diego County

Isabel Beijsens

Do You Consider Me a Native?

The negotiation of ethnic and cultural identity
among Native Americans in San Diego County

Isabel Beijnsens

Universiteit Utrecht



Master Thesis 2015

Multiculturalisme in Vergelijkend Perspectief

Isabel Beijnsens

3744000

I.Beijnsens@students.uu.nl

Mentor: Prof. Dr. Y. van der Pijl

Y.Vanderpijl@uu.nl



Contents

Acknowledgements	i
List of abbreviations	ii
List of figures	iii
1. Introduction	1
Motivation and the problem	1
Research population	2
Research aim	3
Research question and methodology	7
Index chapters	9
2. Representations and meanings of the community and communities	11
Reflection	19
3. Emic perspective of the Native American ethnic and cultural identity	21
Reflection	35
4. Belonging and recognition within the community and communities	37
Reflection	49
5. Native perspective of the non-Native perspective	51
Reflection	59
6. Conclusion	61
Epilogue	67
References	69
Appendix I	73

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I want to thank Carlos, Eva and Amelia seen that they have contributed the most to ensuring I obtained enough data for my research. When David hardly pulled through with introducing me to new research participants, Carlos stepped up and tried his best to fulfil that role, making him one of my key informants. Moreover, when Eva found out I still hadn't been able to access any of the reservations, she offered to go to the Barona reservation with me seen that going alone as a non-Native and non-American researcher would not be very acceptable. There I learned a lot about the Kumeyaay tribe and I established a deeper rapport with Eva. Lastly, Amelia became one of my key informants and as an elder of the Native community she provided many important and relevant insights to my data. She was also very helpful in many ways, for example, she personally took me to the reservation she comes from, namely, the La Jolla Band of Indians reservation. The actions of all these three people helped my research process immensely.

Moreover, I would like thank all of my primary research participants Ryan, David, Megan, Olivia, Rebekah, Jessica, Teressa, Jim, Robyn, Caleb, Henry, Mia, Jacob and Alex, as well as all the other people I met along the way in San Diego County, and even in Arizona, who were willing to help me in any way or even answer some simple questions, thereby giving insights to several of my research topics.

Last but not least I want to thank my mentor Yvon van der Pijl who helped me every step of the way, from my research proposal during the beginning of this whole process, then mentoring me from a distance during my fieldwork experience, to helping me compose this intrinsic, yet very fulfilling thesis. I honestly enjoyed working with you.

Isabel Beijnsens, Utrecht 2015

List of abbreviations

AIM – American Indian movement or Red Power Movement

NASA – Native American Student Alliance

ITRC – Intertribal Resource Centre

UCSD – University California San Diego

SDSU – San Diego State University

NAC – Native American Council

UN – United Nations

Res – Reservation

MC – Master of Ceremonies

BIA – Bureau of Indian Affairs

List of figures

Cover. The Old Warrior Native American Indian [Wallpaper]. Retrieved from:
https://hdwallpapers.cat/wallpaper/the_old_warrior_native_american_indian_hd-wallpaper-483471.jpg

Portraits by Matika Wilbur (2015). “What is the essence of Native American identity?” Project 562 – to combat racism and create interest in Native Americans by showing how they maintain their identity in 21st century America [Photographs]. Retrieved from:
<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-2730959/The-world-modern-native-Americans-revealed-Stunning-photographs-Tulalip-Ohkay-Owingeh-Comanche.html>

Figure 1. Author Unknown (date unknown). Native American Reservation in San Diego County [Map]. Retrieved from:
http://www.kumeyaay.info/southern_calif_tribes/

Figure 2. Isabel Beijsens (2015). NASA’s office [Photograph].

Figure 3. Isabel Beijsens (2015). Wall of t-shirts in NASA’s office [Photograph].

Figure 4. Isabel Beijsens (2015). A corner of NASA’s office [Photograph].

Figure 5. Isabel Beijsens (2015). Wall of NASA’s office [Photograph].

Figure 6. Isabel Beijsens (2015). Regalia in the bookshelf in NASA’s office [Photograph].

Figure 7. Kiana Piranha (2015). Opening ceremony at the SDSU Powwow 2015 [Photograph]. Retrieved from:
<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10153248125115930&set=a.10153248115500930.1073741848.597080929&type=3&theater>

Figure 8. Author Unknown (2015). Drum group at the 5th Annual UCSD Powwow 2015 [Photograph]. Retrieved from:
http://ucsdnews.ucsd.edu/slideshow/page/5th_annual_ucsd_powwow_2015?utm_campaign=thisweek&utm_medium=web&utm_source=tw--web

Figure 9. Amigo Non Profit Films (2015). In coming powwow Princess at the 5th Annual UCSD Powwow 2015 [Photograph]. Retrieved from Kiana Piranha (2015). Dance competition at the SCSU Powwow 2015 [Photograph]. Retrieved from: <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10153248118250930&set=a.10153248115500930.1073741848.597080929&type=3&theater>

Figure 10. Kiana Piranha (2015). Dance competition at the SCSU Powwow 2015 [Photograph]. Retrieved from: <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10153248118250930&set=a.10153248115500930.1073741848.597080929&type=3&theater>

Figure 11. Author Unknown (2013). Vendor at the Museum of Ontario Archaeology Annual Traditional Powwow & Native Harvest Festival [Photograph]. Retrieved from: <http://museumpowwow.ca/activities/vendors/>

Figure 12. G. Ballard (2005). San Diego County Kumeyaay Gathering. Yuman Family of Bird Singers and Bird Dancers [Photograph]. Retrieved from: <http://www.kumeyaay.info/history/>

Figure 13. Hulleah J. Tsinhnahjinnie (2003). Portraits against Amnesia: Hoke-tee. There is a girl in space symbolizing the search for new life. Western people didn't acknowledge it the first time. Will they now? [Print] Retrieved from: <http://www.hulleah.com/Images/Portraits%20Against%20Amnesia/amnesiafmst.htm>

Figure 14. Hulleah J. Tsinhnahjinnie (2010). Double Vision: Today I was thinking... It symbolizes the two worlds in which the Natives have to live. The buffalo are the traditions and customs, and Ronald McDonald is the modern ways that are used to push capitalism [Print]. Retrieved from: <http://www.hulleah.com/Images/Double%20Vision/DV-frameset.html>

Figure 15. Author Unknown (2015). 1st Edition of the UC San Diego 5th Annual Powwow [Flyer].

Figure 16. Author Unknown (2015). 2nd Edition of the UC San Diego 5th Annual Powwow [Flyer].

Figure 17. Greg's Texas (2015). Woman holding pipe [Photograph]. Retrieved from:
<https://www.facebook.com/GregsTexas/photos/a.829223137150181.1073742040.161291653943336/829226423816519/?type=3&theater>

Figure 18. Greg's Texas (2015). Women performing a ceremony [Photograph]. Retrieved from
<https://www.facebook.com/GregsTexas/photos/a.829223137150181.1073742040.161291653943336/829224083816753/?type=3&theater>

Figure 19. Greg's Texas (2015). Men around a drum with headdress on [Photograph]. Retrieved from
<https://www.facebook.com/GregsTexas/photos/a.829223137150181.1073742040.161291653943336/829224773816684/?type=3&theater>

Figure 20. Author Unknown (2015). A culturally diverse illustration of numerous Native American tribes [Image]. Retrieved from Jim's PowerPoint Presentation.

Figure 21. Author Unknown (2014). Images of American sports mascots [Image]. Retrieved from
<http://nativenewsonline.net/currents/firsthand-account-reed-colleges-2014-vine-deloria-jr-lecture-series-native-american-mascots/>

Figure 22. Author Unknown (date unknown). Carlisle Boarding School with added text [Photograph]. Retrieved from Jim's PowerPoint Presentation.

Figure 23. Author Unknown (date unknown). Forever 21 headdress [Image]. Retrieved from
<https://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2015/05/18/keene-forever-21-sells-headdress-again-160400>

Figure 24. Author Unknown (date unknown). Urban Outfitters' 'energy-balancing smudge kit' [Image]. Retrieved from
<http://www.dailydot.com/opinion/urban-outfitters-native-american-cultural-appropriation/>

Chapter 1

Introduction

*“If our struggle is anything, it is a struggle for sovereignty, and 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.” – Robert Allen Warrior (Osage)*¹

Motivation and the problem

The Native American community in North America has suffered immensely at the hands of the *White man* ever since Columbus set foot in the ‘New World’. While some perceive it as a discovery, the Native community can only describe it as an invasion, which led to a down-spiralling history for them. The Native American tribes were threatened to extinction due to European diseases, slavery, war, genocide and their forced removal to reservations. By the late 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, the American government opted for the total assimilation of the remaining Native Americans into the existent dominant and (supposedly) ‘homogenous culture’ through education at various boarding schools throughout the country. Children were forcibly removed from their families since it was believed that these families were not capable to raise their own offspring. Once at the boarding schools, the children became completely disconnected with their natural, social and cultural environment and were no longer allowed to speak their languages, practice their religion, dress in a Native way or act in a Native way. The main aim was to force the Native Americans to abandon their own traditional cultures and ethnic identity in favour of Western norms and values, enabling the dissolution of the tribes, which were seen as savage and primitive.

The Red Power movement, also known as the American Indian Movement (AIM), of the 1970s and 1980s enabled the Native Americans to establish themselves, to a certain extent, as a ‘recognized’ and sovereign group within a national dimension, meaning the sociocultural dimension of North America’s society. They achieved tribal and cultural sovereignty, yet how does it stand now? What does it mean to be Native American? Who can call themselves

¹ (Endreson 2001:209).

Native American and why? Which factors contribute to the formation of this identity? And how do the Natives maintain or revive traditions, and at the same time reconcile them with modern ways? While conducting research for my research proposal, I had noticed that very little had been written about these topics in contemporary scientific publications, which intrigued me even more. Research regarding Native American identity formation and processes of globalization “is still in its initial stages, and much of this research is legal and historical rather than ethnographic” (Strong 2005:255). Hence, my search began and I contacted several organizations in the United States of America in search of a fitting group of research participants, and eventually found myself in San Diego County working along with the Native American Student Alliance (NASA), also known as the Intertribal Resource Centre (ITRC), located at the University of California San Diego (UCSD). I shall use this organization as my case study and work out the rest of my findings around it. My research period consisted of a three-month fieldwork experience among the Native Americans from the beginning of February of 2015 until the end of April of 2015.

Research population

Most of the Natives in San Diego County live in the urban area, yet the county also contains the biggest agglomeration of small-scale reservations in all of America, with a total of eighteen reservations (see Fig. 1), namely, Barona, Campo, Captain Grande (currently unoccupied hence not depicted on the map), Cuyapaípe (‘Ewíiaapaayp), Inaja & Cosmit, Jamul Indian Village, La Jolla Band of Indians, La Posta, Los Coyotes, Manzanita, Mesa Grand, Pala, Pauma & Yuma, Rincon, San Pasqual, Santa Ysabel, Sycuan, and Viejas. These reservations are mostly comprised of three tribal groups designated Kumeyaay, Luiseño, and Diegueño, whom all belong to the overarching group of the Band of Mission Indians. Those who do not belong to one of these three groups live on the San Diego reservations mostly due to intermarriage. Out of all of these reservations, I visited the Barona, Pala and the La Jolla Band of Indians. Moreover, during a small weekend trip to the Grand Canyon, Arizona, I was fortunate to see the Navajo and Hopi reservations first hand, and compare them to those I had visited in San Diego. This comparison provided me with further insights that were vital to exploring notions of ethnic and cultural identity within the Native American community. Unfortunately, I was not able to go to the Sycuan reservation due to lack of research participants in that area. This reservation could have provided an interesting point of view because it had its own Kumeyaay Community College.



Fig. 1

The urban Natives I have met in the city of San Diego came from different areas of the country, either having moved to San Diego themselves or having been born there after their parents had moved. I have met a total of fifteen urban Natives from various different tribes, namely, Navajo, Ojibwa, Comanche, Peoria, Iroquois, Cherokee, Modoc, Muscogee, Inupiaq Eskimo, Oglala Lakota, Seneca, Pascua Yaqui, among others, which offered me a deeper insight into the existent disputes and dynamics regarding the negotiation of the Native American ethnic and cultural identity seen that each tribe has different views and perspectives on this regard.

Research aim

The aim of this thesis is to gain insight on how the Native Americans in the city of San Diego, as well as the nearby reservations place themselves amidst a pluralism of diverse beliefs and behaviours, through negotiating notions of ethnic and cultural identity, and have it recognized by others. While writing my research proposal, I had two assumptions I was working with. Firstly, that the main possible tensions existed between the Natives and non-Natives due to the Natives' long-term struggle to achieve tribal and cultural sovereignty and recognition. Secondly, I assumed that the biggest conflicting dynamic within the Native community occurred between the urban Natives and the reservation Natives, yet I soon realized that these dynamics were much more complex seen that the meshwork of the political game resided just as much within those groups as between them. All of these conflicts became very situational depending on which ethnic identity one would assume in a certain situation, namely the

identity which went in accordance with the *dominant discourse* where the Natives were seen as one big community, or the identity which went in accordance with the *processual discourse* where one's own tribal identity took precedence (cf. Baumann 1999 and Turner 1993). Further on, I shall explain this more thoroughly.

Hence, I shall try to portray how both 'groups' see each other, as well as the dynamics within each group, while focusing on the ways they reconcile modern and traditional ways in their daily lives. Being part of a modern society and trying to maintain long-lasting traditions, or maybe even reinvent them within a modern setting, has changed and affected the communities' ethnic and cultural identity when it comes to the loss or preservation of authenticity. Nonetheless, this is not a recent phenomenon seen that the Natives cultures are filled with adaptations and changes to their environment and to new challenges (Lauderdale 2008:1839) even before the White man arrived. Hence, change is sometimes inevitable. Baumann (1999:26) moreover states, "if culture is not the same as cultural change, then it is nothing at all." Culture can, thus, be seen as "the way humans, as cultural creators, make sense of the world", rejecting a static or essentialist view of culture as something fixed and immutable (Kymlicka in Eriksen 1994:180). Amelia, an elder (and former member of the Tribal Council) of the La Jolla band of Indians, who also works as a consultant at UCSD and works along with students involved with NASA, explained:

"It's just living in two worlds and trying to find a balance. One must always stay true to oneself but one must also adapt and that is what we have always done. My father used to say – we must learn the ways of the White man so we can play along with their game."

The preservation (or reconstruction) of authenticity can be placed within the whole cultural homogenization and cultural preservation discourse seen that the Natives have fought hard to preserve their culture, despite all the setbacks in the past and present. As Luke claims, "traditions are always open to human *agency*" (in Heelas 1996:8, my italics), which signifies the negotiation and construction of traditions within the modern context as a way to *co-exist*. Nonetheless, the co-existence still has not been fully achieved because much still has to happen for Natives to be considered equal and to achieve full recognition, and much still has to happen within the Native community to achieve the 'balance' that Amelia spoke about.

The academic relevance of this thesis is to contribute to the whole previously mentioned discourse by demonstrating the dynamics and interconnectedness of traditional ways with modern ones. Within this whole discourse, a very interesting aspect comes to the surface, namely authenticity and the search for 'false faces', as Nagel (2000) would put it, seen that

every Native or tribe has a different perspective. This brings me to the social relevance of this thesis, namely to bring more awareness for Native history, to bring more awareness for understanding one another and, as Caleb, a Pascua Yaqui PHD student in the art of dancing at UCSD, put it, “to not negate another person’s experiences or story.” Moreover, through this thesis I hope to bring awareness to the extreme conditions many Natives still find themselves in.

The previously mentioned measures taken by the White man in the past have caused several repercussions for countless Natives in San Diego County in our present day. Jim and Teressa, the prior being a former NFL player and Hollywood actor and present-day teacher at San Diego State University (SDSU) from the Oglala Lakota tribe, and the latter an Alaskan Native now studying in San Diego and a former member of NASA, both argue that many Natives continue to suffer from issues of lack of recognition, distorted feelings of belonging or longstanding traumas of being told they are worth nothing and will never become anything. This has resulted in high rates of alcohol and drug abuse, as well as high rates of suicides. I have encountered some people who have struggled with these issues or are now fighting hard to help prevent them through giving back to their communities or even through setting up suicide prevention campaigns, like Hope4Alaska, which has turned into a non-profit organization reaching reservations nationwide. Although having achieved tribal and cultural sovereignty, the Native Americans are still struggling to find their way to lead their lives and the government has not done much to ease their lives. Many non-Natives believe that Natives have several special rights and access to money (scholarships and casino’s), yet, according to Jim, an average income of a family on a poor reservation like his own in South Dakota, Pine Ridge Reservation, is still US\$6,000 a year, considering that not all the reservations have the means to build casinos or prosper on their own. Moreover, they receive the worst health benefits in the country, reaching even lower levels than criminals in prisons. As Jim put it, “by design we are supposed to disappear”. Yet, as a way to fight back Jim established the Warrior Society Development where he teaches children Native customs or various types of sports. He, moreover, coordinates an Indian Rehabilitation program, and engages in consulting and public speaking over numerous topics, namely, cross cultural issues, team building strategies, and motivational speeches for Native Youth and Tribal organizations.

Many of the conflicts and tensions result from discrimination, a lack of understanding or non-recognition between the Natives and non-Natives, yet within the Native community itself there are as many, or maybe even more, disputes among themselves which could only be best described as an intertwined and complex political game of pointing fingers regarding who can be considered Native and who cannot. An old Oglala Lakota phrase, namely *Mitakuye*

Oyasin, has several meanings, one of them being, “we are all related.” It is an underlying belief of interconnectedness with all creation and it is considered a prayer of oneness and harmony with all forms of life: other people, animals, birds, insects, trees and plants, even rocks, rivers, mountains and valleys. While this may be said in ideology, I have encountered during my research that it is not exactly implemented in practice. In other words, the Natives are quite as harsh with each other, considering that plentiful are discriminated against due to their lighter or darker skin tone, while curiously enough, inter-tribal and mixed offspring seem to be on the rise. Moreover, urban Natives are often confronted with being seen as an outsider seen that they do not know what it is to live on a reservation or did not grow up with their culture often losing themselves within modern society because they find it hard to reconcile modern and traditional life. In sum, all of them are involved in an extremely complicated political game of who is Native and who is not, by demonstrating their *Nativeness* through tribal membership, blood quantum, cultural knowledge and authenticity. To this, Nagel (2000:95) argues that, “given the constructed nature of ethnicity and reality generally, there is no paucity of answers to questions about who is really a [Native], and there is a dearth of consensus about which answers are sound.” Hence, I wish not to determine whether someone is a Native or not, but to explore, understand and outline the *dialectical* nature and complexities of the emic perspective the Native Americans of San Diego in the city and the nearby reservations have regarding their ethnic and cultural identity and notions of authenticity in our contemporary modern world.

Two important concepts will be central to this thesis, namely ethnic identity and cultural identity. For clarity in this thesis, the definition of ethnic identity, or in other words, ethnicity that I am going to assume here is “a dialectical process involving internal and external opinions and processes, as well as the individual’s self-identification and outsiders’ ethnic designations [regarding language, religion, culture, appearance, ancestry or regionality (Nagel 1997:73)] – that is what *you* think is your ethnicity, versus what *they* think is your ethnicity” (Nagel 2000:83). As for culture, I found that Geertz’s definition was the most suitable to explain and explore the dialectical process of the emic perspective of the Native Americans in San Diego. Geertz (1973:89) defines culture as “a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life.” I shall, furthermore, analyse and explain which factors (internal or external) influence the formation of these notions. These can be the media, important actors, tribal membership, blood quantum, tourism, and et cetera.

Research question and methodology

In order to answer the research question, namely, “*How do Native Americans in the city of San Diego, as well as the Native Americans in the nearby reservations, negotiate notions of ethnic and cultural authenticity, after the Native American political struggle of the 1970s and 1980s?*”, I made use of method triangulation, otherwise known as a combination of different methods, in order to gain an emic perspective of the ethnic and cultural authenticity and identity of the Native Americans in San Diego and the nearby reservations. Seen that I have done research within an urban setting, as well as outside of it in the reservations, it can be considered a *multi-sited research*. Falzon (2009:1-2) indicates that “its objective [is] the study of social phenomena that cannot be accounted for by focusing on a single site. [...] The essence of multi-sited research is to follow people, connections, associations, and relationships across space.”

Through *participant observation*, ‘*being there*’ and *informal conversations*, I was able to gain an understanding of the Native Americans’ emic perspective, namely their *tacit knowledge*, i.e. to understand the underlying reasons why people do what they do, act the way they act, say what they say, et cetera. I was fortunate to be able to attend several NASA meetings, two *powwows*², an Earth Day fair/festival at the La Jolla reservation, several workshops on Native American issues (discrimination, powwow songs, shawl-making, head staff³ at powwows) organized by the Native American Council (NAC) at UCSD, and a class on Native American art and regalia. Moreover, I have visited several museums, trading posts, and the Antelope Canyon on Navajo country. There was one place which I thought would be really beneficial for me to visit, namely Soaring Eagles, which I shall come back to later, yet I never had the opportunity to do so because of the lack of *rapport* – i.e. “both the informant and researcher have a genuine interest in asking, listening and answering questions” (Boeije 2009:62) through a trustful relationship – with my research participants or lack of their time.

In order to gain more contacts, I applied the method of *snowball sampling* to gain more participants, or in other words, a method where the people you know introduce you to new people within the research population. At first, this did not go as smooth as I thought it would seen that David, a student at UCSD and this year’s president of NASA, did not inform his fellow members of my arrival, yet eventually, after a month or so I was able to expand my network. However, as I have mentioned, I never achieved a full and deep *rapport* with my

² A powwow is a social and cultural gathering of Northern American Native people.

³ The head staff are the people who run the event and are generally hired by the powwow committee several months in advance, seen that it can impact the levels of attendance. To be chosen as head staff is a high honor within the community, because it shows respect for the person’s skills and dedication.

research participants as I had hoped I would, but I believe that had to do with my research setting. Due to the urban setting I found myself in, I was not able to reside with my research participants seen that they all lived apart from each other. The main places I conducted my research was at the office NASA had at UCSD, and at some on the nearby reservations, although I only gained access to these reservations during my final weeks; hence I had also not established enough rapport with the reservation Natives to stay there either. It must be added that the names of most research participants have been changed in order to secure their anonymity. However, I could not assure the anonymity of two of my participants seen that I speak of their organisations. As a result, I was allowed to use their real identity.

Another issue that was a problem for many Natives at first was the fact that in America, Natives see anthropology as equivalent to archaeology, seen that both courses are taught under one department, contrary to Europe's methods. Many Natives believed that I wanted to dig up their ancestors and that is one of the highest signs of disrespect. If anyone were ever to do so, many ceremonies and cleansing rituals would have to be performed. During my first week at UCSD, I soon found out that the Kumeyaay hardly want anything to do with that University because there is an ancient burial site on campus, which, according to them, the anthropologists have hijacked. Firstly, the Kumeyaay believe that the anthropologists are handling their ancestors with disrespect, and secondly, they are outraged because the anthropologists claim that the remains are not the Kumeyaay's ancestors. As a result, one will never encounter a Kumeyaay at UCSD campus. As one can tell, trust is a big issue among the Native community, and not for any reason. Even me being a non-Native and non-American researcher was sometimes regarded with some scepticism. Brian, a non-Native from Northern California, explained that even he knew that a white person could not just go to a reservation and say they want to do research. One needs contacts and trust for that. The main concern I hold with having analysed and explored the various dynamics involving ethnic and cultural identity within the Native community is that I sincerely hope I do not offend anyone in any way, or even break relations between people.

In order to answer my first sub-question, I went to libraries and archives to gather all the information that has been written about the Native American community countrywide or specifically to San Diego County. Nonetheless, seen that I made the decision to put more effort into building rapport with my research participants, I was not able to conduct a more thorough exploration in this regard. As a result, I have decided to combine my first and second sub-questions. To answer the final edited versions of all my sub-questions (see appendix D), I resorted to *informal conversations*, *structured interviews*, as well as *life history* interviews. While I did conduct a couple of structured interviews, most of them were informal

conversations while I was attending a workshop, a powwow or visiting one of the reservations, for example. During my trip to the Antelope Canyon, we had a guide walk us through the canyon and I took the opportunity to ask her several questions seen that she was Navajo. Only with the people with whom I had established enough rapport did I eventually conduct life history interviews, which enabled me to gain a deeper insight into the lives and perspectives of my research participants considering that a person's history can say much about how they are, perceive and act in the present day. I have also made use of *visual* media, either what has been displayed in their offices, museums, or other important areas, as well as what has been portrayed about them. One of my focuses was to examine and analyse the images and objects they had displayed and explore the meaning the Natives attributed to them. Some of the issues in my sub-questions required a more expert point of view, namely when it came to powwows, because not many people were acquainted with powwow protocol; hence I arranged some *expert interviews* more towards the end of the research period. All of the data I use for this thesis comes from the informal conversations, structured interviews, life history interviews, expert interviews during my research period, as well as visual media (emails, flyers, Facebook pages, websites, books, et cetera) and the events I attended.

Index chapters

The structure of the thesis shall be the following. The next chapter will discuss the meanings and representations of Native Americans that I come across, and how these vary per Native, per tribal community and in the overarching essentialistic view of the Native community, within the context of NASA. Chapter three shall go into the emic perspective the Native Americans in San Diego County have regarding their ethnic and cultural identity, and how they reconcile traditional and modern ways. Chapter four shall discuss the longstanding racial essentialism and discrimination within the Native community towards those who are not seen as 'authentic Natives' and the search for 'false faces'. Chapter five will provide a Native perspective on the non-Native perspective towards the Natives, through experiences, stories, media, et cetera. This shall be followed by a thorough conclusion, an epilogue, a bibliography and an appendix with the sub-questions used for this thesis.

Chapter 2

Representations and meanings of the community and communities

“The Native community is much more complex than you may think.” – Rebekah (a Black Native American from the Muscogee tribe, former UCSD student and former NASA member)

After enduring nearly two centuries of government policies directed at the forcible removal and assimilation of the Native Americans, followed by an intense period of tradition (re)-construction, rejuvenation and finding a balance between modern and historic identity during and after AIM (American Indian movement), the Native Americans in San Diego have been through a rough process of “structuring [their] institutions to combine traditional ways of thinking with contemporary challenges and developing strategies to meet current as well as future needs of tribal communities” (Endreson 2001:209). This has been carried out “[...] through a general understanding of sovereignty that is generated from *within* tribal societies and carries a cultural meaning consistent with those traditions” (Endreson 2001:197). This chapter will provide a contextual layout of the several meanings, representations and contradictions within the whole dynamic of ethnic and cultural identity related to notions of sovereignty and Baumann’s (1999) *dual discursive competence*, while using NASA as the main case study in question.

NASA is one of the numerous organizations throughout the country that is dealing with these processes of negotiating the meaning of ethnic and cultural identity, by means of interacting with the diverse urban Natives and reservation Natives located within San Diego County itself, as well as other Natives throughout the country. This organization is located at UCSD and prides itself to be part of the way Natives represent themselves towards the Native community, as well as the non-Native community through its events, members and achievements. On its website, the members of the organization describe it as “a Native student organization that focuses on Native American communities, culture, and issues. [They] facilitate the education surrounding Native issues at UCSD, while maintaining a

community and a safe space for Native students on campus. Additionally, [they] strive to build relations with Native communities in San Diego, California and nationwide.”⁵

During my many visits to campus, I explored several of its facilities, including the bookstore, library, Peterson’s Hall and NASA’s office, where I acquired much information and many impressions, providing me with several insights when it comes to Native peoples’ perspectives and approaches. Books in a library (or lack of them), images, objects, narratives and sayings can say a lot about a person (or a group) without them even having to speak about their own opinion, perspectives or meanings. DeWalt and DeWalt (2011:1) describe this as *explicit knowledge* seen that it can be acquired through logical deduction from objective forms such as books, drawings and documents. Yet, the interesting dimension is: do these perspectives go in accordance with the Natives’ *tacit knowledge*, otherwise known as the opinions, perspectives and meanings which cannot be understood without the ‘knowing subject’.

Upon entering NASA’s office for the first time, I noticed it had the appearance one would think an Intertribal resource centre would have, namely a room filled with Native American paintings, maps, objects, regalia, books, spreads, and so on (see Fig. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6).



Fig. 2

Straight across the doorway, there is a bookcase stacked with books about several different topics, namely, the history and information on certain tribes, traditional medicine, storytelling, AIM, et cetera. Some of them I recognized from when I was carrying out research for my research proposal, i.e. Joanne Nagel’s (1997) *American Indian Ethnic*

⁵ <http://www.nativestudents.com/>, Accessed: 27-05-2015.

Renewal: Red Power and the Resurgence of Identity and Culture, as well as Vine Deloria's (1984) *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty*. The room, furthermore, contains several paintings of i.e. Apache leader Geronimo, Blackfoot warriors, as well as a colourful dream catcher and tipi tent surrounded by numerous tribal names. Also hanging on the walls are numerous t-shirts containing texts such as, "Honouring tradition through academic excellence", "Dream the impossible", or remembering previous powwow's, and finally some of them honoured the local tribes, with one in particular listing the numerous Kumeyaay, Luiseño, and Diegueño reservations in San Diego County, with "I'm going to College" written above.



Fig. 3

In the far corner of the room, there is a quite elaborate cartographic map produced by the National Geographic Magazine, depicting the various tribes existent in North and Central America, each with their own distinct image, as well as a small narrative explaining their background and characteristics. Next to it is a poster listing numerous Native events, among others the UCSD Powwow on the 3rd and 2nd of May, workshops, and lectures, provided by NASA itself or NAC. Hanging on the door is a circular Sioux Standing Rock 'balance wheel' with an illustration of their flag and below it, the date of 'July 1873', which was when the reservation was established. On top of shelves and bookcases are several Hopi statuettes, painted pottery, and a trophy awarded by UCSD in 2014, in appreciation of "[their] outstanding efforts in furthering the spirit of diversity, equal opportunity and affirmative action at UC San Diego." Further objects are Navajo spreads covering the couches, as well as beaded bracelets, bundles of sage, tribal sticks with feathers and horns, and seashells, which are used as bowls, lying in the bookshelves. Finally, on the left-hand wall, there is a considerably big American flag, with a Native American hung over on his horse portrayed in the middle, as if in defeat.



Fig. 4

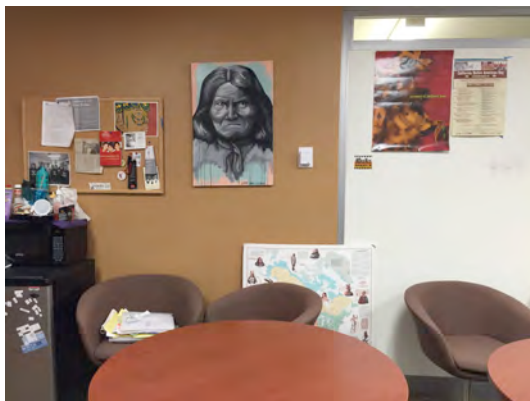


Fig. 5



Fig. 6

From the outset, all these books, images and objects from diverse tribes give the impression that NASA is an organization that is informed and quite varied in its cultural history and approach. All of its members are, furthermore, from distinct backgrounds as well, varying from Comanche, to Cherokee, Ojibwa, Modoc, Peoria, Navajo, Muscogee and Inupiaq Eskimo. Yet, even though there is variety, this organization also strives to be seen as one *community*. For Native Americans, the process of building a community is an essential part of the exercise of sovereignty, seen that representing themselves as a united front, and establishing relationships with other Native communities is part of the whole Native discourse. The vision of tribal sovereignty that they endorse, according to Endreson (2001:191-192), “ultimately depends upon the willingness of Indian nations⁶, including their leaders, attorneys, and citizens, to engage in a dialogue about what cultural sovereignty means and how it can be used to protect the collective future of Indian people.” (Baumann 1999:93) designates this the *dominant discourse* where one or others (seen that it is often also ascribed) can speak about one’s own culture or someone else’s, “as if it were tied and tagged baggage of [their] [...]

⁶ Endreson favors the term Indian nations because each tribe can be seen as a nation, and although that is true in the eyes of the Native community, I refer to Native tribes because that is the designation most of my research participants employed.

ethnic group.” In this sense, the Native cultural discourse is essentialized, by themselves or others, towards creating several stereotypes in order to be seen as a group or a homogeneous and fixed community.

In order to understand this notion of community, we must take a closer look at the concept of sovereignty and what it entails for the Native American community. Sovereignty can be simply defined by its control over a territory and of its population (Hansen and Stepputat 2005:2). Many anthropological conceptualizations understand sovereignty “as the monopoly to decide not only who is included and excluded from the political community, but also what order, security and normal life consists of, and what measures should be taken to restore them when these principles are threatened including, in the last resort, the power to decide matters of life or death (Agamben, 1998; Buur, 2006; Humphrey, 2007 in Sieder, 2011:162). Moreover, within the social sciences, sovereignty is mostly equated to the boundaries of a nation-state. Hansen and Stepputat (2006:16.10) argue “sovereign power exists in modern states alongside, and intertwined with, bio-political rationalities aiming at reproducing lives and societies as an ever-present possibility of losing one’s citizenship and rights and becoming reduced to a purely biological form.” Beck (2003:453-454) describes this as *methodological nationalism*, in other words, “a nation-state outlook on society and politics, law, justice and history, [which] governs the sociological imagination.” Yet, as Beck argues, this creates a very essentialistic point of view of actuality and “does not capture the blurring boundaries between political, moral, and social communities and thus fail the on-going experiment to create post-Westphalian transnational public spaces and citizens” (Beck 2003:455). Geertz also goes along these lines explaining that social scientists often fail to acknowledge that sovereignties can be found “in multiple and layered forms around the world” (Hansen and Stepputat 2006:16.15). In the case of the Native Americans, one can observe how multiple layers of sovereignties live side by side, if not always acknowledged as such.

Previously sovereign tribes, with no knowledge of other people across the oceans, suddenly became subjected to the White Mans’ governments self-proclaimed sovereign right to be able to do as they pleased with the Natives. During the 1960s and 1970s, a huge revolution took place, specifically, AIM, in order to take matters into their own hands, and achieve tribal and cultural sovereignty as one community, and to a certain extent, the Natives had achieved these rights and recognitions seen that they were “free to exercise sovereignty over their members and trust lands” (Endreson 2001:194). Jim had shown me during his workshop that, according to the American Constitution, Native tribes are supposed to be seen and acknowledged as equal to the Federal government. But it is the ‘*supposed to*’ that brings the whole issue towards another direction because, apparently, the Natives are “otherwise unable to protect

their reservations and interests from the actions of others [namely the government]” (Endreson 2001:194). The Native tribes are, in practice, wards of the nation and will always be vulnerable to restrictions on their sovereignty or maybe even its total annihilation. Moreover, the government forces each tribe to keep a count of their members by issuing tribal membership cards as a type of ID card. In order to instil and exercise their right to sovereignty, the Native Americans must work as one community, by building “social structures through which those communities exercise political, economic, and spiritual power along with responsibility” (Vine Deloria *in* Endreson 2001:199).

Nonetheless, it has also come to my attention that there is another discourse taking place alongside the dominant discourse, namely the *processual discourse*, where the Natives no longer feel part of the ‘big’ community and only see and portray themselves from a more local and tribal point of view. In the case of NASA, members are actually more engaged with their own tribal backgrounds and points of view, as opposed to a communal one or ‘whole’. Throughout my research, I had several conversations with NASA members regarding their opinions and meanings towards the images and objects present at NASA’s office. David only recently got in touch with his Cherokee roots and admits to the fact that he knows more about his own tribal history and regalia, as opposed to most of the things existent in NASA’s office. Ryan, a student at UCSD and the newest member of NASA, also only got in touch with his Ojibwa roots quite recently as well, and, likewise, hardly knew the meaning of any of the items either. Carlos, a student at UCSD and a long-time⁷ member of NASA, who is a great connoisseur of his own tribe the Comanche from Oklahoma, moreover, answered:

“I don’t know a lot of them, so I don’t know their meaning. Also, I completely don’t understand why that flag is hanging in the room. I believe that the Indian is a portrayal of the tribal wars but it looks like it has been defeated by America, so why is it hanging here? It’s not the message I would like to portray. I am going to mention in the next meeting that I want it taken down.”⁸

Eva, a Modoc student at UCSD studying to become a doctor, as well as a long-time member of NASA, added:

“Most of these things have been here for quite a while and were put here by other people. I don’t know more than half of them because I’m from Northern California and I know my tribal regalia. I don’t know that much about other peoples’ tribal images and objects.

⁷ Whenever long-time is mentioned it is usually referred to three or four years.

⁸ In addition to this comment, I would like to add that the flag was still hanging until the last day of my research period and that was at least several weeks after this comment.

Moreover, the flag is very peculiar as well. I don't understand what it is supposed to mean and I don't understand why we have a flag of America in the room."

And finally, Olivia, a Navajo student at UCSD and long-time member of NASA, said:

"I don't think anyone actually reads these books. I know I haven't. I am interested in doing so, but I just don't have the time."

In addition, I also enquired a lot about how each member viewed the others. Most did not seem to properly know one another, or even know which tribe the others were from for that matter. Some are often just busy with their own tribal governments and culture, or just trying to learn along the way, while others can be quite judgmental. An example of this is how Carlos would come up for his fellow NASA members if they were discriminated against for being too white, too black or not knowing the culture by people outside of NASA (mostly even Natives themselves), yet, if he would be amongst NASA members, he would sometimes discriminate just as hard. Here one can see a processual discourse, where identities are situational, contextual, or as Baumann puts it, cross cutting (1999:84). NASA members portray themselves as a community to the outside, but are different in many aspects on the inside, and depending on what situation they are in, they adopt the appropriate identity. The Native's can speak of their culture "as if it were plastic and pliable, something that is to be shaped rather than has been shaped, something you make rather than have" (Baumann 1999:94). This goes in accordance with what Endreson (2001:199) describes, namely, that it comprises a return to tradition in a dynamic form as opposed to an "unchanging and unchangeable set of activities." The presence of both discourses at once is what Baumann (1999) defines the dual discursive competence. In other words, the dominant discourse serves a notion of a reified, stereotypical and essentialized culture wanted by the media, politicians, leaders, and parents who wish to give their children a sense of cultural belonging and identity, whereas the processual discourse serves the remaking of culture for those who want to escape those stereotypes. One does not replace the other because it all depends on the meaning one wants to give to one's identity in a specific situation or context, if one wants to belong to the *community* or to one of the *communities* within the overarching *community*. Yet, as a result of these shifting identities, various conflicts existed within NASA itself, and can be seen as an example for the Native community everywhere.

Another interesting aspect to take into account is NASA's aim to build relationships with Native communities in San Diego, California, and nationwide, as NASA mentions on their website. While many efforts were taken to do so, it seemed that the harder they tried, the

more that these relationships seemed to implode in front of their faces. Firstly, NASA works alongside NAC when it comes to Native issues at UCSD. Nonetheless, one of the first conversations I had with David when I arrived in San Diego regarded a harsh dispute between NASA members and one NAC member in particular, Robyn. As an influential elder in the Native community and from the South Dakota tribe of the Lakota, Robyn seems to believe that she has the ultimate say when it comes to certain workshops, lectures or events, namely the Annual Powwow, although NASA insisted until the very end that the powwow was their sole responsibility. I participated in several of these affairs and soon realized that when it was organized by NASA, people of NAC would not attend, and vice-versa. Moreover, the attendance level at these events was quite low, mostly reaching eight to nine people per event, excluding the Annual Powwow, which says a lot about the reputation and presentation of both organizations. And finally, NASA and NAC hardly ever seem to meet eye to eye due to disputes regarding racial discrimination, as well as issues of distrust about tribal membership and blood quotas. These issues became further exacerbated when other organizations and Natives in San Diego became aware of these disputes. One in particular was an organization called Soaring Eagles, an Indian educational program for urban Natives, which was run by Robyn's friends Hannah. This illustrates the intricacy of all these relationships and how fragile or heated they can become. All these issues shall be discussed more thoroughly in the third chapter of this thesis, where issues of belonging, discrimination and recognition are explored.

Secondly, NASA has been working very hard to garner more Native American students within UCSD, yet several issues work against them. Basically, there are no Native American graduate, undergraduate or minor studies at UCSD⁹. Moreover, there are hardly any scholarships for Natives (although this has been worked on quite extensively), and last but certainly not least, the Kumeyaay have a longstanding feud with UCSD, seen that anthropologists have 'hijacked' an ancient burial site on campus, which the Kumeyaay claim to be theirs. This, in turn, has resulted in a very unstable relationship between NASA and the Kumeyaay tribal members. None of NASA's members or UCSD's Native students, as far as anyone knows, are from the Kumeyaay tribe because they feel extremely disrespected and discriminated against, hence they usually attend Sycuan's Kumeyaay Community College. This makes images such as the several t-shirts hanging in the ITRC seem quite ironic.

⁹ UCSD is one of the few universities in Southern California that offers none of these programs. San Diego State University (SDSU) and University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) are both examples of universities with exemplary Native American studies facilities, as well as the Kumeyaay Community College at the Sycuan reservation, which offers both Western and Native curriculums.

The target group one would think UCSD would like to establish a long lasting relationship with would be the several tribes surrounding UCSD and San Diego itself. Sometimes it seems like UCSD is keen to do so considering that one can find a very interesting exposition at Peterson Hall, a sizable lecture hall on campus, displaying several portraits of Kumeyaay Natives and photographs of their activities and livelihoods. Moreover, many books regarding local as well as national Native Americans and their tribes can be found at UCSD's extensive library. On the other hand, the bookstore on campus only holds a total of two books about Natives: one was about the history of the Natives in general and the other was a more specific account on the Kumeyaay of the area, purchased by me. In addition, all actions being taken to resolve the dispute of the ancient burial site only seemed to benefit those who wanted to dig it up and research it. Hence, although mildly trying to acknowledge their presence and worth, the Kumeyaay are not respected and UCSD does little to change that. After several conversations with NASA students, I realized that many non-Native UCSD students also hardly know there are Natives at this school or in this area. Whenever someone would state: "Well, I'm Native", most would reply: "No, you're not. You don't look Native at all." At the end of the day, there is always a contradiction between trying to recognize and respect the Native community, and undermining it at the same time, maybe sometimes out of pure disinterest or maybe out of lack of knowledge.

Reflection

With this chapter, I have tried to describe the complexities and intricacies of how ethnic and cultural identity is negotiated within the Native community and even between the Native and non-Native community. The dual discursive competence that Baumann (1999:95) outlines is the way in which he sees culture, namely "it is the conservative 're'-construction of a reified essence at one moment, and the path finding new construction of a processual agency at the next moment." As we can see from NASA, they try to portray themselves as a united front towards the rest of society, Native or non-Native. This type of reification may be desirable in order to, for example, effect mobilization and generate opportunities within UCSD for Native students. Nonetheless, when one takes a closer look, first appearances can sometimes be deceiving and the way NASA's members want to portray themselves can change situationally. One moment they may seem like a community, yet in another it can turn into a tense mess of disputes and contradictions. This is because 'having a culture', where NASA's members are seen as fixed into one specific pre-defined cultural boundary, isn't the same as 'making a culture' that signifies a more fluid notion of identity involving agency and the power to escape from the stereotyping of the dominant discourse. As I have shown, certain people would change their approach towards their identity in according to the surrounding

context to accommodate what is asked of them at that moment or how they feel like they should portray themselves. From this we can understand how identities can change situationally considering that “the individual carries a portfolio of ethnic [and cultural] identities which are more or less salient in various situations and vis-à-vis various audiences. This produces a ‘layering’ of ethnic identities which combines with the ascriptive character of ethnicity to reveal the negotiated, problematic nature of ethnic [and cultural] identity” (Nagel 2000:84). A further ascriptive character of ethnicity is to which extent non-Natives recognize and include the Natives or how Natives co-exist within modern society. Natives seek cultural preservation in many different shapes and forms, yet they are also often confronted with finding themselves within a process of homogenization where they need to conform to contemporary society and culture, or where they aren’t recognized as being Native. Once again, Natives take on different identities within the dual discursive competence to tackle these issues, so either portraying themselves as the stereotypical Native belonging to one community, or a Native from a specific tribe, with a specific cultural background with the agency to remake culture. This discourse will be the main focus in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Emic perspective of the Native American ethnic and cultural identity

*“I don’t judge if the story is true or not because I respect
that each tribe has their own truth to the meaning of life,
their songs and their dances.”*

– Henry (a powwow drummer and singer)

So, what is it to be Native then? In the dominant discourse, most often the political and also the scientific discourse, social groups such as the Native Americans in North America are designated indigenous communities, gathered together in a supposedly homogenous group. Drawn from the working definition provided by United Nations (UN) special rapporteur José Martínez Cobo (1986:168), “indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society, determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories and their ethnic identity, as the basis for continued existence as people in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems.” The crucial issue to take into consideration here is that, of all the people I have spoken to, none considered the term indigenous to be proper in any way seen that, ultimately, everyone is indigenous to somewhere. Rebekah states that people who come from Holland are just as much indigenous to Holland as the Natives in North America.¹⁰ Maybe nowadays it is more confusing with all the migration and mix of peoples going on, hence the existence of some definitions can be helpful because it can garner certain rights and recognition. According to Carlos and Jim, the Natives are trying to gain rights and recognition as a *community*, yet they do not actually feel like one community but a set of several diverse *communities*, as we have seen in the processual discourse. Strong (2005:255) confirms this when she explains that “this designation, [indigenous community], is not an identity shared by all Native peoples of North

¹⁰ Nonetheless, there is always a difference between Native and Native. The idea of a Dutch person is relatively new because nation-states are a more modern concept, yet the Native Americans as a group has existed before any of these conceptions were even formulated. Moreover, the UN calls for the right to self-determination for peoples like the Native Americans because they “have suffered from historic injustices as a result of, inter alia, their colonization and dispossession of their lands, territories and resources, thus preventing them from exercising, in particular, their right to development in accordance with their own needs and interests” (United Nations 2007:2).

America, seen that their primary sense of collective identity is local – on a level of their local community or tribe.” Rebekah, a mixed race Black Native who grew up in Los Angeles, pointed out:

“[They] put everyone in the same category, namely Indian, but the ‘Indians’ don’t see themselves as one people at all. Though the Natives try to change things as a community, they can’t even work together.”

From an outsider’s perspective, the Natives are indigenous, yet a Native will never portray himself as such, instead stating their own tribal name. Eva explains:

“Nobody in our tribe uses the word indigenous for various reasons. The most popular reason being is we identify ourselves as Pit-River people, not indigenous. We don’t really care about what’s considered politically correct or not. We just care what people in our tribe think, our ways, our traditions. We all know if we are a descendant of Pit-River tribal member then we are too a Pit-River member (even legally in our tribal system).”

Turner (1993:413) argues that one must not fall into the error of trapping people in a supposedly homogeneous group or community based on their nationality, ethnicity or religion, seen that one must consider the dynamic within the community, as well as between different cultural backgrounds.

The same can be said regarding the Natives’ ethnic and cultural identities in the face of modernization. The world is, now more than ever, facing rapid changes due to processes of modernization and the associated processes of globalization, which are exacerbating the tensions between modern national cultures and more traditional cultures, such as the Native American culture. A process set into motion already from the early ‘discovery’ of the New World, imperialism and colonization of the America’s, when Europeans set off to new lands in order to exploit them (Eric Wolf 1982). Many authors believe that traditions have gradually declined in significance and will eventually cease to play a meaningful role in people’s lives once they have entered in contact with modern societies (Heelas 1996:1), otherwise known as *detraditionalization*. Eva and Megan, both UCSD students and NASA members, feel slightly the same. Megan is a member of the Peoria tribe and is a mother of four children trying to teach her children certain Native ways. During a conversation I asked her what she thought of the future of the Native American community. Her response:

“We’re screwed! We are all soon going to be extinct. I say this because there are many examples of tribes who did everything to obtain rights for hunting and fishing, yet it has

taken them so long to officially achieve those rights that they no longer know the traditional ways seen that, at the time, it wasn't necessary to pass them down."

Eva adds:

"My views in regard to authenticity are different from many Native people. I feel that the culture we once had as Native people is slowly eroding and it is only a matter of time until most Natives have evolved into Western society. It's inevitable in my opinion."

Moreover, something that I have noticed which I found was quite peculiar was the fact that a young man, Hassan, told me he was Native a month after I met him. We met at the hostel I was residing at during my research period and he only told me a month later, even with the knowledge that I was undergoing research amongst the Native community there in San Diego. He is a Black Native student from New York with a Native grandmother who is enrolled in her tribe. He said:

"My grandmother sometimes sends me texts with some mambo jumbo I don't understand from her Native language. But I don't really do much with that part of my background."

I found it quite interesting to see how Hassan claims to be Native, but feels no type of affiliation to the Native community. He also does not feel the necessity to learn the culture and does not feel the need to represent the Native community or stand up for it, as do the people at NASA. According to Carlos and David, there are many more people out there who feel the same, maybe because they simply do not care or because their ancestry is so far off they do not see the point anymore. This can be linked to one of the three strategies Wimmer (2002:143-153) describes the *indios* and *mestizos* came up with as a reaction to national integration and assimilation, namely *entry*, meant by integrating into the majority and participating in the modern state. Here is where we can also detect a form of detraditionalization where the younger generation is simply not as interested anymore, which can be very alarming because most of the Native population consists of youth, according to Jim. Jacob is an elder from the Navajo Nation who grew up on a reservation in Arizona but is currently residing in San Diego. He is one of the numerous victims of the infamous boarding schools yet he remained strong and still practices his customs and traditions, and is still fluent in Navajo. Moreover, he is often bestowed the honour of participating in powwows. Jacob confirmed what Jim stated:

“Traditions are being lost along the way due to modern ways and notions, but also because the youth simply doesn’t care. For example, back in the day everyone knew how to find plants and to cure them, and that while cutting the plant and while curing it one must say a specific prayer for each action in order to transform it into some medicine or food. These simple things are being lost.”

But have all these traditions indeed been lost? Many others believe that this is not the case and as Heelas (1996:7) explains, “rather than being envisaged as leading to across-the-board eradication of all traditions, [detraditionalization] [can be] seen as competing, interpenetrating or interplaying with processes to do with tradition-maintenance, rejuvenation and tradition-construction.” If we take a further look at Wimmer’s (2002:143-153) strategies, there are two more which go along with tradition maintenance, as well as tribal and cultural sovereignty, namely *exit* (“the reinforcement of Indian communities [since] most Indians continue to feel they belong primarily to their local communities”) and *voice* (“the formation of Indian movements and action”). The former can be mostly seen within the reservations where the people primarily identify themselves with their tribal members, as opposed to the outside world. It might not be in the exact way Wimmer intended because the reservation Natives do not act like they are the only ones; they acknowledge the outside world and sometimes have no choice but to partake in it, although many prefer not to. Eva pointed out that the elders mostly like to live in their own little bubble and are not bothered with understanding the outside world. Rebekah came up with another example:

“My boyfriend is a Native from a nearby res¹¹ here in San Diego County. Although it’s a prosperous res because they have a casino, they still have very traditional views. Nowadays there are more mixed Natives than full Natives and many are dispersed throughout the country, whereas those at my boyfriend’s res have mainly stayed there. They don’t go out to explore the outside world. My boyfriend’s grandmother told me: ‘You don’t think you’re going to take my grandson to Saint Louis¹² do you?’ ”

There is clear evidence that many have chosen an exit approach, but Rebekah does believe that the younger generation will not continue with these customs because, in her point of view, they want to bring change and bring the Natives into a more modern setting.

As for voice, that was brought about by AIM due to the Native Americans’ lack of recognition towards their ethnic and cultural identity, which affected their sense of belonging

¹¹ Res is another designation for reservation.

¹² Rebekah is planning to undertake her graduate degree at Washington University in Saint Louis where she wants to become a lawyer for Native people. She chose this university because it has an excellent Native American studies program and it is closer to her tribe, the Muscogee, where she will be able to learn more about her culture.

within a country that perpetually attempted to wipe out any trace of their existence. Many Natives throughout the years have perpetuated this 'fight' by doing everything they could to give the Native community the recognition they believe it deserves and give back to their community. NASA can be seen as an example of that where many of its members have striven to give back.

Teressa owns a non-profit organization, Hope4Alaska, which raises awareness for the high suicide rates amongst the Native community and she travels nation-wide to try and prevent them. Eva is studying medicine so that she can become a doctor for several of the reservations who often have none. Caleb grew up within a western setting because he was adopted. He considers himself an urban Native and acknowledges that he still has much to learn yet he tries everything to give back to the community and to the nearby reservations in San Diego through his dancing by combining traditional forms of dance with more modern ones so that the youth can come in touch with both.

Amelia, who has lived through the boarding school era, through AIM and the complications of maintaining traditions in a modern world, made it clear that since she was a little girl it was all about finding a balance of living in two worlds. Moreover, she is proud to say that her tribal culture of the La Jolla Band of Indians is becoming stronger and stronger:

"Traditions are growing, either re-emerging or coming from other tribes, and gaining more importance in our daily lives. I was on the Tribal Council for several years and I'm really glad to see the progress we have been making after all the severities in the past. Our people have been treated so badly and it is now up to us to make something out of our lives."

The fluidity of cultures is an important aspect to consider because, as Lutz and Abu-Lughod (*in* Baumann 1999:87) believe, the concept of culture has been misused by social scientists considering that it is often related to "coherence, uniformity and timelessness... [It then] falsely fixed the boundaries between groups in an absolute and artificial way." Culture and traditions should be seen as open to human agency, "signifying the negotiation and construction of traditions within the modern context as a way to *co-exist*" (Luke *in* Heelas 1996:8, *my italics*). Lauderdale (2008:1893) points out that traditional indigenous cultures are filled with adaptations and changes to their environment and new challenges. They have always been susceptible to new goods and ideas, from other tribes and even from other societies, something that Hobsbawm (2003[1983]:1-2) designates as *invented traditions*. Seen essentially as a formalized and ritualized use of ancient materials to construct invented

traditions of a new type, these traditions are simply new ones grafted to old ones, often implemented by influential actors or elite within the *community*. Hobsbawm (2007:93) argues that globalization is characterized “by artificially refabricating group bonds and identities”, from a local level (*communities*) to a group level (*community*). A perfect example of this is the implementation of the powwow in the California region, originally from the Plain Indians’¹³ cultural background.

Previously not a tradition amongst California Natives, it is nowadays a very common way to gather and it is seen as an intertribal Native tradition of the *community*. Natives gather in order to perform rituals and ceremonies (see Fig. 7) with specific victory or warrior songs performed by the drum groups (see Fig. 8). There is a head staff which consists of a head man, head woman, head boy, head girl, head gourd and the in coming princess (see Fig. 9). Rituals and ceremonies are performed to honour veterans or certain individuals who have excelled within the community or passed away; to perform several different types of dances as entertainment or even as a competition; and to perform certain traditional local Californian songs called Bird songs, which have been incorporated within the powwows in order to maintain some local spirit during those gatherings. Many of the dancers dress accordingly to the dance they are going to perform (see Fig. 10) and many of the children participate as well, whose dresses are sometimes decorated with more modern elements, such as images of Mickey Mouse or Frozen from Disney. Moreover, many vendors of Native regalia or modernized forms of Native artwork set up stalls to sell their products, such as beaded work, baskets, gourds, dream catchers, jewellery, bags, et cetera (See Fig. 11).



Fig. 7

¹³ Located in mid-North America.



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

Robyn, as an influential member of the community, always has much to say about the powwows here in San Diego. Although I have never heard it directly from her, I heard from Carlos, David, Eva and several others that Robyn believes that the Plains Indians' culture is the highest form of all Native cultures and that many tribes have copied their customs and traditions for this reason.¹⁴ Mia, an elder from the Seneca tribe and former Native American studies teacher at SDSU whom I spoke to during the SDSU Annual Powwow, stated:

“Robyn is a huge pill to swallow. She monopolizes how and what it is to be Indian and keeps on saying how the Plains Indians are the main influence throughout the country, but this is simply not true. Many customs are intertribal and that has mainly to do with the fact that people moved and travelled and it wasn't a given anymore that people stayed in their reservations. And customs change, for example, the way the women were just dancing to the Bird Songs was a new way I haven't seen before.”

During one of my visits to the La Jolla Band of Indians reservation, I had the opportunity to witness another performance of Bird singing at an Earth day event. It involves a group of men, and sometimes small children, singing in Native tongue while playing their gourds. They take turns to dance in a circle and the women of the tribe come up and dance as a sign of respect by stomping their feet and huffing outwards to fend off negative energy and spirits. Some carried native regalia like beaded bracelets or necklaces, and some had long beautiful braids in their hair, yet none wore Native dress seen that the most common form of clothing was a t-shirt and jeans (see Fig. 12).

¹⁴ The Lakota tribe to which Robyn belongs to comes from the Plains.



Fig. 12

The Master of Ceremonies (MC), Alex, a former Tribal Council member of the La Jolla Band of Indians, could often be heard through the speakers to announce the drummers who play traditional songs or the young storytellers who tell Native stories of creation and culture in their Native tongue. Alex explained:

“Our culture is becoming stronger. Many of the kids have shown interest in learning the old ways or maybe even adopting new traditions from other tribes. It has luckily been due to the fact that some elders have recorded many of the old songs, sayings, stories and even the language that many of these things live on until today. If these were not so precisely recorded, I fear that much would have been lost after all the boarding schools. The one thing that the Luiseño on this reservation don’t do anymore is make our own regalia: beading, weaving, et cetera.”

Here we can see the opposite of what Jacob said, namely that the youth is much more interested than before and that their culture is thriving. I found that the levels of interest within the younger generation might differ from tribe to tribe seen that each tribe is responsible for passing down their own traditions and keeping their youth interested. Something that really struck me was when Alex announced that the youth should not be ashamed of whom they are and that they should be proud to be Native. After all the hardships the Natives have endured in the past, it is now extremely important for the elders to transmit a message of pride and honour in being Native, in order to further the Native ways and traditions within a modern setting.

Eriksen (1994:157) describes how indigenous people are not against modernization itself, but the violation of their rights regarding their culture and lands. By claiming cultural sovereignty, they claim the “heart and soul of the Indian nation [which is] located *within*

Indian people. [...] A cultural understanding of sovereignty demonstrates that: although we might be in conflict with one another, the right of a people to their own existence was never questioned” (Endreson 2001:203, original italics). It enables them to control their cultural heritage through their own newspapers, own representations within the media and film industry, and, for example, the ability to claim their ancestors’ human remains. Moreover, the ability to offer a double education, as does the Kumeyaay Community College, in order to include their history, culture and language in the curriculum.

Many ceremonies are still in practice within each tribe, which can be seen as tradition maintenance, like the run with staffs or the bear ceremony within Eva’s tribe, the corn harvest ceremony Rebekah’s tribe has every year, the feather ceremony Natives have on their graduation day or the earning of the Native sash, which was bestowed upon Olivia on her graduation day. Nonetheless, not all traditions have always been handed down completely the same seen that they have been ‘re’-constructed. For example, tribes nowadays have politically centralized Tribal Councils as opposed to chiefdoms, which were adopted (somewhat by force) in order to modernize. Another example is ‘the warrior’. The traditional viewpoint of a warrior society still persists although in a different context. The Native American community seems to serve the military at a rate greater per capita than any other ethnic group in the United States because, although they disagree with the American government, they still want to defend their land and their home. Carlos, David and Ryan all served in the US army for several years. A further example is how many Native’s are pushing the boundaries of tradition as artists or writers. Hulleah, a famous Muscogee-Navajo Native artist whom I met, produces a modern version of traditional art, namely her point of view of how the Natives are being seen and treated, and is used as a form of protest art (see Fig. 13 and 14).¹⁵ These are all examples of how traditions are reconstructed and readapted to modern ways.

On the other hand, some traditions or customs are in grave danger of fading out, one of them being language. Jim, Carlos and Eva have all informed me that almost every tribe is confronted with the problem that their language is being lost, hence actions must be undertaken to teach the youth and carry it on. One of the ways the La Jolla Band of Indians is trying to revive it is through the creation of an App to teach the language step by step. At the Barona reservation, for example, the cultural centre offers language classes¹⁶ and they created

¹⁵ Hulleah J. Tsinhnahjinnie is a Seminole-Muscogee-Navajo photographer, curator, and educator living in Davis, California. Exhibited nationally and internationally, Tsinhnahjinnie claims photography and video as her primary languages. Hulleah often hand-tints her photographs or uses them in collage creating fluent images of Native thought, her emphasis is art for Indigenous. <http://www.hulleah.com/>

¹⁶ This is one of the several different classes that the cultural center at the Barona reservation offers. They also offer sowing, beading and pottery classes, et cetera, which are all free of charge for the Kumeyaay and available to others (even non-Natives) for a small fee.

a dictionary with the help of all the tribal elders. In some tribes, like the Comanche and Ojibwa, apparently only a handful knows how to speak the language fluently, which Carlos finds very worrying because he believes that knowing how to speak a language is a crucial part to knowing the culture and being a Native American.



Fig. 13

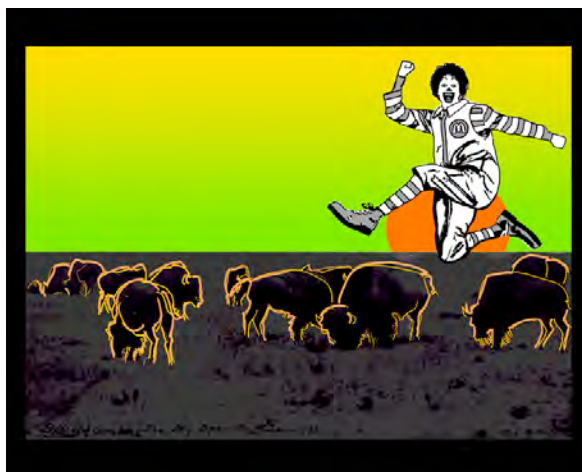


Fig. 14

Many tribal leaders agree, “language preservation is essential to the continued existence of the tribe as a distinctive cultural group” (Endreson 2001:208). Yet, the issue came up within a group discussion at NASA with several of its members as to when it can be considered a revival of a language or simply schooling, just like one does with French and German? It is extremely difficult to be able to teach children to speak a language fluently if it’s not spoken in their daily lives and in their households. Moreover, a crucial issue the La Jolla Band of Indians were dealing with was the fact that many Native Luiseño residing outside of the reservations, namely the urban Natives, did not even know that their tribe had a Native language. Here we can see how, even though languages are in threat throughout the tribes, language can be seen as one of the divides between the reservation Natives and the urban Natives.

Many Natives I have spoken to claim that there are big differences between the reservation Natives and the urban Natives, while others do not see the differences as so noticeable. Mia claims:

“I live right off the reservation in a rural area and I work in the city, but I don’t consider myself an urban Native. Many people believe there are huge differences but at the end of the day I can’t see it as very pronounced. Maybe people in the reservations are more

engrained into their traditions but the people in the urban areas surely do try to stay in touch with them as well.”

Rebekah, an urban Native, believes that many reservations are not in touch with their cultures as they used to be since the youth has lost their interest. On the other hand, Teresa, who grew up on a reservation, argues how she feels like the culture is more vibrant and alive within the reservations, even though these have changed with time. Modernity and technological advances have changed several of their ways, for example, although they still maintain the right to hunt and gather, it has now diminished because of the existence of general stores since 30 years. Moreover, in the past, the government had banned certain traditional dances due to assimilation policies, yet to keep their culture alive they created new dances and rituals, like the jingle dance. She explains:

“I come from a small res where everyone knows each other and the culture. I know what it is to grow up in the hard conditions commonly known to the res and whoever hasn’t experienced it doesn’t know what it feels like to live like that.”

Those who grew up on reservations or originally come from reservations like Eva, Teresa, Carlos, Jim and Jacob all know their own traditions and customs, and apply them to their daily lives even though they live in an urban setting, namely San Diego. The actual urban Natives who were born in the city and grew up there can be seen as more of a mix. While some urban Natives whom I have encountered are willing to stay in touch with their roots or find out where they come from, others are less in touch with their own tribal traditions and customs, often resorting to the educational centre Soaring Eagles, founded by Hannah, an elder from the Plain Indians as well. Along with Robyn, she has a strong influence within the Native community and promotes her educational centre as a place where they can “provide a unique cultural learning environment for young American Indian students to learn about common powwow dancing styles, cultural protocols, including how to design and make tribal regalia to help them participate in local San Diego County gatherings and powwows.”¹⁷

This organization resorts to the dominant discourse, in order to give the younger generation a sense of cultural belonging and identity. Megan, for example, frequents Soaring Eagles and brings her children there in order for them to take in Native culture and know about their ancestry. Nonetheless, Carlos, who Rebekah describes as a nationalist because he is really

¹⁷ http://www.californiaindianeducation.org/soaring_eagles/, Accessed: 16-06-2015.

passionate about the 'cause'¹⁸, believes that one must escape the stereotypes ascertained by the community and get in touch with one's own tribal social and cultural background as the ultimate way of 'being Native' and belonging there, as the processual discourse describes above. Carlos states:

"I see [going to Soaring Eagles] as useless because one should be learning from one's own tribe, one's own customs. Soaring Eagles just takes different things from different tribes, mainly the Plain Indians', and calls it Native culture. It's not about knowing things in general but actually knowing one's ways. All they are doing now is 'playing Indian'. [...] Knowing the culture is the essential thing to being a Native. In the Comanche culture there are certain customs and traditions one must stick to or perform because that is the way things are done. During a powwow, for example, a feather is not just a feather, it all has meaning and substance."

So what is real? What is authentic? Is a Native who does not have long hair or wear turquoise jewellery a 'real' Native? "Is a [Native American] who lives in the city, has a college degree, and practices a profession [not] authentic?" (Perdue and Green 2010:117) But what exactly is authenticity? Aupers et al. (2010:7) deem it crucial not to define what is authentic from the outset, nor to naively reproduce the essentialist definitions of a certain group, nation or tribe, of what is authentic or not. As we can see here, everyone's truth and reality of what authenticity means is completely different considering that every tribe has a different point of view as to their authentic value and background. Henry is a musician whom I met during a workshop provided by NAC entitled "Songs of the powwow". He performs in countless powwows, singing various tribal songs while drumming a specific beat to each song, and sees diverse tribal dances being performed. When it comes to authenticity, Henry comments:

"Each tribe tells a different story about a certain song or dance, and each see that story to be the truth. I don't judge if the story is true or not because I respect that each tribe has their own truth to the meaning of life, their songs and their dances."

This goes in accordance with Smith and Ward (2000:9), whom describe authenticity as dynamic and that does not dwell on an unchanging past. Nonetheless, the question of authenticity is a complex one, because when is it authentic or simply a spectacle to obtain money? For example, many of the powwow dancers are paid to perform at powwows. Sylvain (2005:357) would argue that this is *ethnotourism* seen that these events, which are often attended by non-Natives, are "sites at which identity politics join with market demand, and

¹⁸ The 'cause' is the increase of recognition of the Native American community and the maintenance of traditions within each tribal community.

this union has inspired concerns about the commodification of culture, the perpetuation of Western imperialist nostalgia, and the promotion of the neo-colonial quest for the authentic Other.” Nonetheless, many Natives would argue otherwise, saying that it is a way to educate non-Natives about Native traditions and customs. Moreover, it takes so much time to learn and practice these dances that the dancers should get paid for performing. Finally, as Dockstader (1954:131) discovered while undergoing research among the Hopi, “participants for dances and ceremonies has become difficult [to find] because people now have ‘Western’ obligations such as school and paid work. [...] Hence, despite people feeling the obligation to participate for both religious and social reasons, dancing for personal gain has been a motivation as well.”

Another example is the fact that the Navajo in Arizona sell their regalia in little booths along the roads in order to generate some income. Moreover, during my small excursion to the area, I paid for a guided tour through one of the several canyons they have there, namely the Antelope Canyon. Their reservations are extremely poor in comparison to those that I have seen in San Diego, and these are a few methods of income that they have, other than government aid. As I have stated before, an average income for a whole family in these regions can be down to US\$6,000 per year, hence people will resort to anything for a higher income. Moreover, Natives prefer to be the ones selling their own regalia rather than it being appropriated by non-Natives and sold as ‘being Native’, which I will come back to in the last chapter. As for the reservations in San Diego County, the Barona reservation has its own casino and the La Jolla Band of Indians reservation has its own camping site, tubing installations¹⁹ and is currently building a zip-line in order to gain more tourists, for whom they sometimes perform for as well.

Carlos is a strong believer in the sovereignty of Native tribes and believes that a strong and independent economic system is crucial for that to happen. Only then can they protect their reservations and interests from the actions of others. He, furthermore, states:

“One needs to adapt and innovate to prosper. A booming economy helps for independence and adapting to modern things, otherwise one stays stuck in the past. AIM has been great in the past but we don’t need it anymore. It has stayed too stuck in the past.”

Yet, how ‘modern’ have the Natives become? What has happened after AIM? Rebekah argued:

¹⁹ A water sport where one takes a plastic tube up the river and flows down the river while sitting on the tube.

“Not enough has changed yet. It will have to be the younger generation when they become the new tribal government. Many young Natives are struggling now because they want to know about their background. We want to learn about our ancestors’ ways but at the same time we want to live in the modern world. I think we still need to see how to adapt and change. But we have to do that together and the main issue at stake is that not all of us have the same points of view and can’t work together.”

Reflection

All in all, there exists a complicated dynamic of how the Native Americans in San Diego negotiate notions of ethnic and cultural identity, firstly because of the dual discursive competence, and secondly due to the intrinsic interplay of external social, economic, and political processes. The Natives are seen as an indigenous community by the UN and other official institutions, which inevitably traps them into a certain essentialized and stereotypical identity. This often coincides with the dominant discourse, yet, as I have shown, the Natives also adopt a processual discourse. Moreover, most Natives want to get rid of the stereotypical images of what one may consider a Native to be like and look like. This always brings questions of authenticity into discussion. It is not my place to judge if a Native or its tribe is authentic or not, yet heavy discussions arise within the community itself regarding these issues. Sylvain (2005:355) argues, “rather than narrowly viewing identity politics as distress-driven attempts to impose order on an increasingly chaotic world, we should also consider the extent to which people on the ground are manipulating the idea of ‘culture’ as a tool for securing political, economic, and development resources.” It is a known fact that powwow dancers are paid well in order to perform, that Native regalia is sold at powwows and certain areas at trade posts, and that reservation land has been commodified in a sense to accommodate tourism. While many people, especially outside of the Native community, might question the authenticity of certain traditions and customs, the Natives themselves see it as a way to become economically independent, to keep their culture in practice and to share it with the world as a way to educate those who wish to learn.

The main goal the Natives have ahead of them is to protect and further their cultural heritage in order to maintain their ethnic and cultural identities. We have seen that traditions may not be as dominant as we may think, and modernization may not be as detraditionalizing as might be claimed (Heelas 1996:7). Some traditions have been maintained despite all the adversities, others have been modified and commodified by force or in order to adapt to modern ways and economic needs, and others are under threat of fading out completely, if they have not

already. But how does one negotiate an ethnic and cultural identity when a great part chooses an *entry* strategy into the dominant group, or others choose the *exit* strategy and try to ignore the outside world, and thirdly, when a great deal of Natives choose to raise their *voice*, yet not in cohesion? Each Native has his/her own perspective on how these issues should be approached and tackled. “Must tribes give up the accoutrements of Western society and culture? Must they be purists in their return to a past existence untainted by the presence of the Anglo-American?” (Endreson 2001:202). The cultural homogenization and cultural preservation discourse will always be a complex one, seen that the intersection between traditional and modern identities is a critical issue. Endreson (2001) argues that it all comes down to the exercise of tribal and cultural sovereignty and what that means for the people in question, namely, the Native Americans. But as Rebekah has made clear, Natives can hardly work together to find out what this means and how to proceed further. In her point of view, the younger generation will one day have to figure it out because the people who lead in the Tribal Councils now don’t have the vision to do so. The following chapter shall describe the tensions and disputes *within* the community while attempting to reach such an understanding.

Chapter 4

Belonging and recognition within the community and communities

“One of the first questions I ask is: Who are your elders?”

– Carlos

In the introduction of this thesis, I explained how one of my main assumptions was that the major conflicts existed between the Native community and the non-Native community. According to David, up to 22,000 tribes nationwide have not yet been recognized federally and many of these tribes are still fighting to gain their rights and recognition. One of the many reasons is because many tribes are seen to want to take advantage of the social and civil rights which come with being a Native American, namely health benefits, scholarships, welfare, et cetera. Yet, as I have to come to figure out quite soon during my research period, there are as many, or maybe even more, disputes among the Natives, which could only be best described as an intertwined and complex political game of pointing fingers of who can be considered Native and who cannot. There are issues of discrimination for being too White or too Black, issues of recognition and belonging when it comes to tribal membership and blood quantum, clashes between urban Natives and reservation Natives, as well as a search for ‘false faces’, as Nagel (2000:101) would describe it, considering that resources or claims to certain rights are at stake, or when the authenticity and accuracy of a group’s supposedly tribal cultural background is questioned.

‘The Natives aren’t able to work together’ is a sentence I heard Natives say quite often during my research period and I became interested in discovering why this was so because the Natives also emphasized how important it was to be able to work together as one *community* to achieve their goals. Once again the dual discursive competence is at play here where the notion of community does not replace the notion of communities, yet it does not mean they do not clash. Community has always been central to Indian nations (Endreson 2001:199) and AIM used the reified notion of Nateness of all that are deemed to ‘have the same culture’ in order to mobilize and ‘fight’ for the Native Americans’ rights and claim to recognition. Some researchers have argued that the increase of the registered Native American population in the United States (from 250,000 in 1890 to almost 2,000,000 in 1990) was a result of “changes in individuals’ ethnic identification” (Nagel 2000:87). Nagel, on the other hand, argues that

AIM, and its resulting consequences such as enhanced social worth and meaning, Federal Indian policies, and the self-renewing and self-reinventing (invented traditions) capacity of the movement are most probably “the single most powerful force in the emergence and resurgence of Indian self-identification and in the construction and reconstruction of tribal communities and cultures” (2000:88). Nonetheless, with this came “the complications and controversies surrounding the nature and boundaries of [Native American] ethnicity” (Nagel 2000:85), which came forth with discrimination, issues of authenticity between communities, as well as doubts and suspicions.

From the first conversation I had with David, I was fully aware of the fact that Robyn and Hannah were some of the important actors in the formation of ethnic and cultural identity in San Diego County. Firstly, several Natives I have spoken to mention that ever since Robyn started working at UCSD she began dictating who is Native and who is not, which is really upsetting NASA. Apparently, she considers people who are too White or too Black as non-Natives and harasses them continuously in order to ‘kick them out’ of the community. Rebekah has had many issues with Robyn and other urban Natives because of her Black roots, even though she can prove her Native ancestry. She explains:

“I have been getting shit from a lot of them. In their eyes I’m just Black and there is nothing more too it. Even if I go to Native American blogs I will get shit. So I feel more comfortable on Black Native American blogs because there I can find a community I can relate to.”

According to David, who has also been having many issues with Native people because he has been having difficulty in proving his ancestry, explains:

“Racial discrimination happens a lot within the Native community. For them I am too white and Rebekah is too black. Ironically, it is the more modern Native Americans who don’t accept people like me or Black Natives. Back during the civil war, many Natives were slaveholders and decided to free their slaves and adopt them into their communities. These people were called Black Freedman. As a result, lots of Natives nowadays have Black heritage as well, yet it is often not recognized.”

Megan, who is an enrolled tribal member of the Peoria tribe, meaning she can prove her ancestry, has been harassed several times up to the point where she (and NASA) took actions against Robyn in order to get her fired. In a letter that she wrote to the Council responsible for staff members she wrote:

“I have never had a one-on-one conversation with Robyn – she knows nothing about me personally or academically other than I am a Chancellor’s Associates Scholar and a member of NASA. [...] At a meeting, Robyn announced that I was white and didn’t know powwow [protocol]. [...] Robyn sent out several emails to people on campus, students, faculty and staff with remarks that I took as personal insults. She sent this email to a current professor of mine, possible future professors, staff that I hope to work with in the future but have yet to meet, people who may (or may not) write my letters of recommendation for internships, scholarships, and graduate school. I feel that this is where she crossed the line with me; she is messing with my future and my family’s livelihood.”

Apparently, Robyn can have such a big effect within the Native community that she can destroy someone’s reputation and maybe even their livelihood. As a response to all these matters NASA posted on its Facebook: “The Native American Student Alliance at UCSD is no longer working with Native American Council at UCSD per the reason of harassment from a member of NAC to several Native students (NASA). Students of NASA are still planning the powwow and are looking forward to working with the surrounding Native community. We apologize for any inconvenience.”

As for the powwow, many issues come forth as well. Firstly, Robyn and Hannah started meddling with who should or should not be head staff, as well as the requirements of each staff member. In an email sent to numerous Natives and to me as well, Robyn stated clearly that all powwow princess candidates are required to be 1/4 Native and enrolled in their tribe, single, nonparents and enrolled in school. The powwow princess chosen by NASA, Jessica, is neither enrolled, single or a non-parent, which resulted in demeaning comments from Robyn’s side. As a response, NASA posted on their Facebook: “Please direct your political garbage about our powwow princess elsewhere. We all know the devious actions of Robyn, and how she is having people call to harass Native students and UCSD staff. It isn’t going to work, nice try Robyn.” I questioned Eva and Amelia why these were requirements for a powwow princess and they both did not have an answer because they both come from California tribes who are not familiar with powwow protocol. The only element Amelia had to add was:

“Traditions are flexible and as you can see from UCSD, they are not applied consistently.”

I also questioned Robyn herself about the powwow princess requirements and what they were based on. Her answer:

“Powwow princesses represent the community. Some tribes make it a weeklong ordeal where the contestants have to compete with fry bread making, weaving, talent competitions, ending with butchering a live sheep and appropriately handling the meat and making stew! Yet, some universities like UCLA have changed their requirements. The UCLA “MS. UCLA POWWOW” is a new representative and that committee wrote their requirements to be inclusive to older students and include at least ONE child and NOT MARRIED ... thus, the “MS” in the title.”

The interesting aspect is why Robyn does not criticize UCLA and their changes. During one of the workshops provided by NAC, which we both attended, a discussion came forth regarding NASA and all she had to say was:

“I don’t understand why they are so against me. All I have is respect for other people and they keep on slandering me.”

According to everyone I spoke to, respect is everything she does not have. The interesting aspect is that Robyn is the one who puts the phrase *Mitakuye Oyasmin*, meaning, “we are all related”, as a signature under all her emails. According to many, this could not be farther from the truth. Nonetheless, what NASA thinks does not seem to have much value because all these different disputes between NASA, and both Robyn and Hannah have lead to a negative image and reputation of NASA as an organization that represents the Native community. During a NASA meeting, Olivia argued that they have to make things right because whatever they do, Robyn will have the upper hand. The powwow did not turn out quite as expected because not many people showed up, maybe because of Robyn’s influence and the fact that she never promoted the UCSD powwow in her emails, as opposed to all the other powwows in the area, or maybe also due to the fact that UCLA was holding their Annual Powwow on the same day. Moreover, the planning changed drastically from a two-day event to a one-day event and the dance competition was cancelled (see Fig. 15 and 16). During a conversation with several NAC members they all laughingly questioned if the powwow was even going to happen, seen that they find NASA the laughing stock of UCSD that cannot accomplish much. When I asked Carlos what had happened, he answered:

“Robyn and David happened.”

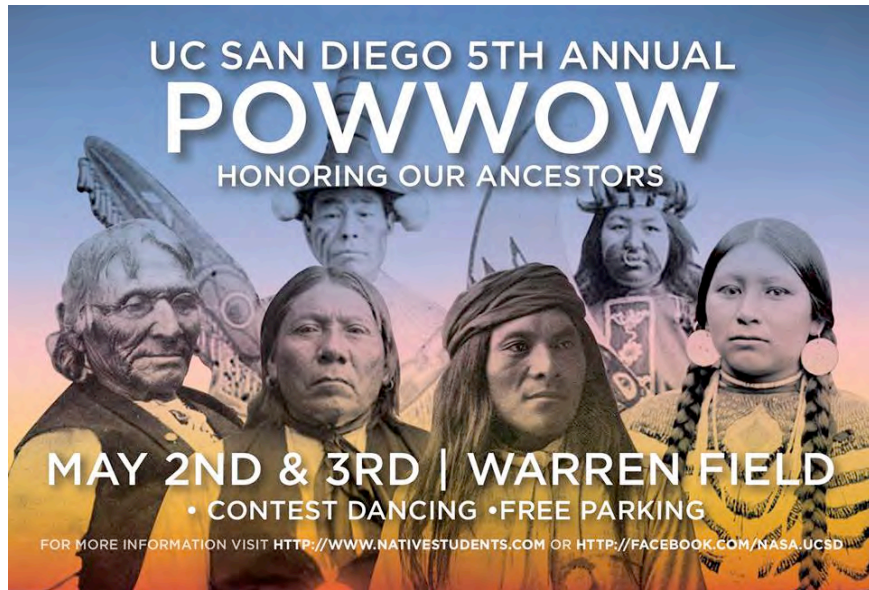


Fig. 15

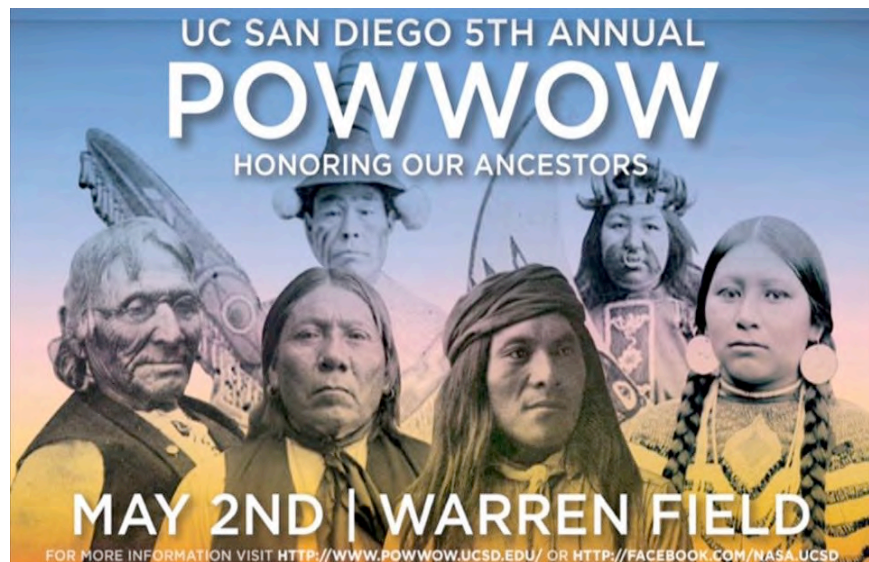


Fig. 16

Carlos will be the first one to publicly defend his fellow NASA members and he has been getting a very bad reputation himself within the Native community for being aggressive and disrespectful. Robyn and Hannah often slander him during NAC meetings or Soaring Eagles gatherings. He defends himself by saying that the Comanche are an angry and aggressive people, and they do not take acts of disrespect, which has been supported by several Comanche tribal members back in Oklahoma who have been calling him regarding all these issues and disputes. Yet, ironically, he criticizes and discriminates NASA members just as well. We often had conversations about David, Megan and other NASA members regarding their cultural knowledge and Native heritage. He criticized:

“David isn’t a true Native. Megan either. David can’t prove his ancestry and both of them don’t know anything about their cultures. Almost none of the members of NASA know to define their ancestors. One of the first questions I ask is: who are your elders? And they can’t seem to even answer that. I see them like babies and just like babies you need to take baby steps and not throw yourself into the community. You can’t just come and demand to be part and demand to be recognized. It doesn’t work that way. They don’t even know what is happening in their tribe. They never go to their governments’ meetings or elections. So when they want to come and talk about culture they can’t talk. They don’t have the right to talk and they have to let me handle stuff because I know the culture.”

Carlos, who has sole access to NASA’s Facebook page, something many of the NASA members do not appreciate, eventually posted a comment against David when it came to powwow planning:

“We would like to clear the air about who is ‘in charge’ of powwow planning. We have a powwow coordinator, Carlos. The NASA president David is not involved in any decision-making in the powwow planning since he is not culturally knowledgeable about Native American culture, nor is he Native American. NASA will not stand for misappropriation of Native American culture, and we respect Native American culture. NASA is not an exclusive club any student can join. But we will take advice about culture from Natives of this organization and in the community. Thank you.”

Eventually, Carlos challenged Zeke’s presidency and suggested there be new elections. From the beginning to the end of my research period I witnessed the tensions and disputes NASA members had with Natives outside of the organization being brought into the organization, making it implode. Firstly, many of the members had responses to many of the accusations Carlos made against them. Megan asserted:

“We are sick and tired of Carlos victimizing himself and thinking that he is the only one who is suffering. He also thinks he knows best about Native culture and the rest doesn’t, but that’s not true. He sees me as unknowledgeable because I am new at it and because I go to Soaring Eagles, but I admit to not know the Southern Californian powwow, as opposed to the powwow from my tribe. And this is interpreted as me not knowing the culture. There are so many different versions of tribal culture and powwow traditions, and Carlos thinks he knows it all. And if he knew me he would know that I go back at least once a year for tribal elections and such. Carlos doesn’t have the right to say who is Native or not. He is just doing the same as Robyn. He is constantly complaining about Robyn and her pointing fingers, whereas he does the same. He also complains about

Robyn meddling with the head staff and such, but apparently he has no problem with her having appointed him coordinator of the powwow.”

Olivia agrees with Megan stating:

“Carlos monopolizes the whole Native American culture and thinks he’s the only one who knows it all. All the tribes are different. We are getting a really bad reputation. Nobody wants anything to do with us anymore. It’s getting really pathetic and we need to get our shit together.”

Amelia adds:

“One day I’m going to tell Carlos straight up how disrespectful he is, and I’m one of his elders. That’s not the way we teach the younger generation to treat the older generation or each other. He may think that he can be that way because the Comanche are known to be angry and aggressive but that has nothing to do with it, he is just an asshole! It is not the way to treat people and there are better ways to try and talk to people and get your point across.”

After having spoken to several vendors at the SDCU Annual Powwow, which occurred a week prior to the UCSD Annual Powwow, I understood that many of them were not coming to the UCSD Annual Powwow or were unsure of it because NASA was gaining a really bad reputation within the Native community. It came to the point where several NASA members, namely Olivia, Eva and Teressa concluded that they do not want to get too involved with NASA anymore. Olivia and Eva find it all too tiring and Teressa feels like she does not belong anyway seen that nobody really listens to her opinion and feedback. Thus one can question the integrity and credibility NASA has as an organization representing the Native American community if even its members are not too keen in participating in it any longer.

Hedetoft and Hjort (2002:xi) argue, “we feel we belong to our culture, because it constitutes a home of natural embeddedness and unthinking attachment – ‘familiarity’.” Nonetheless, identity and belonging can be potentially divisive because when a person’s identity is not recognized, it can disrupt their sense of belonging, which took place among many of my research participants. Rebekah is considered too Black and David is considered too White. Megan is seen as an uninformed and uncultured urban Native. Teressa and Eva sometimes struggle with the conflicting dynamics between their identity as an urban Native and a reservation Native because they feel like they lack proper role models. All this issues have lead to a distorted feeling of belonging. Eva explained:

“I really want to give back to my community as much as I can and that’s why I’m getting a degree. Yet, the difficult issue is that when I go back to the res, I’m either told: we’re glad you came back to help us and teach us. Or: don’t come back thinking you’re better than us.”

Caleb does not always feel like he belongs either because, according to his fellow tribal members who grew up on the reservation, he is more of an outsider because he does not know the struggle of living on a reservation. What all these issues of belonging have in common is a lack of recognition. Baumann (1999:119) argues, “what needs to be recognized, therefore, is not one reified culture as opposed to another one. Rather, it is the dialogical nature of all identities and, consequently, that different cultural identifications can and will, in a multicultural society, cut across each other’s reified boundaries.”

Nonetheless, those words are easier said than done, considering that Natives often define their Nateness in terms of tribal membership, in the form of an ID card, and blood quantum. Sturm (2002:2) argues that some tribes accept membership according to cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds, yet more and more tribes identify themselves with the policies of the federal government through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), who “continue to use blood quantum as both a metaphor and measure of ‘Indian’ identity to manage tribal enrollments and determine eligibility for social services [healthcare, housing, food commodities].”

Tribes nowadays are sovereign and hold the monopoly to decide who is *included* and *excluded* from their population. This political sovereignty for the Native Americans, according to Deloria (*in* Endreson 2001:197), must be located “within an internal, culture-and-community based model of sovereignty.” However, Native people nowadays live in a variety of communities, both in urban areas and on reservations. Moreover, as previously discussed, the Native American population is increasingly multiracial and intertribal. As a result, Native tribes are increasingly required to “examine the nature of their governmental authority as tied to territorial boundaries or as tied to a cultural conception of membership, or perhaps both” (Endreson 2001:199).

When I spoke to Carlos about his views of knowing the culture in order to be considered a Native, I asked him if simply knowing the culture is enough or is being a tribal member enough. His response was:

“It all depends. It is often a given that people who grow up on a reservation know the culture, but that is not always so, and an urban Native may be a cardholder²⁰ but that doesn’t mean shit. If a Native is a cardholder and doesn’t know his or her own tribal cultural background, I don’t give that person much importance. If a Native is not a cardholder and does know his or her tribal cultural background, I have deep respect.”

We saw this when Alex explained how many urban Natives, who were tribal members, did not even know their tribe had a language. Rebekah adds:

“I didn’t grow up with my tribe. I grew up an urban Native and I don’t pretend I know everything about it like many other urban Natives do. I’m still learning along the way. I have respect for people who know their culture and understand the ways instead of only being enrolled²¹ and saying they are Native while not knowing anything.”

There is a great divide between these notions of which is better, moreover, there are many discussions about the how urban Natives fit within their whole tribal community. Endreson (2001:199) clarifies how “some Indian nations have denied voting rights and other benefits to tribal members living off-reservation in urban communities, leading these groups to press for recognition by the tribe.” Carlos said one had to be at the reservation meetings with the Tribal Council in order for one’s vote to be accounted for. But, I also found out that not all reservation Natives are officially tribal members either due to blood quanta. Alex comments:

“Not all of the reservation Indians are tribal members but we don’t make them feel like they are any less worthy. We are willing to pass the knowledge and culture along to them because, although they don’t fulfil the blood quantum, they are still part of our community. Moreover, the blood quantum requirements vary per year because we always hold elections.”

So, apparently, certain tribes make their reservation tribal members feel more included as opposed to their urban tribal members, whom are often excluded due to lack of cultural knowledge or because they do not relate to the hardships of living on a reservation, where a feeling of community and unity has been formed. I was, furthermore, curious what the Natives would think of a complete outsider who wants to learn the culture. Is he or she then considered a Native? Carlos answered:

²⁰ Cardholder is another term for tribal member. When a Native is part of his/her tribe, they receive a card such as an ID card, making them an official member of the tribe. The American government implemented these cards in order to keep track of the amount of Natives existent within North America. Natives must carry this card at all times.

²¹ Enrolled is a third designation for tribal member.

“Some see the adoption thing as possible, but I find it ridiculous. My own tribe adopted Johnny Depp²² and we became the laughing stock among the Native American tribes. I think this happened because it would give him better credit to do the ‘Lone Ranger’²³ movie, where he portrays a Native American. Nonetheless, there are many mixed feelings within the Comanche community, from complete acceptance to downright angry.”

Most of the other members of NASA with whom I spoke to also do not find this acceptable, yet they sometimes also find it difficult when it comes to tribal membership and the cards. Teresa explains:

“Tribal governments establish how much blood quantum one must have to be considered Native within their tribe or not. While some tribes only require 1/12, in my tribe you must be at least 1/2 to be considered part of it. According to the government I am 7/8. I don’t know how they came up with that percentage but eventually it will influence whom I’m eventually going to marry because it can influence my children’s tribal membership. The whole system is screwed up because the government requires you to have a card, whereas no other group has to have this. But at the same time, the Natives don’t know any other way to see who their people are or not and this way each tribe can keep count of their citizens.”

Rebekah adds:

“I don’t have tribal membership but I am working on it. I’m now trying to get scholarships for my law degree but because I don’t have tribal membership I’m not eligible for either government scholarships or private institutions that fund Natives. Yet, when I apply for scholarships because I’m Black, they just give them to me without even having seen my picture. The fact that you need to prove your ancestry is ridiculous because no other ethnic group has to do so.”

When it comes to blood quantum, Carlos asserts:

“The only thing is where do you draw the line? Can we still consider a 1/36 Native still a Native? These issues are always very hard, so in a sense, I think it can make sense to set blood quanta where each tribe defines it for themselves.”

²² A famous Hollywood actor known for his roles in *Edward Scissorhands*, *Pirates of the Caribbean*, *Sweeney Todd*, *Chocolat* and one of his latest movies, *the Lone Ranger*, where he portrays a Native American named Tonto. See e.g. http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0000136/?ref_=fn_al_nm_1.

²³ See e.g. http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1210819/?ref_=fn_al_tt_1.

Dina Gilio-Whitaker, wrote “we judge each other based on our genetics [and] all we do is keep ourselves trapped in a prison of someone else’s making.”²⁴ The problem lies in the fact that the line between inherent sovereignty and delegated power from the federal government becomes blurred, posing a challenge to the notion of sovereignty as independent of federal power. It can maybe rather be seen as a conditional sovereignty. Moreover, blood quantum is often also used and abused by people who just want to get benefits or money. Caleb explained:

“People will literally ask me or my friends: My grandmother was a Native princess, so how do I access to the casino money? Or scholarships?”

Carlos explained how, supposedly, there were around 122 Natives attending UCSD, because they all received scholarships, but where are they? Did they choose to identify as Native just for the scholarship even if they are, in reality, Native? Or did they abuse the system? I will never have a clear answer because I never met them, but what I know is that getting a scholarship is not easy, so how did they get one? Yet, in their defence, I have seen that NASA is not really good at promoting their organization within UCSD because, for example, Ryan only found out NASA existed after having attended UCSD for a year.

Finally, the search for ‘false faces’ based on authenticity and accuracy is also a manner of defending the integrity of the Native community. When an individual claims to have a certain identity, others can question it as putting forth an ethnic ‘false face’ because others do not recognize it to be true. (Nagel 2000:84). They see it as a farce. It eventually comes down to the clash between one’s self-identification and outsiders’ ethnic designations. One day Carlos came to me with a Facebook page where a group of people claimed to be Native Americans from the Comanche tribe, designated the Taba’na Yuan’e. Firstly, nobody had ever heard of them before, and secondly the group had posted pictures of a ceremony called the Sunrise Wind ceremony on their own Facebook page, which Carlos and other Comanche members claim does not exist. The group claims to have held this ceremony since 1907 but many Comanche members have difficulty in believing so, since many characteristics of the ceremony did not add up: the Comanche do not use pipes (see Fig. 17), the women in this tribe do not wear appropriate Comanche clothing (see Fig. 17 and 18), and hardly anyone is allowed to use a headdress, let alone three people at once (see Fig. 19), among others. Many comments were made on this groups’ Facebook page. One of them:

²⁴ <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2014/02/13/ugliness-indian-indian-racism>, Accessed: 28-06-2015.

“Why hasn't anyone from the tribe released a statement at least saying our tribe has no ties or affiliation to this ceremony because there are people out there that don't know and me personally wouldn't want these people out there portraying to be Comanche.”

Another:

“Go look at their page, they putting on shows at the school, ya'll are ridiculous, it's a big sign of disrespect, ya'll aren't native, might have a little bit in you that you bled out in your first nose bleed, but definitely don't have the spirit. Take all that stuff off and show some damn respect.”



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19

Despite all the slander that this group has received, they maintained their position and did not step back. However, they did say they were willing to learn because many of the traditions had been modified during generations. It is not my place to acknowledge if this group is Native or not, but I have tried to demonstrate how complicated and intricate these issues can become. Here we can see an example of how traditions may have changed so drastically that it is hardly even recognized anymore, to the point where they are seen as ‘false faces’, yet on the other hand, they could just as well be ‘false faces’.

Reflection

Nagel (2000:101) argues that it all comes down to the “construction, reconstruction and deconstruction of identity and community and the search for ‘false faces’ that seems to preoccupy postmodern society.” Yet, within this construction, reconstruction and deconstruction, Natives also seek recognition and a sense of belonging within the Native community or their own local tribal community and many fight for this. Sturm (2002:4) points out, “competing definitions of ethnic identity and social belonging often result in personal, political and social conflict.” Many Natives may not find certain people acceptable and they will stand by their point of view, or tribes can exercise their right to define who they include or exclude, which changes every year when the blood quanta changes or when notions of culture and identity change. The main issue, hence, lies in the problem of how one can attribute “the same universal recognition to an ever-widening variety of mutually exclusive designs of authenticity and identity, especially when these [also] involve a politics of (stressing) difference?” Baumann (1999:108). Once again it all comes down to the dual discursive competence where the notion of Native in general collides with the various notions

of Nativeness. Identities change situationally, producing a ‘layering’ of ethnic identities, which, as I have described above, “reveal the negotiated, problematic nature of ethnic [and cultural] identity” (Nagel 2000:84).

Chapter 5

Native perspective of the non-Native perspective

“I find that people should stop using a headdress for fun during festivals and such. I’m a Native and I’m not even allowed to use it. “ - Caleb

Issues of belonging and recognition exist for centuries and also go beyond the complexities and intricacies of the Native community, seen that Natives also have to deal with recognition and a sense of belonging by part of the non-Natives in North America. Ethnicity is, after all, a “dialectical process involving internal *and* external opinions and processes, as well as the individuals self-identification and outsiders’ ethnic designations” (Nagel 1997:73, my italics). Hence, Native peoples’ experiences with many non-Natives can have a great effect on their own perspectives and how they respond to it. While speaking to several NASA members, they asked me what people back home, in Holland, thought about the Natives. To this I answered:

“Many people will say: oh, the Indians...hmmm...do they still exist? Or, they are the ones with all the money because of the casinos! Or, the Indians live in tipi tents and wear feathers, right?”

First of all, yes the Natives do still exist. Yet, as opposed to several generations ago, one cannot always identify a Native through their physical features (skin type, hair colour), as previously discussed, because there are Black Natives, White Natives and everything in between. And even if one is mostly Native, and may look so, non-Natives often do not even consider it an ethnical option, as Ryan explains, regularly writing Natives off as being Mexican. On the other hand, there are those who simply believe that the idea of a Native is a historical thing that has disappeared, as did the cowboys. Ironically enough, both still exist. Secondly, to a certain extent, all the other things that are mentioned are true. Many Native tribes broke through in the casino business as a way to become economically independent from the federal government, as I have noticed in San Diego County. Most reservations in that area have casinos and are growing ever more, yet the misconception is that all reservations nationwide have casinos or that the money is divided among them. Jim explains:

“If a group of reservations are from the same tribe and some have casinos and others don’t, then they most probably will share the profits among all reservations, yet it is not a given that that will occur between tribes because they are not related whatsoever. When White people ask me if I get money from the casinos, I ask them: How much do you get from Donald Trump?”

Moreover, Natives do have tipis and wear feathers, but only during powwows. In their daily lives, they live in Western houses and you will not see any Native wearing any sort of feather on their head. Nonetheless, as Jim stated in his workshop, not all Natives tribes have tipis or wear feathers, seen that each tribe has completely different customs than the ‘traditional Indian’ non-Natives often seem to know (see Fig. 20).



Fig. 20

A great part of the non-Native community has acquired a distorted and stereotypical view of what it is to be Native that, according to Rebekah, it is seen as picking out several different customs and traditions from different tribes, meshing them all together, and calling it the authentic Native! This has mostly resulted due to Hollywood and it’s portrayal of the Native American community over the past decades. Apart from using various stereotypes for the ‘authentic Native’, elites have also used movies that include Natives as a way to “explain their history to the world” (Zing and Hirabayashi 2003:45). Natives were, and often still are, portrayed as cruel, dangerous and often dehumanized beings, making the settlers’ actions invariably justified and heroic. Moreover, White people were used to portray Natives, because “they were seen as more Indian than the Indians. The pre-text: Indians would be ‘unconvincing’ if allowed to portray themselves-on-screen” (Xing and Hirabayashi 2003:79).

The same was almost done with Johnny Depp, as previously discussed, and although some may find it a legitimate adoption, Carlos believes it was done to give credibility to his portrayal of Tonto²⁵ in 'Lone Ranger'. Jim was a Hollywood actor and, although here Hollywood used a Native to portray a Native, he would often be asked to play the 'bad guy', so there are still issues that need to be tackled.

Xing and Hirabayashi (2003:79) provide a satirical example of how it would look like from a non-Native point of view: "One can only imagine the reaction among settlers were some studio to release a cinematic extravaganza – purportedly 'the most accurate rendering ever' – of ancient Greece or Rome, in which actors were dressed in a combination of kilts and ballroom attire, conversed in 'authentic Spanglish', worshipped Odin, dined mostly on spaghetti and sauerkraut, and seemed to spend the bulk of their time galloping wildly across the stepper before retiring each night to harem-filled Irish villages where, back dropped by the Matterhorn, they performed perfect ritual impersonations of the Marquis de Sade. The scenario is no more absurd than that imposed upon American Indians." The Natives are fighting ever more to be respected and portrayed correctly as part of their appropriation of cultural sovereignty and their right to represent themselves and to control their cultural heritage (Perdue and Green 2010:129).

As I have explained above, each tribe has its own culture with certain traditions and customs, and many Natives are often only acquainted with their own. The search for one 'true authentic' version of a Native is, thus, impossible. Yet, according to Taylor (1991:17), we live in a culture of authenticity. This obsession has come forward due to the fact that authenticity has presumably disappeared amidst the relentless bombardment of media images, advertising and 'hyper realities', which no longer represent true reality. Hence, a nostalgic longing for authenticity has arisen to fill that gap. Yet, it always becomes the issue of the idealized past that does not fit in the practices of our contemporary globalized world, seen that the Natives are often seen as stuck in the past.

This approach towards authenticity is often used as an argument against the Natives' adoption to certain modern things, for example, the casinos. Endreson points out how politicians "like to portray Indian gaming as a loss of tribal identity and a wholesale acceptance of Anglo materialism. In that way, Indian gaming becomes a bad thing for Indian people and something that the federal government *should* regulate – for their own good, of course" (2001:202, my italics). According to Jim, many of the States within America are starting to recognize Native

²⁵ Tonto means fool in Spanish.

tribes in order to get their hands on the casino money. This is a stark contradiction to how policy and ideology used to be, seen that the federal government used ‘the myth of cultural inferiority’ to justify the forcible assimilation and acculturation of the Native people for their own good (Endreson 2001:200). Nonetheless, the only difference now is that the federal government can profit from the Native tribes and will use any argument as an excuse. This is a perfect example of how tribal sovereignty is vulnerable to the federal governments’ interests.

On the other hand, Natives have also often been scrutinized their inability to adjust their ethnic and cultural identity to modern times. The media, for example, portrays the Native Americans as sad, poverty stricken people who are regularly under the influence of drugs and alcohol because they can’t adapt to modern life.²⁶ There is even a common phrase regarding their image, namely, drunken Indian. Teresa explains:

“Many of our elders, including my grandfather, were put in the infamous boarding schools which affected their mental health, which in turn affected their family life. My grandfather was an alcoholic and didn’t treat his family well. This affects the rest of the family’s perception of themselves and that is what I’m trying to fight against with my organization. [The Natives] often don’t believe they can become anything or do anything, and all because they are often told so by the non-Natives.”

Here we can see how certain stereotypes often legitimize social differences, social orientation and “sense of place” (Endreson 2001:202). Moreover, Natives are seen as people with numerous rights, so non-Natives may often ask themselves: what are the Natives complaining about? Ryan comments:

“When I say I’m Native people immediately say: oh, so you get a free education. You get free healthcare. You can hunt and gather. But it’s not always as easy as people think. I get a scholarship, but it doesn’t mean a full scholarship. I get healthcare but it isn’t much. And I can hunt and gather but it’s not like I’m gonna do that now. I go to the supermarket.”

Jim adds:

“Many people have such a distorted view of us that it’s ridiculous. We may get free healthcare because it’s stated in the Constitution but it’s lower than what a criminal gets in prison. That’s how highly we are thought of. The Native American life expectancy is

²⁶ See e.g. www.bbc.com/news/magazine-30659678, Accessed: 20-06-2015.

the lowest in America. And although some reservations get welfare, they don't get much and that's why many tribes started up casinos. One of the things I do enjoy is hunting buffalo once a year with my family!"

Rebekah adds:

"People think we get all these rights and money, but it's not true. The government doesn't do shit for us, we have to do it all by ourselves. We have always had to do it by ourselves."

This distorted notion that countless non-Natives have has to change to one that goes in accordance with what is really going on. Nonetheless, I do question what Rebekah says because the fact that the government does not do anything should not be bothering them as much considering that that is what sovereignty is all about. It's about regulating what order, security and normal life consists of, and restoring them if these principles are threatened. Hence, at the end of the day, it is up to the Natives to 'do it by themselves' when it comes to their livelihoods and cultural sovereignty. The issue is often that the Natives must be given the opportunity to do so, and not be constrained in any way.

This because when it comes to recognition and a sense of belonging, much has to change within American society. Jim explains:

"In my opinion, it all has to do with education. The history that is taught in primary schools and high schools here is appalling because it hardly mentions Our history. The government just wants the people to be ignorant. People don't know that a few weeks after the emancipation proclamation, Lincoln executed 38 Dakota people. People also hardly understand that Natives aren't just one group. Some people will ask me: 'Can you speak Indian?' I'll just answer: 'Can you speak White?'"

It can, of course, be very confusing for many non-Native people to understand the whole complexities of the dual discursive competence I've been trying to outline throughout this thesis. What non-Natives mostly understand is how the Natives portray themselves as one community in order to be recognized and claim their rights; hence they may see them as one community. Yet, through education, Jim believes that knowledge may change. Rebekah explains how powwows and other Native events are also held in order to properly educate the non-Natives. But it can go both ways, a dual education can help Natives adapt better to their environments as Natives in a Western society, in the manner that the Sycuan reservation has done with the Kumeyaay Community College. Cajete (1999:134,136) believes that instruction

in bicultural education can have as an outcome the positive attitude towards the scientific approaches of the rationalistic/dualistic Western worldview, and the reaffirmation of the students' tribal identity and connection to the mutualistic/holistic worldview of Native American cultures.

A further issue Natives are trying to tackle is the cultural appropriation of certain Native traditions, customs or images, which are used by the wrong people for all the wrong reasons. Firstly, there are still many sport teams who have Native images as their mascots (see Fig. 21).



Fig. 21

Many Natives are outraged by this, one of them being Jim. He comments:

“Mascot caricatures are mostly not positive, so they’re being openly racist against us. Plus, the arguments non-Natives use are just ridiculous. One of their main arguments is that it is their tradition and that we can’t take that away from them. Excuse me? It’s not like you’ve ever taken anything away from us, right?” (see Fig. 22)



Fig. 22

Images are not the only method of stereotyping Natives and commodifying them, because Forever 21, H&M and Urban Outfitters have all used Native regalia and traditions (see Fig. 23 and 24). Selling Native regalia is seen as extremely offensive for Natives because many of these items are sacred to them. Caleb expresses:

“I find that people should stop using a headdress for fun during festivals and such. I’m a Native and I’m not even allowed to use it! These are sacred things to us and people just use it in banal ways.”

Keeler slandered Urban Outfitters in her article because one of it’s products. Keeler wrote: “I never thought I’d see the day when an ‘energy-balancing smudge kit’ would have a ‘product sku’ number of 34519397 and a ‘colour code’ of 012. [...] I got my instructions from my relatives while being taught our traditional ceremonies passed down for generations in my family. These ceremonies were originally given to our Dakota/Lakota people by the Pte San Win (the White Buffalo Calf Woman), a sacred being who came to us and brought us the sacred pipe.”²⁷ She, furthermore, pleads people to stop buying Native American clothing and culture from Urban Outfitters or other stores, and simply seek out actual Native artists who sell their work based on their customs and traditions, sometimes even with a modern twist – “I support inspired Natives not Native-inspired”.²⁸

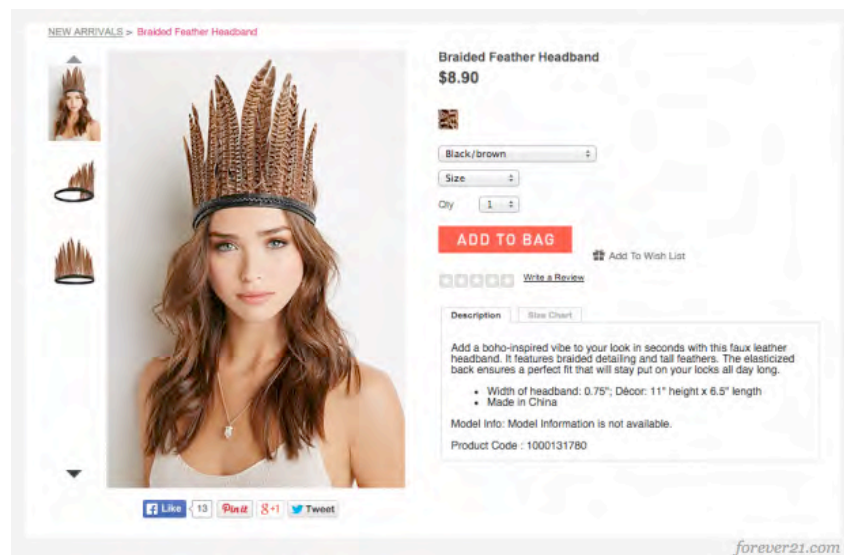


Fig. 23

²⁷ <http://www.dailydot.com/opinion/urban-outfitters-native-american-cultural-appropriation/>, Accessed: 26-06-2015.

²⁸ See e.g. <http://eighthgeneration.com/pages/inspired-natives-project>.



Fig. 24

The main issue of course will always be, how authentic is this work? Dockstader (1954:132) explains how “the entry of commodification affected the attitude towards ceremony and religious artefacts. Many changes in techniques and appearances were made, thus the artefacts’ meaning and value decreased.” Hence, are traditions simply there in order to secure economic resources or do the products still hold value even if they are sold off? Syvlain (2005) would most possibly relate commodification of Native products with ethnotourism, yet one must not forget to recognize the *agency* of the Native Americans in constructing their ethnic identity and culture, within the dialectic played out with the larger society (see e.g. Nagel 2000:83), in whatever way that may be. As Keeler describes, it is always more favourable that Natives sell their own products, rather than other people appropriate it and profit from it.

The essence of Native identity is cultural and rooted in the distinctive tribal identity of the Native tribes and “it is up to the Native nations to reclaim their histories and traditions, and counter the pervasive influence of American history which continues to define both Native American history, traditions and tribal jurisdictional authority” (Endreson 2001:201). This agency mostly started with the efforts made by AIM and although the actions of AIM were a milestone in Native American history, true recognition and a sense of belonging still has a long way to go. Carlos comments:

“We still need to do so much to be recognized and respected. There is still a law in Montana that states: Seven or more Indians are considered a raiding or war party and it is legal to shoot them. How can this still be a law?”

Jim adds:

“Do you know when the National Indian Day is? Well it’s the day after Thanksgiving. So we are commemorated the day after the non-Natives are supposedly ‘thanking’ us for having saved their asses during the Mayflower era, to only having mass murdered us afterwards.”

Caleb also finds it hard to express his Nativeness within his small dancing community at his faculty. He explains:

“I often get comments like, could you try and be less involved with Native traditions? Could you be a little more experimental? Whenever I come up with ideas they are often passed and seen as foolish, yet when anyone else comes with ideas of ‘connecting with a tree’ or something like that, it is seen as an outstanding idea. It’s ridiculous because those ideas are mostly what Native traditions stand for because we connect with nature, yet if it would come from my mouth it would be seen as ridiculous. Another example was when I was talking to some friends about how the Natives might have lost their 6th sense²⁹ when they were forced to cut their hair. I don’t care if you believe in it or not, but by not even wanting to listen to the story and immediately calling it ridiculous, you are negating my experiences and my stories. And by negating a person’s experiences or story, one negates their existence.”

Reflection

Nagel (1997:73) argues that ethnic identification is a combination of internal, as well as external opinions and designations. That is, “what *you* think is your ethnicity, versus what *they* think is your ethnicity” (Nagel 2000:83, my italics). Yet, as we have seen above, these can clash greatly, to the point where the external aspect of the dialectical process is often denying or ignoring the Natives’ recognition, further influencing their sense of belonging. Denial or ignorance is known to have influenced Natives’ position within American society and how (or if) a Native adapts to the modern ways. As stated above, many people resort to

²⁹ It is often said that long hair possesses a 6th sense, namely, a certain intuition, sense or ability to read signs. It was often used for hunting or tracking down enemies.

drugs, alcohol or suicide because the feeling of hopelessness and incapability can become overwhelming.

Natives are often seen as either 'non-authentic' or unable to adapt to modern times, which is linked to the cultural homogenization and cultural preservation discourse. Re-constructing traditions or an innovating economic resource, in order to go along with a (supposedly) homogenous and modern society, is often perceived as a loss of identity and authenticity. On the other hand, if Natives fight for preservation and the appropriation of their own cultures, they are often seen as stuck in the past and unable to adapt. This dualistic point of view has to change to one where one can find a balance between both, instead of being stuck between two cultures. Baumann (1996:6) argues, "the image it evokes is not of [...] people performing culture as a process of making sense of each other and of others, but of a culture-less flock lost between two immovable objects named cultures." The dominant discourse that the Natives portray can be seen as essentialized where Natives are connected, have common traditions and customs, or share these in their fight towards recognition and the appropriate execution of their political and cultural rights. Yet, the stereotypical vision of Natives being the 'bad guy' or rich because of casinos is not what they identify themselves with. Jim explains how it feels like the Natives have to continuously jump through hoops in order to be able to achieve what they want to achieve, yet, in his point of view, education could do so much to change these issues.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This final chapter shall give a short and concise answer to my main research question: *How do the Native Americans in the city of San Diego, as well as the Native Americans in the nearby reservations, negotiate notions of ethnic and cultural authenticity, after the Native American political struggle of the 1970s and the 1980s?* Put in a more simplistic manner, what does it mean to be Native American? Who can call themselves Native American and why? AIM has contributed extensively towards the claim to rights and recognition, seen that the Native Americans have achieved tribal and cultural sovereignty, yet how does it stand now? These were the main questions I asked myself during the duration of my research period in San Diego County, as well as while writing this thesis. By taking an anthropological and ethnographic perspective, where I approached the problem in a holistic manner, I was able to obtain a deep understanding of the complexities that concepts like identity and authenticity can have in this specific context.

Nagel (2000:95) argues, “given the constructed nature of ethnicity and reality generally, there is no paucity of answers to questions about who is really an Indian, and there is a dearth of consensus about which answers are sound.” After three months of research, I have come to a similar conclusion as my final argument and insight into the field of anthropology of identity politics. I reached this conclusion by analysing the emic perspective of NASA as an organization, as well as the emic perspective of each member of NASA. From there I expanded my network to Native people outside of NASA, and compared all my final findings. One of the first conclusions I made was that there are many ways for ethnic and cultural identity and authenticity to be seen, represented, recognized or scrutinized. As a result, there is no way to indicate which story or which representation is the correct one or the truth. Henry acknowledges how all Natives and Native tribes have their own truth, and Caleb recognizes that everybody’s story should be listened to and not negated. Moreover, as a researcher, it is not my place to judge if a story is true or not. My task is to simply explore, understand and outline the *dialectical* nature and complexities of the emic perspective the Native Americans of San Diego County hold regarding their ethnic and cultural identity and authenticity. I then started to analyse which factors contribute to the negotiation and formation of the Native American ethnic and cultural identity, which brings me to my second conclusion. Native Americans’ identity is influenced by several different factors, namely, modernization, important Native actors or elite, tourism, tribal membership, blood quantum, racial essentialism, cultural knowledge, as well as external social, economic, and political processes

that are in constant modification, which problematizes the nature of identity and authenticity even more.

In chapter one, I argue how the Native Americans are defined within a dual discursive competence. On the one hand, they portray themselves as one *community*, otherwise known as the *dominant discourse*, where they have the same goals and characteristics in order to gain certain rights and recognition, and fully exercise their rights of tribal and cultural sovereignty. On the other hand, they see themselves as completely different and independent *communities*, also known as the *processual discourse*, where they portray themselves as having considerable cultural distinctions and want to be recognized as such as well. The interplay of these discourses enables the Natives to position their identity situationally in accordance to their surrounding context. They can either accommodate to what is asked of them at that moment or portray themselves conforming to how they feel like they should, what Nagel (2000:84) describes as the ‘layering’ of ethnic identities. Baumann (1996:6) explains that the processual discourse does not replace the dominant discourse, “but in many contexts this [dialectical] discourse counteracts the dominant one by drawing attention to the daily process of ‘making culture’ rather than ‘having a culture’.”

NASA is the perfect example of such a duality, seen that they portray themselves as one community towards the public, yet in actuality, each member is mostly only acquainted with their own tribal culture. NASA’s office is decorated with images and items of numerous Native tribes, and is seen as an organization that represents the Native community. However, after several discussions with NASA members, I came to understand that most of them hardly know what any of those images or items mean, or hardly know each other for that matter. Here we can clearly identify how the discourse with which they represent themselves towards the world is different from the discourse with which the Natives interact amongst themselves and negotiate matters of identity and authenticity.

Seen that every tribe has its own customs, traditions, representations and meanings, I argue that there will probably never be a singular and concrete definition of what it means to be Native. Nonetheless, it is crucial to underline which core elements can play a role in the development of their collective future. Within the Native discourse, which coincides with the dominant discourse, the idea of *community* is an essential part of the exercise of sovereignty. Often enough I have heard how the Natives needed to work more together and use their inherent sovereignty as a way to bring about social awareness towards their goals, either within the Native community or the non-Native community. Nonetheless, many Natives I have spoken to argue that Natives are not able to work together because they do not identify

Conclusion

themselves as one group, just as the UN has done when they ‘put’ all Natives together and designated them an indigenous community. With this in mind, I soon concluded that the Natives likewise do not have a clear and general understanding of what sovereignty means to them, something that Endreson (2001:194) argues is the central challenge. Natives are not able to work together as Endreson believes they should, seen that “the vision of tribal and cultural sovereignty ultimately depends upon the willingness of Indian nations, including their leaders, attorneys, and citizens, to *engage in a dialogue* about what cultural sovereignty *means* and how it can be used to protect the collective future of Indian people” (Endreson 2001:191-192, my italics).

Although many efforts have been made to revive traditions, maintain them or (re)construct them as a way to *co-exist* within modern times, as well as pursue efforts of working alongside the Federal government (instead of measures being taken without the Natives) in order to achieve their goals of recognition and belonging, Rebekah and Carlos believe that not enough is being done. AIM was crucial for establishing tribal and cultural sovereignty, yet what is left of it now? How does it stand? Carlos argues that AIM is too stuck in the past, and that one needs to adapt and innovate to prosper. Moreover, in Rebekah’s point of view, it is all up to the younger generation when they become the new leaders of the Tribal governments because the current Tribal leaders don’t have the vision to do so. I agree to a certain extent seen that several influential members of the community, whom I have mentioned throughout this thesis, are quite narrow-minded and discriminating towards those whom they believe are not included within the Native community. Although I had not considered that this would play such a big role in the negotiation of ethnic and cultural identity before entering the field, I found out within days that this was one of the most crucial issues. Yet, it does not apply to all influential members, of course, seen that Amelia and Alex, who are exemplary figures within their community, do not go along with many of these ideas and views.

Issues of authenticity, recognition and belonging are still in the forefront of most disputes within the Native community. Sturm (2002:4) specifies, “competing definitions of ethnic identity and social belonging often result in personal, political and social conflict.” Being too White, too Black, knowing or not knowing the culture, being an enrolled tribal member or not, being an urban Native as opposed to a reservation Native, or not being recognized as a Native at all, can all influence a person’s sense of belonging and feelings of recognition. The fact of the matter is that the Native community is becoming ever more intertribal, as well as interracial, so I argue that Natives must re-examine the nature of their governmental authority as to who is *included* or *excluded*. The main question Natives must ask themselves is how much “racial blending [and cultural blending] can occur before Native Americans cease to be

identified as a distinct people, and what danger does it pose to Native American sovereignty?" (Sturm 2002:3).

These issues of recognition and belonging also come from another direction, namely from a great part of the non-Native community. Natives are seen as those who own the casinos, live on reservations far from society with their feathers and tipi tents, and are often alcohol or drug addicts. Such stereotypical images is what drives the Natives to fight ever more to be respected and portrayed correctly, as part of their appropriation of cultural sovereignty and their right to represent themselves (Perdue and Green 2010:129). Nonetheless, when Native tribes attempt to construct their own reality within the current setting they are in, they are either seen as non-authentic if they modernize, or too stuck in the past when they wish to maintain their traditions. Basically they are envisioned as "a culture-less flock lost between two immovable objects named cultures" (Baumann 1996:6). I argue that this vision must be changed into one where there can be a balance between both, where the Natives do not only have the option to conform to cultural homogeneity or to completely isolate themselves in cultural preservation.

This thesis provides a deep and intricate account of the complexities and intricacies of how ethnic and cultural identity is negotiated. The existence of a dual discursive competence, the internal and external discrimination, and the search for a balance between cultural homogeneity and cultural preservation reveal the negotiated, problematic nature of ethnic and cultural identity. In order for me to understand how social processes such as these take place, the method of ethnographic fieldwork contributed immensely. I have realised throughout my research that there can be a great difference between what people say they do and how they act in practice, which is essential to understanding any type of processes of change. Moreover, my research contributes to the social sciences of anthropology because it demonstrates how the negotiation of identity is fluid, always open to human agency, and always a dialectical process between what *you* think your identity is versus what *they* think your identity is. Also, with my description of sovereignty throughout this thesis, I have put its conceptualization into debate within an anthropological point of view. Rather than it being seen as equated to the boundaries of nation-states, one must regard sovereignties as crosscutting and existent in multiple and layered forms.

Last but not least, I would like leave a final conclusion and a recommendation. The Native American community will eventually have to ameliorate their ability to work together, because as Endreson (2001:209) argues, "[Natives should continue to] structure [their] institutions to combine traditional ways of thinking with contemporary challenges and to

Conclusion

develop strategies to meet current as well as future needs of tribal communities.” This is and will be a gradual process, which, in my point of view, shall most probably succeed most when the current Native youth become the voices of the *community*, seen that they are the ones who are now caught in the middle of figuring out how these institutions should be developed. This immediately links to my recommendation, namely, that a similar study be done in eight to ten years in order to examine if the negotiation of ethnic and cultural identity and authenticity has gone more towards a direction of cooperation.

Conclusion

Epilogue

A warm thank you to everyone who contributed to the making of this thesis.

Toksa` kola waste` elo

(Take care my good friend...)

References

Aupers, S., Houtman, D., and J. Roeland

2010 Authenticiteit: De Culturele Obsessie met Echt en Onecht. *Sociologie* 6(2):3-10.

Baumann, G.

1996 Contesting Cultures: Discourses of Identity in Multi-Ethnic London. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baumann, G.

1999 The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking national, ethnic, and religious identities. London: Routledge.

Beck, U.

2003 Toward a New Critical Theory with a Cosmopolitan Intent. *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical and Democratic Theory* 10(4): 453-468.

Boeije, H.

2010 Analysis in Qualitative Research. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Cobo, José Martínez

1986 The Study of the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Populations. Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1986/7/Add.4. Geneva: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

DeWalt, K. and B. DeWalt

2011 Participant observation: A guide for fieldworkers. Plymouth: Altamira Press.

Dockstader, F.

1954 The Kachina and the White Man: The Influences of White Culture on the Hopi Kachina Culture. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Endreson, D.

2001 The State of Native Americans and its Unfolding Self-Governance. *Law & Policy Review* 12(2): 185-219 (symposium)

Eriksen, T.

1994 *Ethnicity and Nationalism*. London: Pluto Press.

Falzon, M.

2009 Introduction *In Multi-sited Ethnography: Theory, Praxis and Locality in Contemporary Research*. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Hansen, T. and F. Stepputat

2005 Introduction *In Sovereign Bodies: Citizens, Migrants, and States in the Postcolonial World*. Oxfordshire: Princeton University Press.

Hansen, T. and F. Stepputat

2006 Sovereignty Revisited. *The Annual Review of Anthropology* 35:16.1-16.21.

Hedetoft, U. and Hjort, M.

2002 Introduction *In The Postnational Self: Belonging and Identity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Heelas, P.

1996 Introduction *In Detraditionalization*. Paul Heelas, Scott Lash and Paul Morris. Pp 1-20. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers Inc.

Hobsbawm, E.

2003 [1983] Introduction *In The Invention of Tradition*. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. Pp. 1-14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, E.

2007 *Globalization, Democracy and Terrorism*. London: Abacus.

Lauderdale, P.

2008 Indigenous Peoples in the Face of Globalization. *American Behavioral Scientist* 51(12):1836-1843.

Nagel, J.

1997 *American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Red Power and the Resurgence of Identity and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nagel, J.

2000 False Faces: Ethnic Identity, Authenticity, and Fraud in Native American Discourse and Politics. *In Identity and Social Change*. Joseph E. Davis. Pp. 81-106.

Perdue, T. and M, Green.

2010 North American Indians: A Very Short Introduction. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sieder, R.

2011 Contested Sovereignities: Indigenous law, Violence and State Effects in Postwar Guatemala. *Critique of Anthropology* 31(3):161-184.

Smith, C. and G. Ward

2000 Indigenous cultures in an Interconnected World. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Strong, P.

2005 Recent Ethnographic Research on North American Indigenous Peoples. *The Annual Review of Anthropology* 34:253-268.

Sturm, C.

2002 Blood Politics: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sylvain, R.

2005 Disorderly Development: Globalization and the Idea of "Culture" in the Kalahari. *American Ethnologist* 32(3): 354-370.

Turner, T.

1993 Anthropology and Multiculturalism: What is Anthropology that Multiculturalists should be mindful of it? *Cultural Anthropology* 8(4):411-429.

United Nations

2007 Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly 61/295, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, A/RES/61/295 (13 September 2007), available from undocs.org/A/RES/61/295.

Wimmer, A.

2002 *Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity*.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wolf, E.

1982 *Europe and the People Without History*. Berkeley: University of California

Press.

Xing, J. and L. Hirabayashi

2003 *Reversing the Lens: Ethnicity, Race, Gender, and Sexuality through Film*.

Bolder: University Press of Colorado.

Appendix I

Research question:

How do Native Americans in the city of San Diego, as well as the Native Americans in the nearby reservations, negotiate notions of ethnic and cultural authenticity, after the Native American political struggle of the 1970s and 1980s?

Sub-questions:

1. What types of books, information, images, objects, narratives and sayings can be found in the university library and bookstore, as well as within the Native American community in the city and the reservation, and what does it say about the Native American community?
2. How do Native Americans in the city and the reservations of San Diego perceive their ethnic and cultural identity?
3. How do the Native Americans perceive each other?
4. How do the Native Americans in San Diego believe the non-Natives perceive them?

