Anthropological Practices: Correcting Anthropologists' Disregard of Contemporary Issues in Indigenous Communities

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Abstract

Past anthropologists aided in creating Dead Indian Culture, leading to settler-colonial Indigenous erasure, as if Indigenous peoples no longer exist. The purpose of researching the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women (MMIW) crisis is to use modern Anthropology as a tool of truth-telling to name MMIW as a product of settler colonialism, Christianity, and the whitewashed history produced by anthropologists. The study uses mixed methods research, which includes looking into the statistics of missing and murdered Indigenous women, the accuracy of those statistics, and personal accounts from women directly or indirectly affected by the violence. The investigation continues by examining jurisdictions, laws, and contradictions surrounding specific crimes, including the anthropological history encircling settler colonialism, past and present. The research examines the toxic atmosphere surrounding media discourse and how environmental racism contributes to gendered violence. Findings show that intergenerational trauma from settler colonialism hinders many Indigenous families from reporting violent incidents. Results further yield that the perpetrators of violence against Native women are predominantly white men, suggesting that, at its roots, this is more a white problem than an Indigenous issue; it should not be the responsibility of the oppressed to kill the ra(c)(p)ist and save the man. The research focuses heavily on critically evaluating the field of anthropology and its role in contemporary issues. Lastly, education of settler society against racism and inaccurate histories is explored as an avenue to interrupt settler violence against women.

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Lastly, the University of Idaho in Moscow is located on the homelands of the Nimiipu, Palus, and Schitsu'umsh Nations. I extend gratitude to the Indigenous people that call this place home, since time immemorial.

Dedication

To my friends and family who stuck by my side when I felt like I was losing my mind. I could not have done this without you all.

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Trigger & Content Warning

Some content in this thesis may refer directly or indirectly to:

Colonization

Trauma / intergenerational trauma

Death and dying

Residential schools

Physical/sexual violence

Child abuse

Emotional abuse

Slurs, stereotypes, racism

Addictions, including drug or alcohol abuse

Suicide and self-harm

Chapter One: Introduction

"Women's sovereignty is central to Indian sovereignty because nations cannot be free if their Indian women are not free."
–Bonnie Clairmont, Hochunk anti-rape activist, in *Keetsahnak: Our missing and murdered Indigenous sisters* (2018, p. 148)

"When an Indigenous woman goes missing, she goes missing twice — first her body vanishes and then her story."
–Unknown Author

Abstract

Historically and presently, anthropologists spend a great deal of time studying cultural changes, particularly following the western invasion of North America. Using armchair methods and a colonial lens to educate future anthropologists on Indigenous cultures and histories remains problematic (Deloria, 1989; Smith, 2012). Indigenous author Thomas King (2012) explains that the "bits of cultural debris" that anthropologists share with the western world exoticize and challenge the authenticity of living Native Americans (p. 54). Some Indigenous authors deem these misrepresentations of a modern people as 'Dead Indian Culture' (King, 2012, p. 53). This section looks at settler-colonial violence toward Native American women through a focus on the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) crisis, which is perpetuated in part by anthropology's creation of 'Dead Indian Culture,' and examines how anthropologists might use Indigenous perspective and ways of knowing to alter our discipline's continuing harmful discourse.

Introduction

On October 24, 2017, Olivia Lone Bear, a 32-year-old mother of five, vanished from Fort Berthold Reservation in New Town, North Dakota. On the evening of her disappearance, Olivia told her family she planned to grab a drink from the local bar but intended to return that night (Keeler, 2018). When she failed to return home and did not respond to their texts, her family immediately feared the worst because of the reservation's recent increase in drug, trafficking, and sex crimes.

Reports from the United States Bureau of Justice Statistics link the rise in violent crimes to the development and expansion of “man camps,” which surround the reservation and provide temporary housing for thousands of non-Native transient oil field workers (Finn, 2020). Worried about her uncharacteristic silence, Olivia’s family searched for her the next day. On Friday, October 27, three days after her disappearance, Olivia’s family filed an official missing person report with the Three Affiliated Tribes Police Department. Police did not respond or send out a statewide alert until Wednesday, November 1 (Keeler, 2018). Forced to pick up the slack, the family criticized tribal law enforcement’s lack of engagement.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) did not oversee the Tribal police’s efforts until February but ultimately refused to investigate after examining the case due to the lack of evidence. After weeks of Olivia’s family searching with no answers, they urged officers to examine the lake before it froze over (Keeler, 2018). Outside agencies, including Fish and Game and authorities from other counties, extended help by offering sonar equipment, which would provide a look below the water’s surface. Tribal police declined to conduct the search stating a lack of resources. After this comment, Olivia’s brother Matt Lone Bear shed light on the department’s “lack of resources” by posting a photo of the many watercrafts parked in their supply yard (Keeler, 2018, para. 2). The tribe stepped in, offering the Lone Bear family office space to conduct and coordinate searches, and Victim’s Services covered the search teams’ hotel bills for two months (Keeler, 2018). On July 31, 2018, a volunteer used their boat and sonar to scan the lake. Just a few hundred feet from the shore, the volunteer spotted something below the surface that resembled a truck. The volunteer’s theory became a reality when detectives pulled the vehicle from the lake and identified it as the truck associated with Olivia. Inside, rescue teams found Olivia’s remains buckled into the passenger’s seat (Cohen, 2018). Officials consider Olivia’s cause of death undetermined, and the case remains open.

Four months earlier, on June 5, 2017, Ashley Loring Heavyrunner, a 20-year-old Blackfeet woman, vanished from her reservation near Billings, Montana. When Ashley’s sister, Kimberly, returned home from a vacation a few days later and could not locate her, she contacted local authorities. After a three-day search, authorities’ efforts to find Ashley diminished, but her family’s search continued (Stern, 2021). Two weeks after her disappearance, her family received a tip from an individual stating they witnessed a woman running from a truck in a desolate area of U.S. Highway 89 the night Ashley vanished (Cavallier, 2021). The Blackfeet reservation borders the heavily touristed Glacier National Park, which creates a continuous flow of transient, unknown people along U.S. Highway 89, making it hard to identify possible suspects. When searching the desolate area mentioned by the witness, Kimberly and a friend uncovered a frayed sweater and red-stained boots.

Witnesses identified the clothes as the ones Ashley wore the night of her disappearance. The family gave the items to local law enforcement for DNA analysis but never received any results because officials misplaced the evidence (Cavallier, 2021). The BIA, Office of Justice Services, Missing and Murdered Unit took over the case after two months but offered minimal efforts to locate Ashley. The FBI ceased the case when investigations took detectives off the reservation seven months later. The bureau investigated various leads on Ashley's case, but none yielded any results. Though the family continues looking, law enforcement puts in minimal effort (Simon et al., 2018). In 2018, Kimberly spoke before the U.S. Senate in Washington, D.C. about law enforcement's negligence and mismanagement of Ashley's case. Kimberly stated, "from the very beginning, both the Blackfeet Tribal Law Enforcement and the BIA have ignored the dire situation that Ashley is in and have allowed the investigation to be handled in a dysfunctional manner. This isn't just a reality for our family but a reality for many murdered and missing Indigenous women's families (Cavallier, 2021, para. 25)." Today, the case remains unsolved.

Before deciding to tell Olivia and Ashley's stories, both of which made national news, I spent a week going through multiple MMIWG non-profit databases, searching for an individual who did not make headlines to demonstrate the crisis Indigenous women face. I struggled to locate a single case that epitomizes the underrepresentation of Native women, not because none exist but because too many emerge. The distinction between knowing the statistics of MMIWG and conceptualizing them became apparent when looking at the unfathomable number of faces staring back at me from the screen (Fig.1). On websites such as Justice for Native People, the faces of the missing and murdered line the page like yearbook photos with never-ending rows and an unreachable bottom. Unlike Ashley and Olivia, most people on these sites receive little to no attention from society, severely limiting the availability of information regarding their cases. Constricted by a lack of information and determined to help other outsiders, like myself, grasp the magnitude of the MMIWG crisis, I compiled a running list of women missing or murdered in the last year.

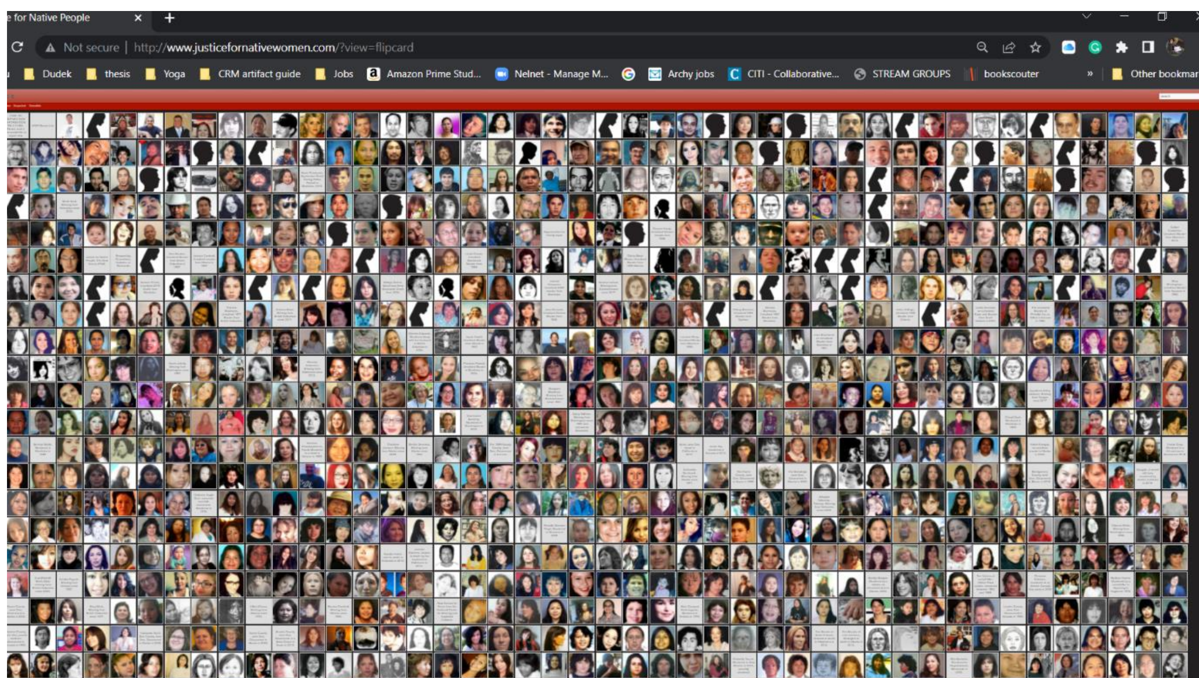

Figure 1 Screen Capture from Justice for Native Peoples' Website (2022).

Originally, rather than starting with Olivia and Ashley's stories, I started this chapter by listing the victims' names to display how many women go missing a year without most of us knowing— think Janelle Monae's Say Her Name (Hell You Talmbout) vibes. The number of women and girls missing or murdered changes daily, though, making it impossible to present an accurate list of individuals. Between August 1, 2021, and September 20, 2021, the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women USA Facebook page posted more than forty-six women and girls to their site. The forty-six posts referenced exclude women/girls later located alive, women/girls not reported to that specific non-profit database, or women/girls missing for over a year. Less than 24 hours after completing the list, a short scroll through my Facebook feed revealed seven new missing person reports, meeting the same criterion. I most likely missed others since I only counted posts appearing in my feed. Though numerous, many of the reported individuals seem non-existent beyond the walls of MMIWG activist pages because of the lack of representation in the dominant society. In the last several years, mainstream media glossed over only a handful of missing Indigenous women, such as Olivia Lone Bear and Ashley Heavy Runner, despite facing the highest rates of gendered violence per capita. The systemic underrepresentation of Black and Brown communities facing gendered violence appears in all facets of society due to the pervasive construct of settler colonialism.

Gender-Based Violence & Settler-colonialism

The Ottawa Coalition to End Violence against Women (OCTEVAW) non-profit (2021) defines Gender-Based Violence (GBV) as violence exacted upon someone because of their gender identity, expression, or perceived gender. Many organizations use the term Gender-Based Violence to encapsulate the various forms of abuse, assault, or brutality, typically involving sexual violence. OCTEVAW (2021) explains that the government categorizes assault as an isolated act of violence and categorizes abuse as patterned violence that manifests in many forms (i.e., physical, sexual, verbal/emotional, harassment/stalking, environment, or spiritual). Scholars and advocates consider violence against Native women and girls a gendered issue because men, almost exclusively, cause the violence (Palmater, 2016). Colonial imperialism relentlessly informs generations of men about the power of violence against women.

The Indigenous authors of *Keetsahnak: Our Missing and Murdered Indigenous Sisters* (2018) state, "gender violence functions so completely in our reality that it informs our struggles for liberation (p. 217)." Gendered violence against Indigenous communities and societies' silence on the matter results from settler colonialism[1] (Dabiri, 2012). Birthed from the Doctrine of Discovery, or Manifest Destiny, scholars note settler-colonialism as a genocidal structure of violence, rather than an event, that colonizers use to forcibly remove and replace Indigenous peoples (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; Weaver, 2009). Historically and presently, oppressors systematically utilize gendered violence as a weapon to "control, dispossess, erase, dehumanize, shame, and oppress Indigenous peoples (Anderson et al., 2018, p. 209)." Scholars recognize gender-based violence against Native women as a fundamental component of settler-colonialism.

Before colonization, many Indigenous communities structured themselves as matrilineal or egalitarian societies. These societies elevated women and saw them as equals in positions of power. When settlers arrived, they undermined Indigenous women's societal roles, asserting Eurocentric patriarchal hierarchies on Tribes (Weaver, 2009). The violent colonial systems led Native women to internalize colonial values and devalue themselves. Enacting violence on Indigenous women allowed colonizers to seize land quickly because Indigenous culture parallels body and land. Colonizers intentionally use white supremacy and rape culture to effectively destroy generations of Indigenous peoples by preventing them from creating intimate connections with each other and destroying their

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[1] Colonization is to possess land, or people, for resource extraction. Settler- colonialism is to remove and replace Indigenous peoples to occupy the land and utilize it for themselves (Brayboy, 2005).

self-worth (Anderson et al., 2018; Weaver, 2009). Through inaction, gendered violence remains the United States government's approach to achieving policy and exterminating Indigenous peoples.

The United States government demonstrates its colonial agenda by failing to address violence against Indigenous women and girls, which violence prevention specialists recognize as a human rights crisis. The government perpetuates systemic racism through the continual erasure of tribal sovereignty and by underfunding tribal law enforcement and victims' services (Million, 2013). Deer (2015) points out the need to address the historical underpinnings of the intersectionality of violence against Indigenous women and the United States government's lack of response and continual denigration of Tribal authority. Tribes view the government's actions and inactions as a reimagined form of genocide (Dabiri, 2012). Dabiri (2012) states, "there is no beginning or end to the relationship between colonial violence and gender violence. Today, however, the latter reinforces the former: Colonialism needs heteropatriarchy to naturalize hierarchies and unequal gender relations (p. 393)." Colonialism flourishes because of racialized gendered violence and racialized gendered violence flourishes because of colonialism.

Abuse

The Department of Justice (DOJ) reports that men rape Indigenous women at rates 2.5 to 3 times higher than the national average and as much as ten times higher in some areas (N.A., 2007). The DOJ statistics equate to 34.1 percent of all Indigenous women, or more than one in three, with an annual rate of 7.2 victims per one thousand women. The national average of sexual assault on all women in the United States is 1.9 victims per one thousand women each year, and an overall average of one in six (Deer, 2015). Data from the National Institute of Justice states, more generally, that roughly 84 percent of Indigenous women experienced violence, and 56 percent of women experienced some form of sexual violence (Mack and Na'puti, 2019). Palmater (2016) notes that Indigenous women and girls experience exceptionally high rates of sexualized violence, racism, and gendered exploitation from police. Research also shows that Native women do not disclose rapes as often as other racial groups (Dabiri, 2012) but experience higher levels of physical violence during assaults. In attacks on Indigenous women, 25 percent of perpetrators use a weapon to subdue their victim, a sizable jump from the 9 percent of perpetrators who attack white women with a weapon (Deer, 2015). A separate study, limited to Native American sex workers, indicates that 92 percent of working women experience sexual violence (Dabiri, 2012). Sarah Deer (2015), enrolled Muscogee citizen and lawyer, states,

> "In terms of the prevalence rates themselves, most experts I have spoken to (and by experts I mean the grassroots advocates and activists from tribal communities) almost universally assert that the federal statistics represent at best a very low estimate. Actual rates of sexual assault against Native American women are actually much higher. Through my work in Native communities, I heard more than once, I don't know any woman in my community who has not been raped (p. 5)."

Women interviewed by Deer (2015) further explained that conversations with their daughters about sexual violence focus on "when" rather than "if" because rapes occur so frequently. The National Congress of American Indians reports that "92% of Native girls who have had sexual intercourse reported having been forced against their will to have sex - 62% of those girls reported to have been pregnant by the end of the 12th grade… (Asetoyer, 2012, para. 7)." These personal testimonies suggest that violence occurs at rates higher than the federal government's data implies. Mack and Na'puti (2019) indicate that women rarely disclose violence when states collect data regarding the crisis due to the government's frequent misuse of information. Often, agencies use the knowledge obtained to justify violent enforcement in marginalized communities. Such implications cause concerns about the accuracy of the data the DOJ provides.

Dominant culture often attributes the high numbers of rape to the "willing victim," "lifestyle choices," and "inappropriate" female behavior or clothing, rather than faulting the predator (Maze of Injustice, 2007). Approximately 54 percent of rapes that Indigenous communities report involve girls under the age of 12 (Isaac and Young, 2019), raising the question, does society also believe children's "lifestyle choices" make them "willing" victims? Deer (2015) also points out that all these statistics omit gender-based attacks against the homeless, even though Indigenous peoples oversaturate the homeless population. The omissions of specific demographics in data contribute to Deer's distrust of the available national statistics on gender-based violence (Deer, 2015). The DOJ reports that non-Indigenous individuals account for 90 percent of rapists who target Indigenous women and children (Logan, 2016), and white men represent 70 percent of those predators. The high number of white assailants suggests the root of the crisis stems from a settler-colonial mindset and a "jurisdictional black hole" (Dabiri, 2012, p. 385) rather than the victim's lifestyles.

Some historians consider Christopher Columbus the pioneer of gendered violence in the Americas because of well-documented accounts of exploiting, capturing, and trafficking Indigenous women for the satisfaction of his crew on long journeys (Logan, 2016). Today, the government recognizes trafficking, a modern-day form of slavery, as the fastest expanding industry and ranks it second in large-scale crime. Traffickers target Native American women far more than any racial

group (Logan, 2016). In 2016, the National Crime Information Center released a report indicating that at least 5,712 Indigenous women vanished in 2016 alone (Echo-Hawk & Lucchesi, 2017). Data shows that Native women and girls make up 50 percent of women in the trafficking industry; though Indigenous women and girls only make up 0.7 percent of the entire United States population (Isaacs and Young, 2019). Colonizers created and perpetuate the thriving exotic stereotype, as well as racial and cultural inequality; these factors make Indigenous women especially vulnerable by intimating Native women as inherently sexual objects (Anderson et al., 2017).

The unstable economy created by colonizers also plays a role by forcing many Native American women living in poverty into dangerous situations, such as hitchhiking or sex work. Women without reliable modes of transportation often hitchhike to nearby communities for employment and social services, such as women's shelters (Morton, 2016). Those working in the sex industry do so out of necessity, viewing it as the only option to survive and provide for their families (Logan, 2016). These men strategically target women hitchhiking and working the streets because the remote location of reservations makes abducting the women easier and less noticeable.

Trafficking does not always look like the violent abduction we often picture. In some situations, the women's families coerce them to go out of desperation. Historically, families recognize the industry as an exchange of goods; the women provide a service and, in return, receive access to basic amenities. Their reality stems from colonizers subjugating generations of women (Logan, 2016). Regardless of how perpetrators abduct Indigenous women, they remain undetected and do not fear prosecution because jurisdictional conflicts allow them to slip through the cracks (Logan, 2016). Consequently, many of the women never see their families again.

Indigenous peoples represent roughly 1.3 percent of the nation's population but account for about 30 percent of all homicides. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) identifies murder as the third leading cause of death for Indigenous women and girls between 10 and 24 (Isaac and Young, 2019). Research shows that authorities classified 280 out of the 506 cases involving the death of Native women in urban areas as murders, a rate ten times the national average and higher than any other racialized community (Isaac and Young, 2019). Those statistics do not include open case files of missing women or missing person reports dismissed by law enforcement, yet homicides still account for 56 percent of all files (Echo-Hawk & Lucchesi, 2017).

Data collected by the Urban Indian Health Institute (UIHI) shows the highest rates of homicides involving Indigenous women occur in the Southwest, Northern Plains, Pacific Northwest, Alaska, and California regions of the United States (Echo-Hawk & Lucchesi, 2017). Officials identify

Arizona as the state and Seattle, Washington as the city with the highest rates of homicide (Echo-Hawk & Lucchesi, 2017). Alaska estimates that between 800 and 1200 murders involving Indigenous women occurred between 1940 to 2016. Data provided by the Alaska medical examiner indicated that between 1991 and 2005, officials considered 32 of the 41 cases involving the deaths of Indigenous women as homicides (Echo-Hawk & Lucchesi, 2017). While some states, like Alaska, provided the Urban Indian Health Institute with data for their study, others offered little to no data. Some agencies outright declined to participate in the UIHI's research, while others provided records with insufficient data and misinformation, causing significant challenges. Many reports included racial misclassification; these agencies either failed to classify race or used racist, overlapping, inconsistent, and abbreviated labels with no key (Echo-Hawk & Lucchesi, 2017). According to this study, in 2016, the DOJ only reported 116 of the 5,712 open cases to NamUS, the DOJ's database of missing persons (Echo-Hawk & Lucchesi, 2017). The lack of data exemplifies the government's disregard for Native American women.

Law, Jurisdiction, and Loopholes

The three major groups with jurisdiction in Indian Country include The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), State authorities, and Tribal Police. Three variables determine which agency oversees investigations: the predator's tribal enrollment status, the victim's enrollment status, and whether the crime took place in Indian Country (Logan, 2016). However, overlapping statuses blur the lines of authority causing jurisdictional chaos, and allow cases to slip through the cracks without anyone investigating the crimes (N.A., 2007). While jurisdictional issues remain the most significant problem for responding to gendered violence on Tribal lands, issues within each branch also factor into their failure to protect Indigenous women.

Tribal officers' severe lack of resources hinders their ability to conduct proper investigations. According to Amnesty International, the DOJ data suggests that state and federal governments only supply Tribal police with 55-75 percent of the resources offered to police in similar, non-Native rural communities (N.A., 2007). Underfunding the Tribal authorities creates staffing shortages and hinders proper training. Staffing shortages require officers to patrol vast areas and prioritize responses hierarchically. Indigenous women believe that sexism in the predominantly male workforce plays a significant role in the low prioritization of rape (N.A., 2007). If they respond, the officers' lack of training makes them ill-equipped to deal with rape cases on multiple levels.

They often fail to conduct proper investigations, mishandle evidence, and victim blame (N.A., 2007). Officers perform substandard investigations frequently but seldom correct their mistakes.

Though much more equipped to manage these cases, the FBI rarely involves itself in crimes of rape. When it does engage, the FBI responds remarkably slowly. Federal prosecutors attribute the bureaus' lack of response to being "spread really thin since 9/11 (N.A., 2007, p. 43)." However, if tribal law enforcement begins gathering evidence before the arrival of the FBI, the bureau often dismisses the cases. The agency views tribal authorities as incompetent and unable to collect data without contamination. Aware of the FBI's tendency to ignore major crimes, Tribal police respond to rapes hesitantly, if at all (N.A., 2007). As a result, neither institution investigates the rape, leaving Indigenous women particularly vulnerable.

Like tribal officers, State Troopers patrol sizeable territories, sometimes placing them up to 150 miles away from a reported crime. As a result, troopers respond to cases at their discretion and may opt to respond to situations they subjectively deem as more serious (N.A., 2007). Troopers failing to respond poses a serious threat to villages in remote areas that rely solely on State officials for protection due to their restricted access to resources. Unfortunately, Native communities report rapes in Indian territory so frequently that troopers often overlook them and do not bother responding (N.A., 2007).

Officials viewing women as second-class citizens correlates with chronic sexist, Puritan colonizer ideology that considers Native women as filthy and disposable. Despite some political changes since the early European invasion, the U.S. and State Governments still uphold their oppressive, white supremacist ideologies. Systemic racism makes institutions "inadequate at challenging colonial power structures or providing effective responses to violence against Indigenous peoples (Mack and Na'puti, 2019, p. 358)." After centuries of attempts to demolish and assimilate Native peoples, Indigenous women question whether government agencies genuinely want to help.

Though legally recognized as sovereign nations, meaning Indigenous nations are separate from the United States and have the power to self-govern, the federal government revoked Tribes' prosecutorial power over non-Native individuals in 1978 (Deer, 2015). The removal of Tribal authority essentially allowed non-Natives to commit crimes on reservations without punishment. In rare instances, the federal government granted Tribes prosecutorial power over non-Natives but only allowed a one-year max sentence. Not allowing Tribes to convict 90 percent of perpetrators because of their non-Native status allowed roughly 70 percent of cases to fall through the cracks (Dabiri, 2012), making it virtually impossible to punish white men for raping Indigenous women.

Failing to indict and apprehend perpetrators leaves Native American women defenseless against additional attacks since these men know they can get away scot-free (Dabiri, 2012).

In 2013, the Obama administration reinstated the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), allowing tribes slightly more jurisdiction over non-Natives. With the revitalization of VAWA, the government reauthorized tribes' prosecutorial power over non-Natives who commit violent crimes on reservations—*only if a domestic partnership exists between the victim and the accused* (Deer, 2015). The justice system categorizes rape in many ways, such as sexual assault, sexual abuse, domestic violence, and non-consensual sex. Limited definitions of sexual violence create space for defense attorneys to minimize the victims' experiences (Deer, 2015). The many categories complicate tribes' rights to prosecute offenders because of the omission of varying definitions in VAWA. The court's decision to include the "domestic partnership" clause in the VAWA, but to exclude other circumstances, prevents tribes from prosecuting non-Native pedophiles and strangers—further muddling jurisdictional boundaries and allowing sex offenders a legal loophole (Stern, 2021). Regardless of the ascribed vocabulary, the outcome of a sexual predator robbing someone of self-determination bears the same result, profound trauma. The federal and state jurisdiction systems fail Indigenous women by allowing predators to prey on them without consequence, and only Indigenous women know because it rarely ends up in mainstream media.

News Coverage and the dangers of language

On November 5, 2017, bystanders called the police to the scene of a woman lying injured on the ground at a public park in Farmington, New Mexico. When officers arrived, they found a deceased woman and noted foul play. Coroners used dental records to identify the individual as 29-year-old Vanessa Tsosie (Echo-Hawk & Lucchesi, 2017). After determining her identity, police asked the local news to broadcast an alert asking the community for answers instead of notifying Vanessa's family. During the airing, they circulated a picture of Vanessa's shoes (Fig.2). Neither law enforcement nor the media ever distributed a photo of Vanessa (Echo-Hawk & Lucchesi, 2017). Indigenous women view the lack of representation in the press as reality.

Figure 2 The only photo media used for Vanessa Tsosie (Echo-Hawk & Lucchesi, 2017).

Unlike the infamous Gabby Petito case, covered by national news and appearing on all social media platforms, Indigenous women's disappearances rarely receive attention from society. If they even make the local news, newscasters treat them as Vanessa Tsosies. Ninety-five percent of missing Native women never receive national media coverage, and only one in four make the local news stations (Echo-Hawk & Lucchesi, 2017). Another report noted that 51 percent of white homicide victims make the news, a rate 21 percent higher than Indigenous homicide victims (Peterson, 2022). Mainstream media made Olivia Lone Bear and Ashley Heavyrunner exceptions to the rule by fashioning them as the faces of the MMIWG crisis and using them anytime an MMIWG special airs. University of Texas at Austin Associate Professor of Journalism and media Gina Masullo states "We live in a system that puts white women at a higher value (Pearce, 2021, para.7)." Gwen Ifill (2004) coined press and society's attraction to missing person reports, like Gabby's, as "Missing White Woman Syndrome." She explains that when a pretty, White woman goes missing, the media covers the case all day and every day, and the stories enamor society. Ifill's term may appear cynical or dismissive, but it represents the public's lack of attention to Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) communities.

In an interview about the media's lack of engagement, Lynette Grey-Bull, Hunkpapa Lakota and Northern Arapaho descendant and founder of Not Our Native Daughters, states, "As Native people, we already know we come up against racism on a daily basis, and also a sense of not being important. We understand that if we don't have blonde hair, or blue eyes, we won't make it on the six o'clock news or front page of the morning edition. These things don't happen for us (Buncombe, 2021, para. 22)." Indigenous mothers, such as Nicole Wagon, who lost two daughters in separate incidences, feel for all mothers with missing or murdered children. She understands these mothers' pains when reporting a child missing and desire justice for these women's daughters as she does her own. Indigenous mothers, like Nicole, also feel anger when reading about efforts to locate missing white women because the dominant culture did not also go to bat for their daughters (Buncombe, 2021). BIPOC communities address 'Missing white women syndrome' not to imply that media should not cover cases like Gabby's, Laci Peterson's, or Natalie Holloway's, but to bring awareness to the differences in societal responses and urge us to provide the same energy to cases involving Black and Brown individuals. In many instances, outlets do more harm than good, though. Many newscasters share stories riddled with ethnocentric views that reinforce stereotypes and the colonial mindset because, as members of the dominant society, they do not understand the struggles of Indigenous women.

Dominant culture's belief in meritocracy, the idea that a good life comes from hard work and picking oneself up by the bootstraps, creates the criticisms that people in low-income communities face when forced to complete tasks in ways society deems atypical or unacceptable. Societal beliefs of meritocracy, on offshoot of settler colonialism, which intentionally isolates Indigenous groups and forces them into poverty, create impossible situations for Native women. Out of ignorance, news outlets tend to victim blame by presenting negative stereotypes of Native Americans. A recent study of News reports regarding Indigenous victims revealed the following: 38 percent referenced drugs or alcohol, 33 percent misgendered transgender victims, 31 percent referenced criminal histories, 11 percent mentioned the sex industry, 8 percent used false information or no names, 4 percent made excuses for the perpetrator, and 3 percent showed pictures or video of the scene. Further investigations of media coverage revealed that 31 percent of networks use violent language when covering incidents involving Indigenous women. Of those networks, 25 percent use violent language 50 percent of the time or more, and 15 percent of those networks use violent language in 100 percent of airings (Echo-Hawk & Lucchesi, 2017). In contrast, studies reveal that when discussing white victims, news outlets deliver compassionate coverage (Hume, 2021). Violent language perpetuates stereotypes and leads to hate crimes.

Unfortunately, violent language transcends media outlets to other forms of broadcasting. In Canada, billboards line the Highway of Tears urging Native women not to hitchhike. Whether intentional or not, the companies and organizations paying for these ads often use condescending, victim-blaming phrases that overshadow their intended message, i.e., "Ain't worth the risk Sister (Morton, 2016)." The quote uses the word "sister" as a play off the No More Stolen Sisters campaign slogan, which advocates for the protection of Indigenous women. The sponsor then uses "ain't." Since the sponsor directs the billboard at Native women, the word "ain't" reinforces problematic stereotypes and reveals that dominant society views Native women as less intelligent and of lower status (Morton, 2016, p. 309). These billboards also denote dominant societies' superiority complex by implying that Native women who rely on hitchhiking or prostitution for survival demonstrate inferior decision-making skills and make themselves "willing" victims by not changing their ways (Morton, 2016). Native peoples need assistance preventing heinous crimes, such as violence against women, but the non-Indigenous individuals attempting to help need to address their racial biases before rendering aid (Morton, 2016). Messages consumed by non-Indigenous viewers containing racist, judgmental undertones patronize Indigenous women and do nothing to address the problem; instead, they aid in the continual cycle of underrepresentation and misrepresentation of Native women in need.

Mass Media- Entertainment

Beyond news and billboards, the dominant society consumes other forms of media that inaccurately represent Native Americans. Very broadly defined, mass media, a faucet of popular culture, consists of multiple forms of entertainment, including movies, television, music, magazines, and literature. Non-Indigenous artists account for most creators in mainstream mass media. When portraying Indigenous peoples in mass media, artists often use Dead Indian Culture. The creators' depictions of Indigenous peoples typically include buckskin loin clothes, feathered headdresses, the romanticized stoic "warrior" or the degraded "savage" for men, and the mythical "princess" or the untamable, hypersexualized "squaw" for women (Dunbar-Ortiz and Gilio-Whitaker, 2017). Though the federal government recognizes over five hundred Native Nations, each with individual cultural practices, the dominant society views Indigenous people as a monolith and fails to acknowledge them as modern people. Since creators predominantly belong to Non-Native cultures, they present insensitivity, ignorance, and disregard for cultural awareness in their productions.

Abaki Beck (2017), Blackfeet and Red River Métis author and scholar, identifies Disney's Pocahontas as one of the few Native women recognized by the dominant society in mass media. Disney sexualizes Pocahontas and portrays her as a full-figured, adult woman who falls in love with colonizer John Smith (Beck, 2017). The non-Indigenous creators also depict Pocahontas as petite and fair-skinned, closer resembling European ancestry than Indigenous (Dunbar-Ortiz and Gilio-Whitaker, 2017). Disney grossly misrepresents the individual whose story they claim to portray. In his article, *The True Story of Pocahontas: Historical Myths Versus Sad Reality*, Vincent Schilling (2017), Akwesasne Mohawk and editor for Indian Country Today, uses Mattaponi oral histories to reveal the tragic life and death of Matoaka, more aptly recognized by society as Disney's Pocahontas. Matoaka's people's oral histories identify her as the nine or 10-year-old daughter of Chief Powhatan Wahunsenaca at the time of John Smith's arrival in Tsenacomoca during the late 1500s (Dunbar-Ortiz and Gilio-Whitaker, 2017). Their oral histories and cultural practices contradict Smith's accounts indicating Matoaka saved his life, nor did the two engage in a relationship of any form (Schilling, 2017).

The Mattaponi oral histories reveal that in the early 1600s, about four years after John Smith's arrival, English colonizers targeted and molested the children in their village. Before colonization, Indigenous women and children rarely experienced gender-based violence because of tribes' zero-tolerance principles. Tribes took rape seriously and banished predators from their communities, at the very least (Deer, 2015). So, the tribes acted against the colonizers raping their women and children. Faced with the consequences of their atrocious actions and attempting to prevent the retaliatory attacks from the local Indigenous groups, Captain Samuel Argall demanded that Matoaka's brother-in-law temporarily turn her over to him or face even greater violence. Argall then kidnapped Matoaka, forced her to leave her baby behind, and later killed her husband (Schilling, 2017). Argall claimed he traded a copper pot for Matoaka and never returned her to her village.

Dr. Linwood Custalow, the Mattaponi Tribe historian and keeper of their sacred oral histories, explains that Matoaka suffered severe anxiety and depression after her capture. Bothered by the severity of her symptoms, colonizers sought help from Matoaka's oldest sister, Mattachanna. Dr. Custalow explains that the Mattaponi oral histories clearly state that Matoaka revealed to her sister that the Jamestown colonizers raped and impregnated her, invoking fear, anxiety, and depression (Schilling, 2017). The colonizers tried desperately to "civilize" Matoaka by dressing her in their clothes and telling her that her father did not love her, but she resisted. They even converted Matoaka to Christianity and renamed her Rebecca (Hamad, 2019; Schilling, 2017). Witnessing the colony collapse, the colonizers desperately attempted to save Jamestown.

After the birth of her second child, Thomas, colonizer John Rolfe strategically married Matoaka. Rolfe believed that he could use their marriage to learn her tribe's sacred ways of curing tobacco; with their knowledge, he could create a profitable business (Hamad, 2019; Schilling, 2017). Though he never allowed Matoaka to see her people, Rolfe assumed correctly that their marriage would provide access to her peoples' information, and he created a thriving trade network with England (Schilling, 2017). By commoditizing Native resources, John Rolfe placed a target on their backs and walked away.

Rolfe left for England, taking Matoaka, her sister and son, her capturer, and several other tribal members as a signal of peace. British officials condemned colonizers' actions against Native Americans in the colonies, but Rolfe appearing in England with Matoaka eased their minds, and they continued supporting the Jamestown colony (Schilling, 2017). According to the oral histories of Mattachanna, aware of Rolfe's intentions for parading them around for English elites, the Indigenous members requested to return home immediately. Rolfe scheduled their return for early spring the following year (Schilling, 2017). In Mattachanna's accounts, she states that they all boarded the ship the night before their return home but following a private dinner aboard the ship with Rolfe and Argall, Matoaka vomited and died suddenly. Mattachanna's records state that 21-year-old Matoaka exhibited excellent health before dinner, and she believes Rolfe and Argall poisoned her sister (Schilling, 2017). Rolfe left Matoaka's remains in England and sold the other Indigenous peoples as servants, carnival attractions, or as enslaved people if the European's predatory behaviors resulted in pregnancy (Hamad, 2019; Schilling, 2017). Matoaka spent one-third of her life in captivity, enduring unimaginable trauma from British colonizers before her murder and disappearance.

Disney would not profit from the real life of Matoaka because the truth makes the dominant society uncomfortable, so they created one. While tribes consider Matoaka one of the first MMIWG, the dominant society views Pocahontas as a sexualized Indigenous princess who saves a white man because of Disney's misrepresentation (Beck, 2017). As a result, the dominant society often uses renditions of Disney's portrayal of Pocahontas for capital gains. In her article, *Rendered Invisible: Pocahontas Is Not a Sex Symbol (2017),* Abaki Beck demonstrates the sexualization of Pocahontas by presenting the "Pocahottie" Halloween costumes (Fig.3) and Nicki Minaj's Instagram post captioned "Hoecahontas," which includes a hypersexualized caricature of herself as Pocahontas (Beck, 2017, para. 3). The sexually explicit image shows Minaj as three separate versions of Pocahontas, based on the cover photo she appeared in for Paper Magazine (Fig.4). Minaj received backlash from commenters, citing her blatant disregard for Native women and theft of Pocahontas' agency, which led her to remove the photo from her account (Beck, 2017).

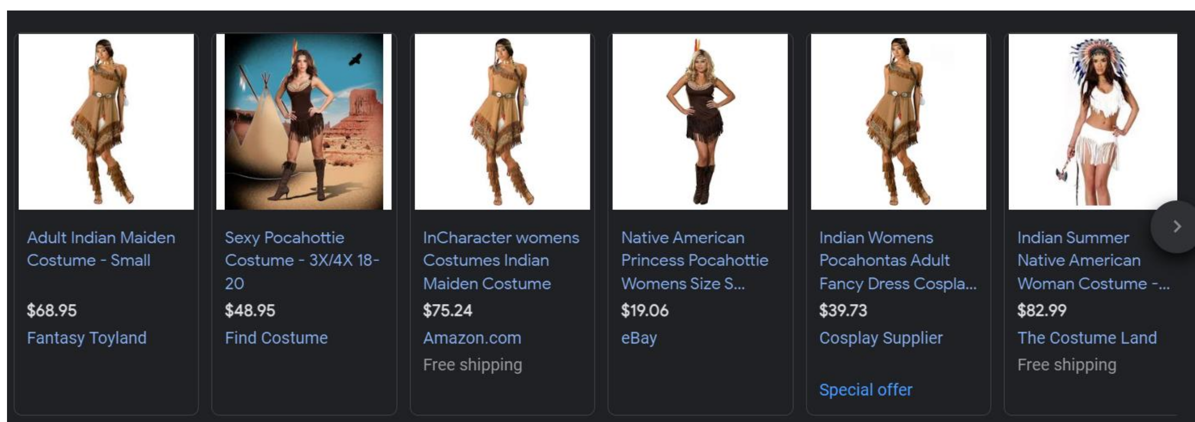

Figure 3 Screen capture of a "Pocahottie" Google Shopping Search.

Figure 4 2017 Paper Magazine cover of Nicki Minaj as sexualized Pocahontas (Beck, 2017).

Not all appropriators specifically use Pocahontas. Many of them use generic representations of Native women, fashioned after the stereotypical buckskin and feathers portrayed in cinema (King, 2012). In No Doubt's "Looking Hot" music video, Gwen Stefani appears as a hypersexualized Native woman in various headdresses, including a knock-off, chicken feather warbonnet, and skimpy regalia.

In an interview for The Nebraska Daily, Racheal Whitehawk Strong, a member of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe, states, "…the general frustration with the video ["Looking Hot"] was that there was a lot of misuse of culturally sacred objects, like the eagle feather staff and the headdress. To understand why that's offensive to Native people, you have to understand what place those things hold in Native culture (Mount, 2012, para. 5)." Mount (2012) also addresses Lana Del Ray wearing, and defending her choice to wear, a headdress while recklessly drinking, firing firecrackers, and waving a gun in her music video "Ride," and Victoria's Secret model Karlie Kloss wearing a warbonnet while also wearing a leopard print bikini, fringe leather, and turquoise during a runway show. Traditionally, only Native men of the Great Plains wore warbonnets and every feather was of excellent quality and importance because each one signified an accomplishments, like a badge of honor (Mount, 2012). Tribes consider regalia, such as headdresses and other traditional wear, culturally significant, not a costume.

Princella Parker, a member of the Omaha Tribe of Nebraska and film director who combats the media's normalization of limited and negative representations of Indigenous peoples, responded to these pop icon's actions by explaining the negative stereotypes (i.e., alcoholics, wild, untamable, sexualized beings, etc.) associated with Indigenous women. Parker then states, "It's [icons appropriating Native Culture] perceived as harmless because America is a melting pot and we have shared cultures in diversity. But this is not diversity. This is a bastardization of Native culture (Mount, 2012, para. 16)." Strong further explains that "we're not really in control of our image in the media... There are other people who have more power in the media who are able to portray Native people, and they don't do it in a very accurate way (Mount, 2012, para. 2)." Non-Native women culturally appropriating and sexualizing Indigenous women does not end with these three.

Non-Native women, famous and regular Janes, frequently appropriate the "Indian Princess" and "sexy squaw." According to Native Appropriations, non-Native women often wear the "sexy squaw" stereotype with pasties or body paint to music festivals such as Bonnaroo and Coachella- not only because they see the outfit as sexy, but because they follow pop-icons who continue to fashion the look as sexy (Keene, 2010). The inaccurate representation of Indigenous peoples in pop culture stems from the creators' perceptions of Indigenous peoples. The largely non-Indigenous creators' portrayal of Indigenous peoples then becomes the perceptions of the dominant society. Adrienne Keene, Cherokee Native and author of Native Appropriations, states, "There's a legacy and history there that many people [non-Native] don't know or understand. Native women have been highly sexualized throughout history and pop culture (Keene, 2010, para. 6-7)." Most pop-culture artists almost exclusively use the "Indian Princess" or "sexy squaw" stereotype when representing Native

women, influencing members of the dominant society. Keene (2010) points out that the dominant culture hypersexualizes almost all Native women depicted in media, such as the Tiger Lily in Peter Pan, Cher in her “Half Breed” music video, as well as any other musician who uses the look, and even the Land ‘o’ Lakes butter girl, not just Pocahontas. Marketers, artists, and producers all capitalize on the sexualization of Native women.

These inaccurate, hypersexualized perpetuations of Native women by the dominant society cause extreme dangers to the lives of actual Native women. Some scholars believe that the mythical, romanticized story of Pocahontas and other sexualized depictions of Native women reinforces Eurocentric values and beliefs, making it a powerful tool of colonialism (Dunbar-Ortiz and Gilio-Whitaker, 2017). People who know the statistics of MMIWG recognize the dangers of the “sexy squaw” narrative in the settler society and believe the inaccurate depictions encourage the ongoing, heightened rates of sexual violence against Indigenous women enacted by Non-Native men. Keene (2010) states, “This is not just about cultural appropriation. This is about a serious, scary, and continuing legacy of violence against women in Indian Country… by perpetuating the stereotypes of Native women as sexual objects, they are aiding and continuing the cycle of violence (para. 9).” Most Indigenous women do not consent to the dominant society objectifying them or the misrepresentations used in media, yet it continues to happen. Native women cannot stop the violence enacted by non-Native men if the dominant society continues to normalize the sexualization of Indigenous women. Very few popular-culture creators understand the significance of their actions because non-Native representation oversaturates the industry.

Some creators recognize their impacts on societies’ levels of awareness and perceptions. Non-Native film writer and director Taylor Sheridan tries to break the mold by exposing the MMIWG crisis in his recent films and series. In 2017, Sheridan released the popular movie Wind River on Netflix. The movie depicts the rape and murder of an 18-year-old Indigenous woman. In the film, a white wildlife officer discovers the woman’s remains in the frozen backcountry of Wyoming while on patrol. The officer quickly alerts and involves both Tribal authorities and the FBI in an investigation. An FBI agent showed up almost immediately. The trio works swiftly and together to determine a group of men living in a resource extraction man camp just outside the reservation committed the rape and murder of the young Native woman. Knowing the system would fail, the wildlife office took justice into his own hands and avenged the woman’s death. Though the movie provides the dominant society with unrealistic perceptions of the justice system’s efforts to aid Indigenous women and maintains a white savior narrative, Sheridan provides insight to those with no prior knowledge of the MMIWG crisis or its connection to environmental racism. Many Indigenous peoples view social

media activists calling out the inappropriate misuse of Indigenous culture, a slight shift in a few non-Indigenous mainstream creators' films, and a growing push for Native representation as a step in the right direction.

Environmental Racism and Man Camps

Ethics and environmental justice scholar Joseph R. Desjardins characterizes environmental racism as the unequal allocation of burdens on people in the least privileged places by the dominant society (Buck, 2021). Scholars view environmental racism as a byproduct of capitalism, enforced by ongoing settler-colonialism. The dominant society demonstrates environmental racism by placing things they consider a necessity but view as displeasing to the eye or harmful, such as pipelines, in areas occupied by low-income people of color (Etringer, 2021). In recent years, social media allowed society to witness Native communities pushing back against big oil companies placing pipelines, like the Dakota Access and Keystone XL pipelines, in areas that would undoubtedly affect the ecosystem and water supply for multiple reservations. Kate R. Finn (2020), enrolled Osage member, attorney, author, and victim advocate, explains that these pipelines also contribute to the exponential increase in violent crime on reservations associated with the placement of extractive industry man camps for transient workers, especially when situated near reservations. A study funded by the Canadian Government's Women and Gender Equality Department defines the environment at man camps as 'rigger' culture because of the men's hyper-masculinity, sexism, rampant drug and alcohol use, and lack of self-care (Anderson et al., 2018). Finn (2020) explains that many studies, including a 2019 study by the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, link the environment of the camps to increased rates of violence against women and children.

Data collected from Law Enforcement agencies in the Bakken oil region by the Bureau of Justice Statistics shows the Fort Berthold reservation area, where Olivia resided, experienced a fluctuating 30-70 percent increase in population after the placement of multiple man camps which house thousands of non-Indigenous, transient individuals at any given time (Finn, 2020). The FBI's 2019 study indicates a 70 percent increase in violent crime and a 30 percent increase in serious violent crime, such as rape and homicide, from 2006 to 2012. The data identifies crimes in the Bakken region as isolated because counties beyond the area of interest saw a decrease in violent crimes during the years studied (Finn, 2020). Victimization by strangers increased by 53 percent, and sexual violence against Indigenous women and girls increased by 54 percent, primarily due to the rise in statutory rape, which the law defines as an adult sexually penetrating someone under the

designated age of consent (Finn, 2020). Those studying the intersectionality of man camps and violence against women note the lack of government involvement and the dominant society's perceived stereotypes of Native women as significant contributing factors to the unequivocal violence (Andersen et al., 2018). Though meant as temporary housing, the effects of man camps live on for many generations.

Generations of Indigenous Nations continuously affected by environmental racism understand the deep-rooted interconnectedness between land and women's bodies because settler colonialism utilized both gendered violence and environmental exploitation to erase and destroy Indigenous peoples (Mack and Na'puti, 2019; Million, 2013). In *Keetsahnak: Our Missing and Murdered Indigenous Sisters*, Helen Knott, a Dane Zaa, Nehiyaw, and Euromerican author and activist, states, "Native women have historically been equated with the land, therefore the Euro constructed image of Native women…mirrors Western attitudes towards the earth. The ideology that permits the violation of Indigenous bodies is the same one that perpetuates the violation of Indigenous lands (Andersen et al., 2018, p. 151)." Settler colonial ideologies infiltrate every colonial institution in the United States, including Academia. As a result, Euromerican scholars often, perhaps unknowingly, perpetuate the harmful stereotypes of Indigenous peoples when informing the dominant society.

Academia

"I lack imagination you say.
No. I lack language.
The language to clarify my resistance to the literate…"
–Cherrie Moraga, in *This Bridge Called My Back* (2002, p. 184)

Anthropologists frequently use reflexive writing styles in their work, but often struggle to recognize or include Native voices, knowledge, and ways of doing when discussing Indigenous culture (Kinchelo, 2008). As a result, scholarly literature, theory, and practices may depict Indigenous identity and history through a colonial lens (Weaver, 2001), lending way to Dead Indian Culture, romanticizing, colonial violence, and exoticism (Mack and Na'puti, 2019). While anthropologists are certainly not the root of colonial violence and misrepresentation, many remain complicit in creating and perpetuating the Dead Indian Culture. This research aims to link contemporary colonial violence against Native American women to anthropology's creation and perpetuation of Dead Indian Culture.

Though I am not an Indigenous woman, I am passionate about this crisis as someone who endures the trauma of gendered violence and as someone doing my best to act as an accomplice in "dismantle(ing) the master's house (Lorde, 2002, p. 106)." I use my privilege as a white woman in academia as a platform to amplify Indigenous voices. I intend to point out shortcomings regarding acknowledging our faults and lack of engagement in the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women (MMIWG) crisis. In response, through collaboration with Indigenous individuals and allies, we can provide acceptable ways for anthropologists in academia to teach non-Native individuals about Indigenous cultures and histories using a decolonized framework. I also seek to find approved ways for anthropologists to function as resources and advocates with, not for, Native Americans. Since the dominant society typically deploys dangerous frameworks and perspectives that do not reflect the people they represent, I am using methods written by Indigenous authors and scholars, Critical Race Feminism, and non-Indigenous accomplices.

In her article Can the Subaltern Speak, Spivak (1988) argues that Western Academia projects its ways of doing on the 'other,'[2] whom she defines as the subaltern, and delegitimizes all other forms of knowledge. She explains that the consequence of this framework makes the 'subaltern' dependent on Western scholars to speak for them and construct their identities. As Spivak points out, the outsider often misinterprets and misrepresents the subaltern's identity. The manufactured dependency created by the framework makes it a powerful tool of colonialism because it prevents the subaltern from reclaiming or rewriting their history from their perspective, as scholars view them as biased and not credible (Spivak, 1988). Spivak concludes with the assertion that the subaltern cannot speak, "and the female is even more deeply in shadow (Spivak, 1988, p. 287)." Though Spivak applies her thinking to developing nations, this same logic can be employed to Indigenous Nations in the United States, which imperial forces also systemically colonize and disenfranchise.

Society largely views academia as a liberal institution. We witness this perceived ideology demonstrated through social science publications on decolonizing spaces or when opposing organizations, like Turning Point USA, arise to stop educators from "pushing liberal agenda" or "indoctrinating the youth with Critical Race Theory" (Kirk, 2021). Though the dominant society views academia as progressive, at its core, the academic model follows the western academia

[2] Scholars classify the 'other' as individuals or groups that the dominant society labels as different or non-conforming. The 'other' includes peoples from a wide range of categories, such as race, gender, religion, socioeconomic status, etc. Society often attaches negative stereotypes to those they perceive as the 'other.' This phenomenon effects how dominant society perceives and treats the 'other' (i.e., us vs them, in-group/out-group). Society consciously and unconsciously views the 'other' as less deserving. 'Othering' initiates prejudices and dehumanization, which influences policy change in institutions, leading to the stripping of basic human rights and often acts of violence against these marginalized groups (Cherry, 2021).

framework, making it a colonial structure; a structure which, when established, only considered the privileged and elite as scholars, rarely including the subaltern. As a result, universities became oversaturated with wealthy white men informing society of the histories and identities of Indigenous peoples from a western lens (Smith, 2012). Today, social sciences, such as anthropology, take more progressive stances and include more diverse perspectives than ever before, but white scholars still overrepresent the western academic population, and they often still miss the bar when discussing Indigenous matters.

While non-Indigenous anthropology scholars do their best to represent those in other cultures with as few biases as possible, we overlook the language we use, fail to include diverse sources, and unintentionally cast shadows. Beyond blatant racism and microaggressions, many scholars, blinded by white privilege, fail to recognize how things as small as subliminal words cause harm to those in marginalized communities. Take, for instance, the term "epidemic." Scholars often describe the high rates of violence against Native women as an "epidemic." Sarah Deer (2015) explains that she understands scholars' use of the word because Native women experience the highest rates of rape per capita, yet the topic remains "untreated." The term "epidemic" misleads society's perceptions of origin, though. Violence against women is not COVID-19; it is a crime. We know that violence against women is not short-term, isolated, or of unexplained origin. The term epidemic depoliticizes the issue by failing to incorporate its longstanding, violent history of colonialism and human rights violations (Deer, 2015). In short, calling violence against women an epidemic insinuates that the crisis inexplicably happens and deflects responsibility from predators and agencies that fail to address crimes against humanity. As we can see, words hold exuberant amounts of weight and power, and without that profoundly intimate connection to the crisis, subtle details go unnoticed.

Part of scholars' disconnect and failure to catch subtle details is our failure to include knowledge from those not recognized in the realm of academia. Trisha Etringer (2021), a Ho-chunk activist, boldly states, "Failure to include the Indigenous voice is a continuation of modern-day colonialism. We are still here (para. 8)." By failing to incorporate Indigenous voices, including those not considered scholars, anthropologists act as gatekeepers for Indigenous knowledge and teachings, only divulging what they deem relevant (Million, 2013). As Spivak notes, outsiders often misinterpret and misrepresent cultures because they base what they consider essential on Western standards and norms rather than the Indigenous groups' beliefs (Spivak, 1988; Million, 2013; Smith, 2012; Deloria, 1989). Anthropologists use the term decolonize but to decolonize anthropology, we must reject the western model that prohibits non-academics from representing their cultures (Tuck and Yang, 2012).

As outsiders, we do not know more than those from the cultures studied, nor is our interpretation of more value because it is "unbiased."

Biases exist in everything we contribute because our interpretations come from a western lens that stems from colonial structures, making them inherently biased (Smith, 2012; Deloria, 1989). We often also privilege the works of the white scholar over Indigenous authors, even with topics regarding Indigenous issues. Scholars disregard many of these Indigenous authors, though, because they do not fit the mold of a western scholar (Smith, 2012). By muting Indigenous authors and using the regurgitated work of white authors, we cast shadows over the people we should amplify. As a result, decolonizing frameworks become all bark and no bite, undermining Indigenous efforts to reclaim their histories and identities (Tuck and Yang, 2012). Not only do academics gatekeep and fail to incorporate Indigenous voices, but non-Indigenous scholars often riddle their publications with elitist jargon, making them inaccessible to those outside of academia–again preventing the subaltern from reclaiming or offering a rebuttal for misinterpretations (Smith, 2012). The inaccessibility of scholarly articles allows the perpetuation of harmful stereotypes in academia to continue.

Many stereotypes surrounding Native communities exist in anthropology. Though western scholars may attempt to avoid them, they inevitably end up in publications and classrooms. The stereotypes originally stemmed from the colonial agenda; however, they now grow from the trending topic of survivance. By focusing on Indigenous survivance, the act of surviving and resisting colonization, scholars fail to incorporate Indigenous thrivance (Baumann, 2019; Baumann, 2022, Lefebvre, 2020). Survivance, while valuable, does little to push non-Indigenous society beyond viewing Native individuals as buckskin wearing mythical creatures of the past rather than modern humans. Thrivance allows the dominant society to see Native Nations as modern, thriving peoples, rather than peoples in opposition to society (Baumann, 2019; Baumann, 2022, Lefebvre, 2020). The way anthropologists speak of Indigenous cultures also romanticizes their ways of doing, leading to the appropriation of Native culture. This allows the dominant society to take the parts they deem exciting and leave the contemporary issues on the reservation (Smith, 2012). The appropriation often plays out as knock-off healing rituals or Dead Indian attire at festivals. As discussed previously, the sexualization and exoticism of Indigenous women make life extremely dangerous for them.

As white scholars studying specific societal issues, we may deem ourselves "woke" or progressive, but privilege limits perceptions and understandings of crises we will never face. Though we play a role in creating these contemporary issues and talk about our use of antiracist practices and decolonizing frameworks, we have yet to acknowledge or address those contributions or offer any solutions. In addition, some anthropologists fail Indigenous communities by not raising awareness of

these contemporary issues. As demonstrated throughout this section, the words that we write hold great power in the eyes of the dominant society, and we should use them for good by shedding light on white issues plaguing Native Nations, such as the MMIWG crisis.

Chapter Two: Settler-Colonialism, Christianity, and Anthropology

"Into each life, it is said, some rain must fall… But Indians have been cursed above all other people in history. Indians have anthropologists."
–Vine Deloria, Jr., in *Custer Died for Your Sins (1988, p. 78)*

"Behind each successful man stands a woman and behind each policy and program with which Indians are plagued, if traced completely back to its origin, stands the anthropologist."
–Vine Deloria, Jr., in *Custer Died for Your Sins (1988, p. 81)*

"The confusion and ambivalence, the amnesia and wistful romanticism make perfect sense. We are shapeshifters in the national consciousness. We are accidental survivors, unwanted reminders of disagreeable events... We're trapped in history. No escape."
–Paul Chaat Smith, in *Everything You Know About Indians is Wrong (2009, p. 178-179)*

"Avoiding that truth is what will keep us from true reform."
–Sarah Deer, in *The Beginning and End of Rape (2015, p. XXIV)*

Abstract

Evidence that the field of anthropology remains a sore subject among First Peoples lies in the works of Indigenous authors, such as Vine Deloria, Jr., Audra Simpson, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith. In Decolonizing Methodologies (2012), Smith emphasizes how many Indigenous peoples collectively refer to the word "research" as dirty, especially when tethered to anthropologists (Smith, 2012). The subtle (and not so subtle) remarks in Deloria, Simpson, and Smith's books, reveal quite quickly why Indigenous groups do not historically favor anthropologists and how they bond anthropologists to colonization. However, to the colonized[3] mind, anthropologists' connection to contemporary Native issues, such as the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) crisis, seems faint, at best. The dissection of American Anthropology's origins and colonial ideologies from Native peoples' perspectives provides daunting insight into anthropologists' connection to MMIWG.

[3] Before we begin, I should note that I apply the term colonizer to anyone not native to Turtle Island contributing to ongoing settler-colonialism.

Western Expansion and Christianity

To understand the colonizer's mindset, we must first critically evaluate colonialism's Christian roots. From the beginning, religious intolerance propelled expansion out of Europe, embedding Christianity deeply into colonization. As with all expansion into new lands, European Catholics weaponized the teaching of the Christian Bible to justify pillaging other countries. After Columbus encountered the New World in 1492, Spanish conquistadors returned with Pope Alexander VI's Papal Bulls of 1493, or Doctrine of Discovery, which declared Columbus discovered the Americas and demanded that conquistadors seize the land for Spain and Christianity (Echo-Hawk, 2012). The doctrines of discovery allowed colonists to commandeer unclaimed land in new territories.

The pope justified seizing land already occupied by Indigenous peoples by deeming the inhabitants as "barbaric," "dirty," and subhuman (Echo-Hawk, 2012). The pope also claimed that this "divine commission justified the enslavement of Indians" because it "brought the Natives closer to God (Deloria, 1997, p. 19)." Cloaked as the White Man's Burden[4] (Fig.5), "a euphemism for imperialism," colonizers took it upon themselves to "civilize" Indigenous peoples by imparting European standards and Christianity on people to "help" them reach their fullest potential in life (Echo-Hawk, 2012, p. 16). These ethnocentric, racist classifications of Indigenous peoples and the white man's burden rationalized all future conquests.

[4] Merriam Webster (2022) defines the White Man's Burden as "a duty formerly asserted by white people to manage the affairs of nonwhite people whom they believed to be less developed (para.1)." The term was popularized by poet Rudyard Kipling in 1899 when he published a poem urging the United States to colonize the Philippines. Kipling saw the Philippines as an inferior, less developed nation and he asserted that it was the duty of the west to 'civilize' "Your new-caught, sullen peoples,/Half devil and half child (Merriam Webster, 2022, para. 2)." Today, people use the term interchangeably with the White Savior Industrial Complex. WSIC is when white people come in with altruistic intentions to save (not always but usually) BIPOC communities. Nigerian-American author Teju Cole popularized the term in 2012 Twitter post. Cole (2012) stated his Tweet, "It is about having a big emotional experience that validates (white) privilege (Tweet 5/7)."

An editorial cartoon, "The White Man's Burden," drawn by Victor Gillam for the Judge Magazine on April 1, 1899

Figure 5 A visual representation of Uncle Sam and British John Bull bearing "The White Man's Burden" expression by Victor Gillam in Judge Magazine in 1899 (Ng and Thwin, 2021).

In 1510, under the rule of King Ferdinand, the Council of Castile, or Spanish Government, issued the Requiermento. The council required conquistadors to read the document to Native Americans, which they often did in Latin with no translators, or to an empty audience. This document deemed the pope ruler over the earth and demanded Indigenous people to submit to Spanish law and Christianity or face war (Echo-Hawk, 2012). Reading the document in Latin or to empty audiences allowed conquistadors to skip the niceties and go straight to the subjugation of Indigenous peoples. After participating in a violent attack on Cuba in 1513, early settler and priest, Bartolomé de las Casas recognized colonizers' treatment of Indigenous peoples as immoral and unlawful. Las Casas began pleading with the Spanish government and the pope to reconsider their methods of dominion (Anthony, 2015). By the 1530s, the Spanish conquistadors killed more than twelve million Native Americans (Echo-Hawk, 2012). Influenced by Las Casas, Pope Paul III enacted the Sublimus Deus papal bull of 1537, which became Spanish policy and denounced the enslavement of Indigenous peoples. Colonizers ignored the new policy and continued their lethal treatment of Native peoples.

Las Casas documented the murders of over forty million Indigenous peoples by 1560 (Echo-Hawk, 2012). When the violence continued, the pope realized an object in motion stays in motion, and he could not stop the atrocities.

British colonizers followed suit in the United States by using Christianity and the white man's burden to remove land from Indigenous peoples. The British colonizers rationalized their use of force against Native Americans with Alberico Gentili's law of war which he introduced before the 1600s. Gentili's law of war established that "if any savages violate English notions of natural law or are without a European style of religion, they are like animals in the eyes of the law of war and a just war may be waged against them (Echo-Hawk, 2012, p. 20)." In a 1755 Boston Council Chamber, the council introduced placing bounties on the scalps of Indigenous peoples for failure to submit to the Majesty and Christianity; they offered forty pounds for men and twenty pounds for women and children (Deloria, 1988). Society largely believes Indigenous peoples introduced scalping because of whitewashed history, but historical records indicated that colonizers introduced the barbaric tactic as punishment for failure to comply (Deloria, 1988). Religious intolerance and Christianity served as the "legal bases for war, conquest, and colonization of America (Echo-Hawk, 2012, p. 20)." These ethnocentric ideologies continued into 19th-century policy.

Previously accepted racist ideologies that deemed Indigenous people inferior and unintelligent became the basis for all future policies and the reason for upholding the 1493 doctrine of discovery in the American law, laying the foundation for Manifest Destiny, which arose in 1845 (Echo-Hawk, 2012). Scholars define Manifest Destiny as colonizers' belief that God granted them the right to expand west and claim any land not inhabited by Christians. All policies provided legal and biblical rationalization to eradicate natives and claim the New World (Echo-Hawk, 2010; Dunbar-Ortiz, 2012; Weaver, 2009). Edward Said, a Palestinian-American post-colonial scholar, referred to the church's actions as "flexible positional superiority (Smith, 2012, p. 63)." Throughout the settlement of the United States, colonizers maintained the same sense of religious superiority and authority over First Peoples, viewing them as inferior and challenging all aspects of their ways of doing (Smith, 2012). The drive to convert Native Americas to Christianity continued well into the 20th century through boarding schools, missions, land allotments, and other social service programs, still under the guise of the white man's burden (King, 2012). The programs expected Indigenous peoples to move to the western standard of doing, which pushed individualism and patriarchy.

Thomas King (2012) describes Christianity as the "gateway drug to supply-side capitalism" claiming that it "was the initial wound in the side of the Native culture (p. 103)." The ideologies propelled by colonizers starkly contrasted and challenged Native Americans' ways of doing, including the status of Indigenous women in society.

Colonization, Christianity, and Gendered Violence

Before the colonial invasion, many Indigenous groups aligned closer with matrilineal and matriarchal societies than any other known group in the world. Contrary to patriarchal societies, Indigenous women held positions of power because the men in their communities respected them and viewed them as equals (Mack and Na'Puti, 2019). As a result, Indigenous men rarely enacted violence against women. If such violence occurred, Native Nations took the crimes very seriously, and the perpetrators faced severe punishments (e.g., banishment or death) for their actions (Maze of Injustice, 2007). In contrast, colonizers viewed women as expendable property and treated them as such.

Colonial perceptions of a gender hierarchy also stem from Christian ideologies. To understand colonizers' views on women, we must highlight some biblical texts regarding women. According to the Holy Bible (New International Version, 2012), women must submit to their husbands (Colossians 3:18; Ephesians 5:22), men must view women as the "weaker vessel" (1 Peter 3:7), "neither was man created for woman, but woman for man (1 Corinthians 11:9)," "Your desire will be for your husband, and he will rule over you (Genesis 3:16)," "the head of the woman is man (1 Corinthians 11:3)," and a shameful woman "is like rottenness in his [the man] bones (Proverbs 12:4)." These attitudes justified Colonizers' frequent use of gendered violence as a weapon against marginalized groups throughout history (Dabiri, 2012). In the colonizers' minds, biblical text validates their pillaging of women because it disregards women's autonomy and makes them the property of men.

Historians believe the first accounts of human trafficking and exploitation of Indigenous women in the Americas began with Christopher Columbus. Scholars assert that Columbus abducted women to fulfill the needs of his crew on their long journeys (Logan, 2016). Colonizers fetishized Native women, viewing them as untamable, promiscuous, and exotic, making them more desirable. Since the church labeled these women as "dirty," settlers saw them as "rapable" and did with them what they pleased, without consequence (Dabiri, 2012). A passage from the diary of Michele de Cuneo, a friend of Columbus, reads:

> When I was in the boat, I captured a very beautiful Carib woman who the admiral [Columbus] gave to me... having brought her into my cabin, and she being naked as their custom, I conceived desire to take my pleasure. I wanted to put my desire to execution, but she was unwilling for me to do so, and treated me with her nails in such [ways] that I would have preferred never to have begun. But seeing this... I took a rope-end and thrashed her well, following which she produced such screaming and wailing as would cause you not to believe your ears. Finally we reached an agreement such that, I can tell you, she seemed to have been raised in a veritable school of harlots... (Dabiri, 2012, p. 390).

Cuneo's diary exhibits not a desire for sex, but a desire for power and control. The diary of another early United States colonizer described the horrific murder of a pregnant woman who fled to a church during a colonial attack on her tribe. The account indicates that the woman believed the church would shield her from violence, but instead, they gave her up quickly, and the attackers granted no compassion. The author details the method of torture for both her and her unborn child, which they christened before killing (Daribi, 2012). In Mohawk journalist John Ahni Schertow's article, *Colonialism, Genocide, And Gender Violence: Indigenous Women* (2006), he quotes a soldier's journal which states, "I heard one man say that he had cut a woman's private parts out, and had them for exhibition on a stick. . . . I also heard of numerous instances in which men had cut out the private parts of females, and stretched them over their saddle-bows and some of them over their hats (para. 25)." Another entry states, "Two of the best looking of the squaws were lying in such a position, and from the appearance of the genital organs and of their wounds, there can be no doubt that they were first ravished and then shot dead. Nearly all of the dead were mutilated (Schertow, 2006, para. 22)." Other accounts mention Christian officers raping Indigenous leaders' wives as punishment for their defiance (Schertow, 2006). These disgusting texts offer only a glimpse into the reality of what Indigenous women experienced during western expansion.

Historic accounts demonstrate that colonizers spared neither women nor children from violence; instead, they violently brutalized them for their desires and agendas. Historians maintain well-documented accounts of Indigenous massacres, most of which include rape and sexual mutilation. Colonizers meticulously planned these attacks as an essential part of conquest. Children also experienced rampant sexual and physical violence perpetrated by Christian staff and priests at off-reservation Residential Schools, which predominantly operated from 1830 to 1970, though some still exist today (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014). Thomas King (2012) notes that 30-60 percent of students who attended these schools never returned home, which he attributes to the abuse and living conditions.

The recent exhumation of over a thousand children from graves at residential schools prompted many survivors to speak out and bravely share their stories of abuse with the world.

Colonizers wielded sexual violence against Native American women and children as a powerful tool of assimilation, colonization, and ethnic cleansing. Many scholars regard colonial acts of ethnic cleansing against Indigenous peoples as genocide (n.a., 2007). Their attacks on women and children affected entire communities and caused lasting effects. In *Keetsahnak: Our missing and murdered Indigenous sisters*, renowned Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg scholar Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2018) stated,

> White supremacy, rape culture, and the real and symbolic attack on gender, sexual identity and agency are very powerful tools of colonialism, settler colonialism, and capitalism, primarily because they work very efficiently to remove Indigenous peoples from our territories and to prevent reclamation of those territories through mobilization. These forces have the intergenerational staying power to destroy generations of families, as they work to prevent us from intimately connecting to each other (p. 208).

The legacy of colonial violence against Native women surfaces in Indigenous communities in many ways, including the MMIWG crisis. Though colonizers enacted the violence against Indigenous people, I argue that anthropologists, albeit indirectly, also contributed to their experiences through manufactured identities which influenced government policy and propagation of the dead Indian culture.

Origins of Anthropology in the West

To understand the link between gendered violence and anthropology in the United States, we must acknowledge who collected the first bits of Indigenous peoples' "cultural debris (King, 2012, p. 53)," when these collections took place and the significance of the who and when. Colonizers functioned as the earliest unofficial anthropologists by recording and collecting the first ethnographic analyses and goods of tribes, some of which we still use today (Smith, 2012). The organized collecting of Indigenous culture began during the Enlightenment period (18th century), or Age of Reason, which scholars view as a continuation of the Scientific Revolution (16th and 17th centuries) (Smith, 2012). The concept of culture came from the enlightenment, which later led to American anthropology's formal emergence in the 1920s. Though, unofficial social experiments and exploration took place long before the 1920s.

Origins of Anthropology in the West (16th to 18th century)

The scientific approaches for observing the natural world came from the scientific revolution during the 16th and 17th centuries. Following the scientific revolution came the enlightenment during the 18th century. Academics' introductions of the concepts of culture and the natural world during this time framed the future field of American anthropology (Erickson & Murphy, 2017). Historians also introduced "othering," and the theory of universal histories during the enlightenment, which aided in the ethnocide of Native culture. However, the concept did not gain significant traction until the 19th century (Erickson & Murphy, 2017). Though Euro-American academics did not officially establish anthropology as a field until the 1920s, the school of thought presents itself through the evolution of documenting, presenting, and collecting Indigenous culture and goods.

With the first European settlers in North America came tales of mythological creatures, theories regarding Indigenous peoples' existence, and grave robbing. Some of the first western writings about Native Americas came from the colonizers' traveler's tales about their *discoveries* of peoples and land. I emphasize discoveries because you cannot discover what people already know exists as we all know (Bullock & Stevens, 2020). These tales portrayed Indigenous people with gendered and racialized terms, such as "subhuman" and "dirty." Renya Ramirez (2004), a Winnebago scholar, explains that the terms encouraged violence against women. Indigenous women seemed more mythical than human in some narratives. Authors' dehumanizing portrayals of Indigenous peoples as creatures rather than humans made exterminating them easier for settlers (Ramirez, 2004). These descriptions spread everywhere, enthralling westerners, and laying the foundation for how all of society, including "scientists," viewed Indigenous peoples.

The traveler's tales of mythological subhumans entertained European readers, but these perceptions of Native peoples challenged Christian theology since biblical teachings assert that God created all humans on earth in his image. Colonizers eventually recognized the contradictions but needed definitive proof since this logic opposed the pope's classification of Indigenous peoples as subhuman in the papal bulls of 1493 (Erickson& Murphy, 2017). The eventual acceptance of Native Americans as fully human, in a child-like or "primitive" state, complicated colonizers' rationalization for colonization, genocide, and exploitation, though (Deloria, 2003). The pope used Europe's superiority complex, which identified Indigenous peoples as subhuman, to justify colonizers seizing land in the papal bulls of 1493. Recognizing Native Americans as fully human implied that Native Americans discovered the Americas (Deloria, 2003). So, colonizers concocted many conclusions about Native peoples' origins (Erickson & Murphy, 2017). Theories ranged from survivors of Atlantis to lost tribes of Israel. Colonizers looked for anything linking the Indigenous peoples to Christian

Europeans (Erickson & Murphy, 2017). Their insatiable desire to connect Indigenous peoples to themselves prompted the shift towards more science-based observation methods.

After colonizers firmly established themselves in the United States, settlers documented Indigenous peoples more empirically than in previous traveler's tales, though most received no formal training and based their findings on Christian theology. Since the government established missions and forts in areas densely populated by Native Americans, the earliest of these written accounts of Indigenous peoples came from missionaries, surveyors, military, and merchants (Smith, 2012). Accounts such as Jesuit Father Joseph Lafitau's in *Customs of American Savages Compared with Those of Earlier Times,* written in 1724, contained detailed inventories of cultural traits, which he categorized (Erickson & Murphy, 2017). Lafitau described Indigenous peoples in Eurocentric ways, but his documents followed the more scientific school of thought, making them more dependable than previous records; many of these contributors classified Indigenous people under flora (plants) and fauna (animals) (Smith, 2012). Ethnohistorians still refer to Lafitau's work in modern texts (Erickson & Murphy, 2017). In 1735, Carl Linnaeus, the Swedish botanist responsible for modern systematic biology and the Linnaeus Classification system classified humans into separate racial categories with racist physical attributes and personality traits. In 1775, Johann F. Blumenbach, a German anatomy professor, who some deem the father of anthropology, solidified these problematic racial classification systems with his publication *On the Natural Varieties of Mankind* (Thomas, 2000). Like Linnaeus, Blumenbach classified whites as the purest race and contributed the perceived differences to racial degeneration after Creation (Thomas, 2000). The transition toward science-based approaches and archaeological practices also appears in colonizers' methods of robbing graves.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, British colonizers in the United States frequently looted Indigenous graves, following the Spaniards' example. When the first settlers arrived in the United States, graves of Indigenous peoples killed by disease contracted from the Spaniards filled North America (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2012). Initial claims state colonizers robbed Indigenous graves out of necessity for survival, as they contained household items, items of value, and sometimes food offerings. If not the actual reason from the beginning, motives for robbing graves shifted from survival to fascination and monetary wealth (Atalay, 2006a). Wealthy collectors and antiquarians, enthralled with Indigenous culture, took it upon themselves to explore the past by gathering the artifacts of the people whose land they stole, often through looting (Atalay, 2006a). As Thomas King (2012) points out, "Europe has Greece and Rome. China has the powerful dynasties. Russia has the Cossacks. South and Central America have the Aztecs, the Inca, and the Maya. North America has Dead Indians (p. 55)." Colonizers' curiosity primarily stemmed from their skepticism of Indigenous

peoples' ability to thrive as a complex society or construct grand monuments, such as the mounds at Moundville, and their desire to discredit the claims (i.e., archaeologists E.G. Squier and E.H. Davis' 1848 book, *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*). Scholars of the time more universally accepted the mounds as creations of white people who vanished before their arrival (Thomas, 2000). Anishinaabe-Ojibwe anthropologist and archaeologist Sonya Atalay (2006a) explains that these curiosities prompted Thomas Jefferson's infamous 1784 excavation of an earthen mound on his Virginia property.

Many scholars note Jefferson as an empiricist who rejected French Naturalists' view of Indigenous peoples as inferior and degenerated. The French's notions propelled colonizers' skepticism of Indigenous Nations as complex societies. Jefferson wanted to review the armchair theories for himself by studying the natural histories of Native Americans (Thomas, 2000). Jefferson studied flora, fauna, and contemporary Indigenous peoples, and kept meticulous records on his findings. Based on the linguistic traits of the Indigenous people he interacted with, Jefferson believed Natives descended from Asianic ancestry; Captain Cook's Bering Strait proposal in 1778 further enforced Jefferson's assumptions. Jefferson's findings also led him to defend Indigenous intelligence and declared them just as capable as whites in building the earthen monuments. He believed that proof of his speculations lay in the graves of the ancient peoples, though (Thomas, 2000). To prove his point, Jefferson ordered his slaves to excavate an earthen mound on his property.

Prior to excavation, Jefferson noted seeing Indigenous peoples visiting the mounds and recognized the site's importance to the group. He stated he knew the mounds contained Indigenous burials based on the looks of sorrow on the peoples' faces (Atalay, 2006a). Disregarding what he noted to satisfy his curiosity, Jefferson excavated the mounds and discovered the remains of many children and infants (Atalay, 2006a). Jefferson failed to include the council or approval of the local Native nations and justified excavating the graves of Native children by calling it scientific research– research which benefitted only him and other non-natives with no long-standing relationship to the region (Atalay, 2006a). Scholars complimented Jefferson's methodological approach and his diligence and awarded him the title "Father of American Archaeology– for desecrating Indigenous children's graves (Atalay, 2006a, p. 4)." Pawnee historian James Riding In, quoted in *Through Weary Eyes* by Choctaw archaeologist Joe Watkins (2005), states, "… exploiting dead Indians, arose as an honorable profession from this sacrilege [grave robbing] (p. 434)." Western scholars deem this era as the time of the collector; others just call it grave robbing.

Origins of Anthropology in the West (19th century)

The highly competitive era of "collecting" continued through the 19th century. Attempting to determine evolutionary changes among Native Americans, these early scientists "researched" living Indigenous groups and formulated speculative reconstructions of ancient peoples. The scientists also deployed astonishingly dehumanizing "research" methods while attempting to prove white superiority and justify European Imperialism, many of which inspired the eugenics practices discussed in Hitler's 1925 Mein Kompf (Smith, 2012; Coleman, 2020). To perform the studies, those in the scientific communities demanded Indigenous bodies, goods, and crania for their research.

President of the Academy of Natural Sciences, Dr. Samuel Morton led the charge on many of these eugenics studies. Morton, now known to some as the Father of Physical Anthropology and founder of The American School, a very racist school of thought set on classifying races as species, spent a great deal of time studying the human crania. To obtain his research specimens, Morton hired graverobbers to raid graves (Echo-Hawk, 2012). Though skull scientists considered white skulls of more value, robbers predominantly targeted BIPOC graves because they found it less dangerous. The graverobbers produced more than a thousand human skulls, predominantly from Indigenous populations, for Morton, which he added to his "cranial library (Thomas, 2000, p. 40)." Morton then measured the volumes of the cranial vaults with seeds and BBs to determine intelligence and capacity for emotion. Morton proclaimed, based on his finding, that a racial hierarchy exists, and that God created "inferior races" to serve whites. Modern scholars reject this notion stating the blatant biases and manipulations in his notes (Echo-Hawk, 2012). Morton attributed warlike, revengeful, slow to adapt and acquire knowledge, and defiant of civilized life to his classification of Indigenous peoples (Echo-Hawk, 2012). Morton's practices caused a ripple effect in the scientific community and in the government. The government used Morton's finding, which defined Indigenous people as incapable of assimilation, to forcibly remove them from their land (Echo-Hawk, 2012). Reviewing skull science practices, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) states, "Just knowing that someone measured our 'faculties'… offends our sense of who and what we are (p. 1)." These eugenics studies continued into the early 20th century but the methods for collecting human remains shifted after the Civil War.

During the mid to late 1800s, America saw a dramatic increase in natural history museums (i.e., the Smithsonian Institute, the Peabody Museums, the American Museum of Natural History, etc.). Louis Agassiz, a Swiss naturalist with a vested interest in natural history museums, largely influenced the increase. Appalled by the United States' lack of collections, Agassiz lobbied for the creation of these museums. Agassiz believed every natural history museum should have an example of every 'species,' including the different races of humans (Thomas, 2000). With the influx in museums which had already spent exorbitant

amounts of money on private collections from trying to keep pace with the Smithsonian, came the demand for dead Indians and their goods at low costs.

In 1868, at the recommendation of Agassiz, the Surgeon General joined these *scientists'* collections efforts and commanded soldiers to procure human remains from battlegrounds, hospitals, and burial grounds. Scholars estimate that these orders resulted in the confiscation of over four thousand individuals (Echo-Hawk, 2012). The army sent the skulls to the Army Medical Museum, and grave goods to the Smithsonian Institute (Echo-Hawk, 2012). Freelance looters also robbed many graves for science, or money, depending on how one spins the narrative. During this time of headhunting, robbers invaded Nez Percé burial grounds located in Clarkston, Washington, and exhumed the skulls and grave goods of many Nez Percé individuals, including the grave of Chief Joseph (twice). The robbers sold the skulls for up to $20 apiece (Deloria, 2003), which equates to roughly $540 today. Deloria (2003) states, "A white dentist paid an exorbitant price for the skull of Chief Joseph, beloved leader of the Nez Percé (p. 14)." Though the Army formally ended its headhunting practices in 1890 when the Indian Wars ended, museums and special interest groups continued robbing graves.

Franz Boas, the Father of American Anthropology, was no exception. In 1888, Boas accepted a position with the British Association for the Advancement of Science and the Canadian government surveying First Nations groups in British Columbia. During this survey, his employers instructed him to collect linguistic and physical anthropological data from living individuals, and to acquire human remains (Thomas, 2000). The survey also paved the way for Boas' future exploits, as he noted the market prices of human remains throughout the project. Boas quickly realized that trading human skulls was a lucrative business and could provide him access to his desired employment at a natural history museum (Coleman, 2020).

To gain access to the goods he sought, Boas took a hands-on approach while studying cultures by cultivating relationships with the First Nations (Coleman, 2020). Boas then abused his connection with the Tribes to exploit them and steal their culture (e.g., ethnohistories, knowledge, human remains, artifacts, etc.). On one account, Boas "used a photographer to distract the Indians" while he robbed their graves (Thomas, 2000, p. 59). In his diary, Boas noted that "it is most unpleasant work to steal bones from graves, but what is the use, someone has to do it… (Coleman, 2020, p. 54-55)." In another account, he called his grave robbing "repugnant work (Echo-Hawk, 2010, p. 247)." Eager to obtain more bodies, Boas subcontracted other grave robbers and promised to compensate them for any remains they turned up. When the Cowichan Nation discovered some of

Boas' employees desecrated their graves, Boas falsified invoices and arranged for the immediate and illicit transportation of the bodies. By the time the Nation arrived with a warrant to search the robber's property, Boas had already transported their ancestor's remains (Thomas, 2000). In total, Boas stole and transported one hundred complete skeletons and two hundred crania, which he rationalized in the name of science (Coleman, 2020). The remains bounced around from The American Museum of Natural History to Clark University for the next few years, but eventually ended up in Berlin's Museum für Völkerkunde and Chicago's Field Columbian Museum (Thomas, 2000).

In 1893, Boas gained short-lived employment at the Chicago World Fair, where he arranged living exhibits in the "ethnological zoo" (Thomas, 2000). Living exhibits or human zoos consisted of living BIPOC peoples from around the world, which exhibitionists placed on display at museums for settlers' entertainment. These expositions highlighted the perceived inferiority of BIPOC peoples by displaying their so-called primitive lifestyles. In Boas' exhibit, he presented twelve Kwakwaka'wakh peoples. At night, Boas arranged for the twelve to sleep in the livestock pavilion. When the fair closed in October of 1893, Boas arranged the individuals' transportation home. When Boas' boss Frederick Ward Putnam, discovered that the railway charged for the Kwakwaka'wakh peoples return home, he lashed out in anger. Putnam believed the Indigenous peoples used in their display were nothing more than exhibits and the railway should not charge them as passengers- rather, their transportation should be free, as with any other museum collection (Thomas, 2000). After the Kwakwaka'wakh people left, Boas vowed to "never again play circus impresario (Thomas, 2000, p. 60)." Both Putnam and Boas minimized Indigenous peoples to nothing more than animals, circus creatures, and exhibits.

After the Chicago World Fair closed, curators dispersed some of the remaining anthropological collections to museums around the United States. Boas and colleagues, however, pushed for investors to open a natural history museum in Chicago to house the fair's exhibits. After securing a one million dollar donation from Marshall Field, Chicago used the Palace of Fine Arts building at the fairgrounds to open the Field Columbian Museum in June of 1894 (Thomas, 2000). The museum appointed Boas as a temporary curator until they hired William Henry Holmes and then George A. Dorsey. Boas, bitter the museum did not select him, finally secured a job as a curator with the American Museum of Natural History in late 1895 (Thomas, 2000).

In December of 1895, Boas wrote "I'll show Chicago I can go them one better (Thomas, 2000, p. 62)." The deep-seated hate between Boas, Holmes, and Dorsey, paired with the competing

cities rivalries prompted the height of grave robbing that decades. The anthropologists wreaked havoc throughout the Pacific Northwest. Missionaries noted that the robbers desecrated nearly every burial in the Virago and North Island region (Thomas, 2000). At one point, authorities briefly arrested Dorsey for stealing, but released him in good faith that he would return the grave goods. Boas believed he was more ethical than Dorsey. However, in 1898, Boas tricked a young Inuit boy, Qisuk, into thinking he buried his recently deceased father. Instead, Boas buried a log wrapped in cloth and secretly sent the body of Qisuk's father to the museum for an autopsy and *research* (Thomas, 2000). When Qisuk saw an article revealing the truth 15 years later, he demanded Boas return his father's remains. The press published Qisuk's story and confronted Boas. Boas admitted to staging a funeral, but defended his actions, stating he did so "to appease the boy and keep him from discovering that his father's body had been chopped up and the bones placed in the collection of the institution," and he saw "nothing particularly deserving severe criticism (Thomas, 2000, p. 82-83)."

Boas believed that each culture's past made them unique, unlike the previous unilineal evolution model (Coleman, 2020). However, Boas still functioned as a researcher, varying only in theoretical approach from those before him, by exploiting and abusing the trust of Indigenous peoples. While we as anthropologists know him as a significant contributor to anthropology, Indigenous groups recognize him as the man who distracted elders while his students unmasked the graves of their ancestors to sell for profit (Coleman, 2020). Many anthropologist collected human remains during this time, not just Boas, but he remains a prominent figure in anthropology who unapologetically contributed to Dead Indian Culture.

Theorists also contributed to the harmful discourse taking place in the 19th century. In the second half of the 19th century, Darwin released his publication *On the Origins of Species,* a scientific explanation of evolutionary biology. Darwin's arguments substantiated pseudoscientists' racist findings (Smith, 2012). In 1871, he published *The Decent of Man,* which "makes the argument for the superiority of Europeans over other races, an idea that was central to the Atlantic-African slave trade (King, 2012, p. 28)." Following Darwin's publications, unilineal evolutionism and social Darwinism, theories produced by anthropologists and eugenicists, gained traction in the scientific community; anthropologists claimed no connection to Darwin other than using his name. Unilineal evolutionism put simply, argues that, universally, societies evolve or progress linearly in stages from savage to civilized, or simple to complex (Erickson & Murphy, 2017). Unilineal evolutionists like Henry Lewis Morgan, also believed that "primitive" societies held the key to unlocking information on ancient societies. As a result, unilineal evolutionists targeted "primitive" Indigenous peoples whom they viewed as the closest living example of the first humans in their early stages. Morgan believed

Indigenous peoples would vanish, or go extinct, if they did not progress fast enough and assimilate into western society, though. Morgan's assumption led social scientists to gather and collect as much Indigenous cultural information as possible before westerners influenced their existence or before they disappeared for good (Smith, 2012). Views of cultural progression, like those of Morgan's, became the foundation of American anthropology, as they provided a way for academics and museum curators to categorize the cultures they studied and placed them in glass cases hierarchically (Thomas, 2000).

Social Darwinism reinforced the ideas of unilineal evolutionists by implementing Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection to explain human progression. Those using social Darwinism proposed that competition for resources forced humans to evolve mentally, emotionally, physically, and culturally from slightly above apes to the "fittest" or most advanced; wealthy elites usually represented the "fittest" (Thomas, 2000). Unlike unilineal evolutionists, social Darwinists viewed non-western, "primitive" peoples as less "fit" and incapable of advancing in their capitalist society, which made them less deserving of survival (Thomas, 2000). Though these scientists did not exclusively advocate for the extermination of Indigenous peoples, both implied that the "lesser" slowed cultural progression and served no purpose in society (Thomas, 2000). Since most of society viewed science as the end all be all at the time, the stereotypes and assertions created by early scientists caused serious harm to BIPOC communities.

Some anthropologists like Alice Fletcher took it upon themselves to help Indigenous peoples adapt to new ways of life. Alice Fletcher first studied anthropology under the famed Frederic Ward Putnam during the late 1870s (Thomas, 2000). Fletcher quickly gained notoriety in the field of archaeology through her work preserving ancient sites, such as Serpent Mound in Ohio, and for her persistence in petitioning Congress to pass the first antiquities protection bill, subsequently paving the way for the Antiquities Act of 1906 (Browman and Williams, 2005). During the 1880s, Fletcher switched gears after meeting Bright Eyes and Francis La Flesche from the Omaha Nation. The two men were traveling with Ponca Chief Standing Bear, asking for public support to fight the government's efforts to forceable remove the Ponca people from their land (Thomas, 2000). Concerned with the men's testimonies and fearing erasure, Fletcher took it upon herself to travel to Omaha and record as much information about the Tribes as possible.

Influenced by Morgan's ideas of civilization, Fletcher believed she could solve the "Indian problem" by helping the Omaha tribe become civilized and adjust to western standards of living (Thomas, 2000, p. 136). Though she spent much of her time confronting the governmental agencies who asserted power over Indigenous people, Fletcher claimed reservations, which valued and

emphasized community over individualism, held Indigenous people back from a better way of life. Like Jefferson and many others, Fletcher assumed that "inside every Indian was trapped a white American, ready to own property, become a farmer, and assume the mantle of United States citizenship (Thomas, 2000, p. 136)." Fletcher introduced self-sufficient farmsteads for each nuclear family as a solution to freeing these trapped peoples.

In 1882, Fletcher traveled to Washington D.C. and presented her solution for saving the Omaha peoples to Congress. In her argument, Fletcher provided a plan to parcel out, or checkerboard, reservations and provide every capable Indigenous adult with a deed to an 80-acre non-taxable allotment (Echo-Hawk, 2012). She also outlined a plan to sell any remaining reservation land to white settlers, arguing that the government could use the funds to support Indigenous peoples during the transition period (Thomas, 2000). Fletcher used her political notoriety to leverage her claims to Congress, and by 1883 they elected her as a special agent of the Indian office charged with overseeing the survey and allotment of the Omaha Reservation. Within a few short years, Fletcher's plans extended far beyond the Omaha reservation. In 1887, Congress passed the Great Allotment Act, or Dawes Act, which adopted Fletcher's proposal but amended it to include most tribes in the United States (Thomas, 2000).

While the government claimed the Dawes Act helped "civilize" Indigenous peoples and protected Indigenous lands, specifically during the land rush of 1890, the act did quite the opposite. Native Americans ran into many issues with the law that led to the dispossession of even more land. Some lost their land because they did not accept the government's stipulations for allotment. Others inherited land but were away at government-mandated boarding schools and could not claim their inheritance, therefore forfeiting their inheritance. For some, farming did not work out because they lacked the funds to purchase necessities for western farming, such as equipment, seeds, animals, etc.; for others, the land allotted to them did not suit western farming practices (National Archives and Records Administration, 2022). Meanwhile, non-Native land sharks jumped on any opportunity to purchase reservation land.

The Dawes Act was disastrous for Indigenous peoples and became the government's newest tool for assimilation, breaking up reservations, and possessing Indigenous lands. Teddy Roosevelt deemed the allotment act as "a mighty pulverizing engine to break up the tribal mass (Thomas, 2000, p. 136)." Not only did the government seize a sizeable portion of reservation land during the initial allotment process, but by 1934, non-natives owned two-thirds of land allotted to Indigenous peoples (Thomas, 2000). In total, white settlers obtained ninety million acres of reservation land between 1887 and 1934, leaving only about fifty million acres (Echo-Hawk, 2012). Though the United States

Government took it much further than Alice Fletcher proposed, her white man's burden and Morganian guidance directly contributed to the United States government's implementation of one of the single most devastating policies enacted against Indigenous peoples in U.S. history (Thomas, 2000).

These "scientific" findings and ideologies allowed the government to label Black and Indigenous peoples as incompetent based on racist 19th-century theories and pseudoscience discoveries. The scientists' findings validated slavery and aided in the creation of racist governmental policies. Labeling Native Americans as incompetent also allowed the government to revoke Indigenous sovereignty and grant themselves guardianship powers over Native Nations (Echo-Hawk, 2012). The government granted guardianship powers and scientists' biased hierarchy of races, justified colonizers' efforts to seize land from Native Nations, and facilitated the destruction of their culture (Coleman, 2020). Though social scientists shifted their perspectives in the 20th century and challenged previous notions of inferior societies, they could not undo the legacy of 19th-century scientists.

Origins of Anthropology in the West (20th century)

At the turn of the 20th century, anthropologists made a dramatic shift in their theoretical approach and curriculum. Led by Boas, many anthropologists starkly rejected and discredited the ideas of cultural progression used throughout the 19th century. This new theoretical approach, known as cultural relativism, asserted that every culture is unique and complex– citing that some of the most complex societies use the *simplest* technologies (Thomas, 2000). Because of each society's uniqueness, Boas argued that no universal theory could explain every culture, leaving no standard way to judge each culture's degree of development. Therefore, Boas believed in a holistic four-field approach, which examined archaeology, biology, culture, and language to study human existence (Erickson and Murphy, 2017). Boas also aimed to bring anthropology up to hard science standards by using critical objectivity and the rigorous scientific method to test his theories (Thomas, 2000). According to anthropologist Don Fowler, "Boas made a conscious attempt to 'mystify' science as the objective search for Truth, and see scientists as infallible, dispassionate knowledge-makers (Thomas, 2000, p. 181)."

The new approach focused heavily on cultural change over time, so due to proximity, many new anthropologists focused on shifts in Native American communities post-colonization (Erickson and Murphy, 2017). As a result of Fletcher's monumental miscalculation, however, Boas warned his

students, the first generation of American anthropologists trained in the United States, to avoid involving themselves in politics and not to apply untested theories on issues involving Indigenous peoples (Thomas, 2000). Many of Boas' students condemned Fletcher's colossal mistakes and she became known for little beyond her role in the Dawe's Act (Thomas, 2000). The students and future anthropologists taught by Boas and influenced by his new approach to anthropology included "in general anthropology and ethnography… Alfred Louis Kroeber, and Robert Lowie; in psychological anthropology, Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead; in American Indian studies, Alexander Goldenweiser, Paul Radin, and Clark Wissler; and in anthropological linguistics, Edward Sapir (Erickson and Murphy, 2017, p. 66)." These students rose through the ranks and eventually established their own departments at major U.S. universities, causing a rapid spread of the new Boasian method of anthropology (Erickson and Murphy, 2017).

As expansion continued west through the United States, these anthropologists fetishized the cultural traditions of "authentic" Native Americans. In searching for what they considered authentic cultures, anthropologists compared the oral histories they gathered to the ethnographies of past colonizers. If the oral histories of Indigenous groups did not correspond with the written accounts of past missionaries, merchants, and military, then the anthropologists regarded the Native groups as unreliable, untrustworthy, forgetful, hostile, etc. (Simpson, 2014). Anthropologist Robert Lowie adamantly rejected the oral histories and insider perspective of Indigenous peoples, stating, " I cannot attach to oral traditions any historical value whatsoever under any conditions whatsoever (Thomas, 2000, p. 395)." Lowie's dismissal of Indigenous knowledge spread to many other anthropologists, such as Alfred Kidder, a prominent precontact southwest archaeologist (Thomas, 2000). Anthropologists discredited oral histories as objective truth and stole Indigenous peoples' agency, rejecting the possibility of error or mistruths in written accounts.

Another major player spreading misinformation and fetishized renditions of Native Americans was ethnographer and photographer Edward Curtis. Curtis traveled the United States during the early to mid-20th century photographing Native Americans, often calling them the disappearing, or vanishing race (Rose, 2018; Ramirez, 2004). Curtis photographed eighty tribes in over 40,000 poses using what many regard as controversial methods (Allen, 2018). Curtis manipulated the narratives of his photograph by posing Indigenous peoples in regalia, rather than their everyday clothes, and in overtly romanticized, stoic postures– Curtis did not like them to smile (ITC staff, 2018; Ramirez, 2004). Curtis also used paid, non-Indigenous actors to recreate tribal practices (Fogarty, 2018). Between 1907 to 1930 Curtis turned the photos and ethnographies into a 20-volume series called *The North American Indian* (Rose, 2018).

Chemehuevi enrolled member and documentary photographer Cara Romero says Curtis exploited Native peoples and stated, “His images once defined Native American imagery and for far too long these images perpetuated a mainstream understanding of what a Native American looks like, and perhaps, a feeling of what a Native American should look like (Allen, 2018, p. 6).” During the 1960s and 1970s, after his death, Curtis’ son sold his famed, private collection which fueled an Edward Curtis revival. Jody Narano Folwell-Trupia, enrolled Santa Clara Pueblo member and potter, says, “Whether romanticized or contested, Curtis’ images continue to influence our perceptions of Native identity (Allen, 2018, p. 3).” Others appreciate Curtis’ work, stating his images and films saved fragments of language and allow them a glimpse of their ancestors’ pasts. These images and their captions, however, play into the Dead Indian narrative informing white America (Fogarty, 2018).

Another infamous case highlighting the fetishization of Indigenous people and anthropologists' search for *authentic* Natives in the 20th century is the story of Ishi the “last wild man (Thomas, 2000, p. 367).” Alfred Louis Kroeber first took an interest in Ishi in 1911, after settlers found him in the northern California wilderness. Kroeber brought Ishi to San Francisco after “*deciding* that he was the sole survivor of a little-known Native American group, the Yana” and “the last *pristine* Native American alive (Erickson & Murphy, 2017, p. 73).” After the trip, Ishi moved into the San Francisco Museum of Anthropology where he greeted the public as they entered and where anthropologists studied him. Kroeber studied Ishi for five years, until Ishi’s demise in 1916 after contracting tuberculosis (Erickson & Murphy, 2017).

Kroeber lived in New York temporarily at the time of Ishi’s death but sent word of Ishi’s funerary wishes back to California. Ishi requested that they cremate and bury him in an urn with no autopsy. Kroeber’s colleagues informed him that his letter arrived too late, however. The museum performed an autopsy and preserved Ishi’s brain for future research (Erickson & Murphy, 2017). Distraught by the news, Kroeber went into a downward spiral of professional self-doubt, leading to a stent undergoing psychotherapy (Erickson & Murphy, 2017). Kroeber remained silent regarding Ishi for the rest of his life. After Kroeber’s passing in 1960, his wife Theodora published *Ishi in Two World: A Biography of the Last Wild Indian in North America (1961)* in which she discussed Kroeber’s regrets and life after Ishi’s death.

Ishi’s brain remained forgotten in storage at the Smithsonian Institute until 1999 when special interest groups, such as the Native American Cultural Committee, located and requested that the museum repatriate Ishi’s remains (Erickson & Murphy, 2017). Their request sparked heated debates

among anthropologists about what to do with the remains. In 2000, descendant groups of the Yana collected Ishi's brain to finally lay it to rest with his cremains (Erickson & Murphy, 2017).

The blindfolded, fetishized search for authenticity paired with their narrow-mindedness prevented anthropologists from seeing groups as adaptive and instead as people on the verge of extinction (Simpson, 2014). Mindsets such as these enabled the mistreatment of Indigenous folks, like those discussed in this section, and created the cancerous backdrop for how anthropologists would view and portray Indigenous groups in the future (Deloria, 1988; Smith, 2012, Simpson, 2014).

As late as 1964, publishers rejected the idea that Indigenous people could author books regarding Indigenous people. They argued that Native Americans were unable to author books, and if they could, they would be too biased to write about themselves. They also argued that adding books from Indigenous perspectives might cause strife between Indigenous and white communities *if* they contested what white authors wrote (Deloria, 1994). This sparked frustration among Indigenous peoples, especially young Indigenous scholars.

Though Indigenous people vehemently rejected colonialism and the United States' attempts of systematic erasure from the beginning, their efforts did not gain substantial traction until the Red Power Movement in the 1960s. Taking flight during the civil rights movement and paralleling the Black Power Movement, Indigenous peoples initiated the Red Power Movement with the goal of gaining self-determination and sovereignty from the United States government. The movement sparked the formation of groups such as the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) in 1961 and the American Indian Movement (AIM) in 1968 (Keil, 2013). Activists participated in many monumental protests like the occupation of Alcatraz Island in 1969 and the standoff at Wounded Knee in 1973.

Out of the Red Power Movement also came Vine Deloria, Jr.'s *Custer Died for Your Sins (1969)*, in which Deloria calls out injustices against Native peoples by the dominant society (Smith, 2019). Deloria dedicated an entire chapter to anthropologists, where he laid out the issues with the field and those in anthropology, and directly linked United State policy making and erasure to anthropologists (Smith, 2019). In response to Deloria, the American Anthropological Association held symposiums during their annual conference for anthropologists to discuss Deloria's critiques of the field, their legitimacy, and how to proceed (Smith, 2019). Deloria's book spurred many heated debates among anthropologists, but ultimately forced them to reexamine their assumptions of Indigenous peoples. As a result, new subdisciplines of anthropology immerged, such as Indigenous archaeology, "which aims to work against the historical damage and exploitations of Eurocentric archaeological research in the Americas and center Indigenous peoples in struggles over their heritage

and cultural patrimony (Smith, 2019, p. 2).” Anthropologists finally began incorporating the views and perspectives of Indigenous peoples.

Deloria’s critiques also paved the way for new policies and regulations, such as the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990, which attempts to ensure the return of Native remains and cultural material to their rightful owners– rather than museums, schools, private collectors, etc. (Thomas, 2000). When NAGPRA went into effect, however, the newly enacted law gave institutions five years to process artifacts and label them as culturally affiliated or not. Understaffing and underfunding paired with limited time to process enormous collections presented challenges for the institutions. As a result, these institutions labeled many artifacts, such as donated collections and collections without notes or context, as culturally unidentifiable to avoid penalization for not processing the remains (Atalay, et al., 2017). Though, Atalay, et al. (2017) explain that Indigenous peoples can provide evidence for the identification of the materials. Indigenous peoples fought hard for the enactment of NAGPRA, which provided what seems like cut and dry regulations for the handling of cultural material and remains. However, the fight for the repatriation of Native goods continues today (Echo-Hawk, 2010). Many individuals and institutions found loopholes, such as using the “unidentifiable” label, to challenge the regulation– leaving many Native ancestors and cultural materials locked in the display cases and dark basements.

While some regard Deloria as one of the biggest influences in the shift of anthropological perspective and handling of Native peoples and issues, others disagree. Some notable anthropologists, however, still contest Deloria’s critiques and perspectives regarding time immemorial, such as Alice Kehoe. In the comment section of *Resisting Indigenous Erasure from Alcatraz Island to Elizabeth Warren (2019),* a recent article about Deloria published by AAA, Kehoe responded to the article by questioning whether Deloria was “traditional” enough to speak as a “reliable scholar”, comparing him to Donald Trump by implying he was a liar, and stating he has a “depressingly uninformed opinion on anthropologists of the period (Smith, 2019, p. 7 comment section).” Kehoe’s candid response highlights that academic gatekeeping remains ever present in the discipline, even amongst those who work closely with Native Nations.

Origins of Anthropology in the West (21st century)

After anthropology’s wake-up call from Deloria, archaeologists and anthropologists shifted their gaze from “these people are going to be eradicated” or “this is how we can help them assimilate,” to the opposite extreme of “we must collect these goods to protect them *for* the Native

peoples." Many Indigenous scholars explicitly state or imply that anthropologists' reaction is a symptom of the white saviorism or the white man's burden–some even labeling it the archaeologist's burden (Deloria, 1988). Deloria uses interviews with young archaeologist at a six-week excavation of a Native village in Minnesota to highlight his point. Deloria (2003; Atalay, 2012) states that against the will of the Indigenous peoples of Minnesota, forty-five students participated in the archaeological investigation. Enraged by the archaeologists' actions and dismissal of the surrounding Nations' desires for five weeks, AIM showed up one evening and filled in trenches, stole their shovels, and burned their notes. AIM made it clear that they wanted the students to stop excavating, as their ancestors had not been buried for archaeologist to dig them up for their summer adventures, and though they were enraged, they offered to compensate the students for damaged tools (Deloria. 2003). Despite their clarity, the archaeologists did not understand AIM's perspectives. The archaeologists could not comprehend the question of morals. One stated the incident made them lose respect for Indigenous peoples, another stated she only wanted to help preserve Native culture, others stated how careful they handled remains. None of them understood that the Indigenous Nations had not requested, nor did they desire the archaeologists *help.* The students and project leaders' unwillingness to hear the desires of the Native Nations prevented them from seeing that while they perceived their work as *help*, the Indigenous peoples of Minnesota found their *help* insulting and traumatizing (Deloria, 2003). Scenarios like these effectively emphasize the white savior archaeologists' burden.

Pushes from Indigenous communities did not end with Deloria. Deloria just opened the gate and forced a much-needed conversation amongst anthropologists and archaeologists. At the end of 1999, Linda Tuhiwai Smith published her first edition of Decolonizing Methodologies, in which she interrogates and challenges research practices; determines who benefits; and most importantly defines ways to research without exploitation that provide benefits to stakeholders. Smith's work laid the detailed groundwork for decolonizing methodologies and frameworks which 21st century social scientists frequently cite (Atalay, 2012). Unfortunately, as with most BIPOC social justice movements, white scholars coopted the term and attempted to "decolonize" the field of anthropology and archaeology. As Tuck and Yang (2012) point out, however, most of these scholars cherry pick bits and pieces of the decolonizing framework, bending it to their will and leaving out crucial components. Their decisions to ignore significant components which set decolonizing practices apart from other frameworks make the concept nothing more than a metaphor, as it produces only superficial change within the field and prevents change at the root of the discipline (Tuck and Yang, 2012). Words without action are performative and no one except the researcher benefits.

As we saw from Kehoe's comment in the previous section, gatekeeping of knowledge and culture also remains prominent in academia and the field of 21st century anthropology and archaeology. While they may not broadcast their superiority complexes, universities and academics determine who produces knowledge, who they consider knowledgeable, and what they consider valuable or important. Academics demonstrate this power in the information they decide to disseminate in their work and the language they chose to use (Atalay, 2014).

Part of anthropologists' and archaeologists' performance is *incorporating* Native peoples in their work. For example, archaeologist William White (2020) recalls watching a tribal "consultation" the National Park Service held regarding a site revitalization project. White notes that the park called in Indigenous elders from the surrounding areas to discuss the project and ask for their feedback. What White witnessed however, was the park giving a lecture style presentation on an almost complete project, only briefly pausing a few times to ask if the elders had questions. Not surprisingly, the elders asked why the park asked them to visit if the park already finalized decisions for the project, and when they did provide feedback, the director simply stated, they'd "add that to the list" and "revisit that later (White and Draycott, 2020, para. 22)." White believes "Native American concerns were largely treated as obstacles to getting the NPS project done the way they'd already designed it (White and Draycott, 2020, para. 22)." If Indigenous peoples challenge anthropological work, anthropologists often criticize them, accusing them of being anti-intellectual or anti science, rather than acknowledging that Indigenous peoples' concerns lie in bad research practices (Atalay, 2012).

As Atalay et al., (2014) points out, archaeology also remains a powerful gatekeeping tool of the government at both state and national levels because they oversee and regulate most archaeological investigations done in the United States. Atalay et al. (2014) state, that as a result, "the discipline continues to contribute to nationalist agendas, racial inequality, colonialism, and globalization in many countries around the world (p. 10)." They continue further by stating that while many question their roles or attempt to change their methods for community engagement beyond the academy, "we don't see evidence that the majority of practitioners recognize and acknowledge the problematic ways that the practice of archaeology subjugates those outside the profession or that this aspect of the discipline requires alteration (Atalay et al., 2014, p. 10)."

Western academics often use jargon laden language in knowledge production that only western scholars in the field can decipher, which acts as a form of gatekeeping. Merriam-Webster (2022) defines jargon as:

> 1. the technical terminology or characteristic idiom of a special activity or group; 2. obscure and often pretentious language marked by circumlocutions (the use of an unnecessarily large number of words to express an idea) and long words; 3. a: confused unintelligible language, b: a strange, outlandish, or barbarous language or dialect, c: a hybrid language or dialect simplified in vocabulary and grammar and used for communication between peoples of different speech.

Some may view this as a sign of intellect, but this exclusive, impenetrable language creates elitist, classist barriers for anyone outside of their immediate field (i.e., the communities in which they work, local educators, etc.) (Atalay, 2012). Academics use of jargon laden language is nothing more than scholars signaling or exhibiting their insecurities through posturing–"satisfying the fundamental human needs for belonging and status (Brown et al., 2020, para. 15)." Studies show that a greater use of jargon in academic writing indicates the author's concern with peer evaluation rather than communicative clarity, often as a result of low status in their field (Brown et al., 2020). The jargon laden work that many anthropologists produce creates confusion among the groups in which they work making the data inaccessible (Brown et al., 2020). Barriers, such as the use of pretentious language in academic writing, that BIPOC and uneducated folks face are not a symptom of unintelligence–these barriers are a symptom of academics upholding the legacy of white supremacy and imperialism (Brayboy, 2005). Inaccessible language demonstrates that the academy still believes only the privileged deserve access to knowledge (Kallehauge, 2021; Sumner, 2019; Smith, 2012; Deloria, 1988).

As discussed in Chapter 1, inaccessibility does not only exist in the language used within our academic writings. Inaccessibility also lies in the teaching methods deployed in higher education. The academic model is a byproduct of the colonial agenda, designed for affluent white students. Aristocrats never intended for academia to include Black, Brown, women, or poor students, but rather to increase the economic disparity between the elite and the rest of the country (Kallehauge, 2021; Sumner, 2019; Smith, 2012). As a result, neither the teaching methods nor the curricula embedded within K-12 and universities work for students from communities raised outside or within the margins of the typical western model. In his book *For White Folks Who Teach in the Hood… and the Rest of Y'all Too: Reality Pedagogy and Urban Education (2016)*, Christopher Emdin draws comparisons between modern teaching practices and the Carlisle School of thought. Emdin (2016) believes that white educators who force BIPOC students to learn through western models, rather than incorporating more effective alternative methods of teaching, uphold the same values as the Carlisle boarding school, which colonized the minds of BIPOC students and forces them to assimilate to western

concepts of "civilization." In an interview, Dr. Atalay (2016), enrolled member of the Anishinaabe-Ojibwe Nation and trained archaeologist and anthropologist, explains that the field of anthropology and archaeology remains "one of the most colonized fields out there." National statistics, as well as the vocalized experiences of my BIPOC peers and coworkers, show that white people overwhelmingly represent those in both the academy and archaeological workforce (White and Draycott, 2020). As a result, the work produced in our field and used in our classrooms comes predominantly from a white, western lens (Pack, 2010). Emdin's book focuses on K-12 education, but one could draw the same comparisons about teaching methods and curricula in university settings, as well. These exclusionary methods prevent the diversification of perspectives within our field.

Another consequence of a white dominated field that harms our BIPOC colleagues and the communities in which we work is the blatant racism and subtle microaggressions from white anthropologists and archaeologists. Though you can read about many well documented occurrences of racist behavior in modern anthropology, such as White's (2020) experiences as a Black man in the field, I present a few of my own observations. During my undergraduate career, a professor presented me with a research topic regarding a precontact archaeological site. When I stated I planned to collaborate with Indigenous Nations within the vicinity of the site, the professor informed me that oral histories were an invalid form of history that could not provide insight into the history of the site because the modern people did not exist, therefore, could not know about the site. When I disagreed the professor took another route and attempted to change my mind by informing me that the Tribal elders required payment in exchange for knowledge. As a result, I abandoned associations with the professor and completely changed my focus. In other instances, the racism came in the form of microaggressions. During a graduate level lecture, I watched my entire class sit in silence and stare at a professor in disbelief after the professor tokenized their BIPOC colleague who could not attend the lecture that day. The professor, who does not focus on Indigenous research, assigned an article pertaining to Indigenous hunter/gatherer practices. Though the professor's BIPOC colleague does not study hunter/gather practice, nor anything closely related, the white professor stated, "too bad [redacted] isn't here. This is the one article [redacted] might enjoy." The only thing the BIPOC professor had in common with the article is their race. The white professor always made it a point to look at and verbally seek the approval of their BIPOC colleague anytime they took a stance on a topic regarding Indigenous peoples. On more than one occasion, my BIPOC classmates, colleagues, and friends expressed frustration and explained that their frequent existence as the only BIPOC folk in a space, or the only BIPOC voice in a discussion, and situations like these challenge their desire to remain in the discipline.

Their comments demonstrate that their colleagues' violent behaviors play a key role in the fields' inability to retain BIPOC students and professionals. Racism in any form or place is vile, but it is especially revolting in a field that situates itself around "the other"–based on our history, however, maybe that should not be surprising.

Lastly, to not address the culture of sexual harassment within our field in a thesis discussing sexual violence would be a disservice to the research. Barbara Voss (2021) notes that sexual harassment and violence, historically and currently, appear at monumental rates in the field of archaeology. In most cases, other archaeologists perpetuate the violence. Voss (2021) thoroughly documents that perpetrators commit these violent acts not only during field research, "but also in laboratories, classrooms, museums, workplaces (p. 244)," and as we all witnessed a few years back–conferences. Studies reveal that acts of violence affect both men and women, however, women, BIPOC, and LGBTQIA2S+ folks experience violence at disproportionately higher rates (Voss, 2021). Voss (2021) argues that high rates of sexual violence forces people from the field, either because of mental distress or retaliation, all which directly impact diversity within the field. By driving out those who diversify the field, work within the field becomes impacted by the limited perspectives included in data. Voss states that sexual violence in the discipline "is enabled by structural conditions and disciplinary culture (Voss, 2021, p. 245)." Failing to address sexual violence at our doorstep adds to myriad of factors which make us complicit in the violent culture of our field and prohibits us from moving towards a more inclusive and equitable future.

Discussion

The significance of anthropology's history in relations to contemporary issues in Native communities lies in anthropologists' abuse of Indigenous peoples' trust and their role in settler-colonialism through research practices and publicized *truth* telling, as well as contributions to museums and U.S. policy making. Anthropologists aided in the U.S. government stripping away Native American agency–and land–and the dominant societies perception of Indigeneity by rejecting Indigenous voice, manufacturing Indigenous *identities*, and gatekeeping knowledge based on their colonial perceptions of importance. Museum curators placed looted remains and artifacts in glass display cases, with stories of the cultures cultivated by eager anthropologists, and offered Euro-American spectators a glimpse of "authentic" Native American culture (King, 2012). The display cases effectively trapped Native Americans in the glass box, challenging any deviation from white America's idea of Indigenous tradition as inauthentic, and seemingly halting their existence beyond

that point– creating the Dead Indian (King, 2012). The colonial "squaw" stereotype created by colonizers still exists today, as they became the basis for academic literature, museums, pop culture, media, and much more. As a result, men continue to fetishize Native Women and view them as disposable. The exoticism leads to the rape, trafficking, and murder of Indigenous women at alarmingly high rates, predominantly by white perpetrators (Maze of Injustice, 2007).

Deloria (1988), justly, criticizes the modern anthropologist for their arrogant attitude on knowledge of Indigenous identity. In *Custer Died for Your Sins,* Deloria writes about anthropologists not bringing a pen when they visit reservations because they already know everything about the Indian, better than the Indian, before even meeting the Indian (Deloria, 1988). Though Deloria authored this book more than 30 years ago, the fact remains that Indigenous groups still struggle for agency over their culture because the white scholar speaks louder. Responding to the continued relevance of Deloria's 1988 publication, anthropologist Sam Pack (2010) states, "Three decades later, it may be the anthropologist's husband who has the stringy hair, but the point remains: anthropologists are still perceived by Native Americans as reproducing self-confirming and self-referential systems of arcane knowledge which have little empirical relationship to, or practical value for, Indian people (p. 3)." By teaching the white man's perception, rather than amplifying Native voice on Indigenous culture, anthropologists remain complicit in racist practices, erasure, and perpetuate harmful stereotypes. The field's inability to address other forms of violence that disproportionately affects BIPOC and LGBTQIA2S+ folks also make us complicit and prevent us from moving towards an antiracist future.

*It should be noted: For time's sake, this chapter glosses over many things and only scratches the surface of Indigenous history in relations to settler colonialism, Christianity, and anthropology. An entire book could not contain the full extent of entanglement–a series such as *The Peoples' History* would be more apt.

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Chapter Three: Addressing Their Wounded Knee

"Complacency is a far more dangerous attitude than outrage."
–Naomi Littlebear Morena, in *This Bridge Called my Back* (2002, p. 187).

"This is how our theory develops. We are interested in pursuing a society that uses flesh and blood experiences to concretize a vision that can begin to heal our "wounded knee."
–Chrystos, in *This Bridge Called my Back* (2002, p. 21)

"The best writing is being done *outside* academic circles because it covers data and theories that are not regarded as orthodox because they make uncomfortable the reigning elder statesmen of anthropology, archaeology, and history."
–Vine Deloria, Jr., in *God is Red* (2003, p. 111)

"All histories have histories, and one is incomplete without the other."
–Paul Chaat Smith, in *Everything You Know About Indians Is Wrong* (2009, p. 53)

Abstract

As discussed in the previous chapter, throughout the field's existence, many anthropologists acted in ways that negatively impacted Native communities. However, Smith (2012) points out that the researcher nor their methods necessarily angered or offended the Indigenous Nations in which they lived or visited. Not all anthropologists acted in shady ways. In some cases, the Native peoples liked the researchers but found their work unnecessary and useless for their peoples. The greatest harm came from how the researcher later disseminated their findings and how institutions, such as the federal government and universities, wielded those findings for their colonial agenda (Smith, 2012). Therefore, research became a dirty word, and the discipline became associated, rightly so, with imperialism and erasure (Smith, 2012). Understanding the detrimental ways in which institutions might continue using our work exemplifies why we must radically alter our practices and follow the lead of Indigenous activists and scholars. Highlighted in this chapter are methods and frameworks that we must utilize throughout our field as tools of truth-telling to disrupt the colonial agenda and prevent further harm to the communities we serve.

We then explore how educating settler society against racism and inaccurate histories interrupts settler violence against Indigenous women. Lastly, we examine the future directions of this research and the field's role in social justice activism.

Introduction

Growing up in rural white America limited my perception of Indigenous peoples. What little I did know came from what I learned in K-12th grade, and what I saw in the old westerns I watched with my granddad as a small child. The old westerns showed me an "uncivilized" and "violent" society in opposition to my own. Cowboys versus Indians. A narrative I also witnessed every year during football season, when my school district played the Nocona Indians. Without fail, my school's cheerleading squad made "Cowboys versus Indians" the pep rally dress-up theme that week, and signage in the gym included a "scalp the Indians" painted poster. As far as actual educational material taught at my school, I only recall two instances of learning anything about Indigenous peoples. One lesson occurred in first grade, and the other in third or fourth grade. In first grade, one classroom crafted pilgrim outfits from construction paper, while the other constructed vests and feathered headbands from brown paper sacks and construction paper. When we finished, our teachers brought us together around a long piece of butcher paper covered in snacks so we could celebrate thanksgiving "just as the pilgrims and Indians did"–though, I cannot confirm the historical accuracy of Pepperidge Farm Goldfish or buttered popcorn. Over the last few years, I witnessed this ongoing first-grade tradition reemerge as a new senior-class tradition.

My second lesson came in the form of a field trip to the Fort Sill National Historic Landmark and Museum in Oklahoma. Here my class saw Geronimo's grave and learned how General Sheridan and General Custer established the fort to control *hostiles* from the "Comanche, Cheyenne, Kiowa and other tribes of the Southern Plains who were making frequent raids on settlements in Texas and Mexico (Fort Sill National Historic Landmark and Museum Staff, 2022)." I do not highlight these experiences–entirely–to demonstrate America's highly problematic education system, but rather to demonstrate that these formative experiences taught me of an either-or Dead Indian Culture. EITHER they were violent men on horseback in headdresses, carrying bows and arrows, OR they were romanticized Mother Earth loving peoples who welcomed and broke bread with settlers. Neither scenario taught me about a modern, thriving society. I do not highlight my experience to show a unique or isolated experience, either. Instead, I propose the opposite– an all-too-common experience held by many rural white children.

Children who, one day, become adults with little to no knowledge or empathy for modern Indigenous people with modern issues as a product of a problematic, white-washed public education system.

I entered college as that adult, and had I not taken the very specific route that I did, I might still be that person or, at the very least, reminiscent of that person. Fortunately, I ignorantly entered this discipline out of sheer fetishized excitement of the Dead Indian Culture, which I became fascinated with after working for the National Park Service and learning about the Ancestral Puebloan culture. No, not because of Indiana Jones–and, yes, I knew that Indigenous peoples existed in modern times… by this point. I say "fortunately" because while completing my undergraduate education, a few of my radical professors introduced me to Indigenous histories by Indigenous peoples. During that awakening, I realized how little I knew about the violent history of the United States perpetuated by the settler society as a result of whitewashed misrepresentations and redacted histories. The heightened turmoil within our country and violence perpetrated against marginalized groups over the last few years epitomizes the consequences of targeted, intentionally misrepresented identities (i.e., Muslims as terrorists, Drag Queens as pedophiles, Latinx as rapists, Black folks as "thugs," Native Americans as alcoholics, etc.) and the dire need for some sort of societal change. As I discussed in my last chapter, I do believe anthropologists played a role in the origins of those stereotypes.

According to the American Anthropological Association's Statement of Ethics (2014), the first point in the Principles of Professional Responsibility is "do no harm (n.p.)." Currently, I grapple with the fact that, in many regards, this discipline is not true to its ethical obligation–specifically concerning Native Americans. In our predecessors' futile attempts at establishing our field as a Science they demanded objectivity and effectively dehumanized a field that studies humans. These anthropologists saw the insiders' perspectives as biased and believed their outsider observations provided an unadulterated view into these complex communities (Spector, 1993; Deloria, 1997; Simpson, 2014). In doing so, they effectively stole Indigenous peoples' agency over their own identity, which created ongoing settler-colonial consequences. Many anthropologists today continue to uphold these standards, failing to see that including insider perspectives do not detract from their work, but rather they enhance their findings and reduce the possibility of negative consequences or harm (Atalay, 2012). By this logic, I believe that failing to incorporate Indigenous perspectives and working collaboratively with Indigenous communities could result in harm to those communities, thus violating our code of ethics. We have reached a point in our field where reflexivity without action is no longer enough, and to move forward as an antiracist discipline, we must work collaboratively with and follow the lead of those with the most at stake.

In response, through collaboration with Indigenous individuals, I used this research to provide acceptable ways for non-native anthropologists in academia to teach non-native individuals about Indigenous cultures and histories using various methods and frameworks. I also sought to find approved ways for anthropologists and archaeologists to act as resources and advocates with Native Americans. Since the dominant frameworks and perspectives we deploy negatively impact and do not reflect the people they represent, the foundation for the information presented in this thesis is derived from knowledge, perspectives, and methods written, almost exclusively, by Indigenous activists, authors, and scholars.

Previous Research and Literature Review

There is a plethora of problematic ethnographic information describing Indigenous cultures, i.e., The Handbook of North American Indians published by the Smithsonian, North American Indians by George Catlin, or any other number of books called Indians/North American Indians, Indians of North America, etc. This stems from non-Indigenous authors creating content they wrote from a colonial perspective, effectively trapping modern Native Americans in a glass display case with no way to escape the buckskin and feather wearing Dead Indian image that the dominant society recognizes (Deloria, 1988; Smith, 2009; King, 2012; Black and Harrison, 2018). When looking at work addressing contemporary issues, such as the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women (MMIW) crisis, the field of anthropology is virtually silent. To find information on MMIW, you must reach across borders and disciplines.

Canada produces a notable amount of material on MMIW compared to the United States, though, as with the United States, most of the work is happening outside of anthropology. Some of their scholars addressing MMIW are Sherene H. Razack, a distinguished professor of Women's Gender Studies, Pamela Palermater, who works in Canadian Law, and the First Nations scholars who collectively wrote Keetsahnak: Our Missing and Murdered Indigenous Sisters.

In the United States, a majority of studies surrounding contemporary Indigenous issues, such as Identity, History, and Decolonization, come from scholars in Law (Rosay; Deer; Deloria; Dabiri), Communications (Black and Harris; Mack and Na'puti), American Indian Studies (Tuck; Deloria; Smith; King; Robertson; Baldy), Native American scholars/authors/activists (Atalay; Tuck; Keeler; Robertson; Baldy; King; Smith; Deloria; Chaat-Smith; Meek; Weaver; Deer; Simpson; Watkins), Women's Gender Studies (Robertson; Deer), History (Dunbar-Ortiz), and

Anthropology/Archaeology- though none specifically address MMIW (Atalay; Watkins; Meek; Simpson). It is important to note that even though Atalay, Meek, Simpson, and Watkins do not address MMIW, they address other contemporary issues within anthropology as a reaction to anthropology's problematic past. They have worked to raise the standards of doing in the discipline to better suit the needs of Indigenous communities (i.e., community-based archaeology, acknowledging problems caused by misrepresentation of Indigenous identities, and Indigenous research methodologies). Though their practices are specific to their studies, others can draw from their methods/standards as a framework for diverse types of Indigenous research.

Of all those studying contemporary issues in the United States, I have yet to find any anthropologists discussing the MMIW crisis. Those specifically studying MMIW- other than the Urban Indian Health Institute and Amnesty International- are social workers (Weaver), Communications majors (Mack and Na'puti), individuals in Law (Rosay; Deer; Dabiri), and scholars in American Indian Studies/Women's Gender Studies (Robertson). The lack of engagement leads me to question why so many Anthropologists remain silent on Native American contemporary issues such as MMIW, why they continue to perpetuate the Dead Indian narrative, and why some anthropologists still fail to acknowledge the discipline's role in imperialism/colonization?

If we, as a discipline, desire to study people and remain relevant, the work we produce should be advocational and valuable. It is not a farfetched concept, as we see advocational work popping up in other areas of Anthropology/ Archaeology. For example, Historical Archaeologist Dr. Maria Franklin uses a Black Feminist framework to link the historical context and origins to current structural/systemic Anti-Black racism in the United States (Franklin, 2002; Franklin et al., 2020). The research surrounding MMIW is happening; it is just not happening in Anthropology, a field intricately linked to colonial violence (Deloria, 1988; Smith, 2012; Razack, 2016; Mack and Na'puti, 2019).

Theories, Frameworks, and Concepts.. Oh My!

"For the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change."
–Audre Lorde, in The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House (2002, p. 106)

Dr. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Porou, Māori Native and Indigenous education scholar, very broadly defines methodologies at its most basic level as the "theory of method, or the approach or technique being taken, or the reasoning for selecting a set of methods (Smith, 2012, p. ix)." Theories and frameworks, though often frustrating and boring, inform the context in which we conceptualize and design our research models, and how those ideas impact the researched. I use the "r" word–research–for lack of a better word, though Indigenous communities consider it "one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world's vocabulary (p. 1), as it is "inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism (Smith, 2012, p. 1)." For that reason, I utilize theories and frameworks that Indigenous activists and scholars created as their way of "talking back to" or "talking up to" institutions of research.

Critical Pedagogies[5]

In Pedagogies of the Oppressed (2005), Paulo Freire argues that liberating the oppressed occurs in two stages: the first, understanding the intricacies of oppression, and the second, concrete action to correct the system. Freire believes that the oppressed achieve freedom through dialog and praxis. Freire defines dialog as a conversation with the condition of equality among participants. Dialog creates space to discuss peoples' social reality. Freire defines praxis as a critical reflection of learned realities and collaborative action. Freire (2005) believes dialogical action within a hierarchal society is an act of love and humanity that requires mutual trust, unity, critical thinking, cultural synthesis, and hope. Freire (2005) contrasts this with anti-dialogical actions, which oppressors use for cultural invasion, manipulation, and conquest. Freire examines the traditional teaching model, in which teachers present material and then require students to regurgitate the information. Freire regards the current model and the unequal power dynamics between teachers and students as a tool of oppression that only trains students to exist in an oppressive society, rather than to think critically about institutions of power and inequality. Through dialogical action, the educator gains knowledge of their students' lived realities which creates a more conducive and equitable learning environment, while students learn how to challenge oppressive systems and liberate themselves from oppressors.

[5] Merriam-Webster (2022) defines pedagogies as a fancy word for "the art, science, or profession of teaching. *Especially*: the field of study that deals mainly with methods of teaching and learning in schools."

Freire (2005) explains that for people in positions of power (i.e., leaders, educators, etc.) to help the oppressed authentically, they must engage in dialog to understand barriers, and then act accordingly while avoiding oppressive behaviors.

Tribal Critical Race Theory

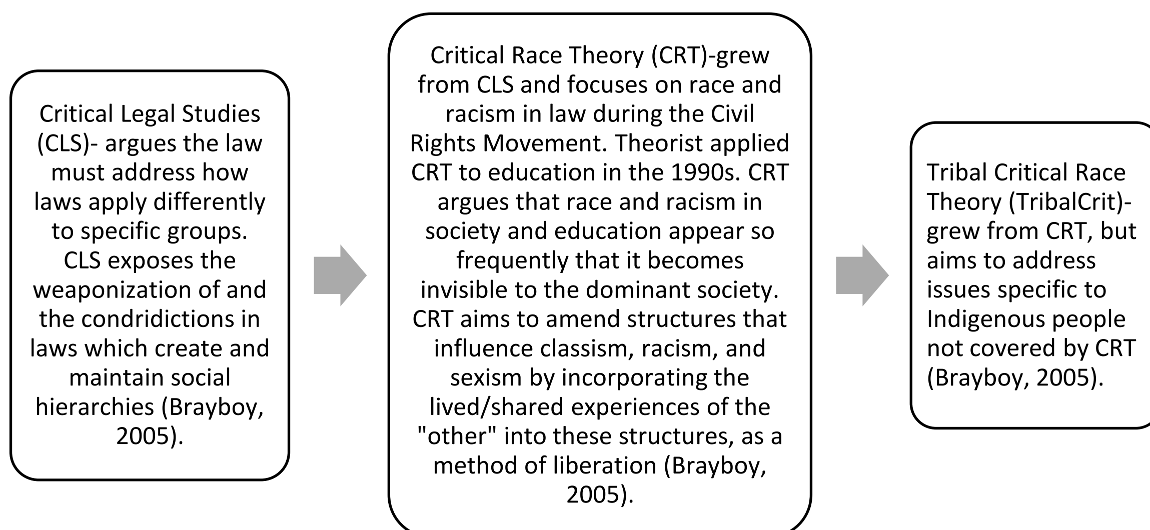

Figure 6 Historical progression from CLS to CRT to TribalCrit (Brayboy, 2005).

Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit), a framework developed by Dr. Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy, an enrolled member of the Lumbee Nation and scholar, stems from Critical Race Theory (CRT) (Fig.6) but incorporates the lived realities and ways of knowing shared among Indigenous Nations. Unlike CRT, which focused mainly on issues in the Black community during the Civil Rights Movement, TribalCrit serves as a framework to address Indigenous-specific issues, specifically in higher education (Brayboy, 2005). Though rooted in the commonalities of Indigenous peoples, TribalCrit acknowledges that these commonalities range and vary through time and space, and among communities and individuals. TribalCrit addresses the complicated relationship between Native Nations and the federal government, emphasizing the racialization and politicization experienced by Indigenous peoples, as a result of colonialism. Brayboy (2005) explains that TribalCrit differs from other CRT-rooted frameworks because it centers colonization as the key contributor to Indigenous issues, rather than racism, but still acknowledges racism’s role.

Brayboy (2005), states, “By colonization, I mean that European American thought, knowledge, and power structures dominate present-day society in the United States (p. 430).” Brayboy (2005) clarifies his definition of colonization to emphasize his point of resistance against institutions of European American thought, knowledge, and power structures, such as colleges and universities, which largely dismiss Indigenous ways of knowing and oral histories as a basis for theoretical frameworks. In contrast to research conducted within the western framework, TribalCrit aims to establish approaches for conducting research that center Indigenous ways of knowing. Brayboy (2005) argues that the use of a TribalCrit lens in research leads to a better understanding of Indigenous communities and their needs as it better explains their societal realities, which in turn creates a more equitable environment in higher education for Indigenous students– and hopefully, on a larger scale, Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination.

Brayboy (2005, p. 429-430) gracefully outlines the tenets of TribalCrit as follows:

1. Colonization is endemic to society.
2. U.S. policies toward Indigenous peoples are rooted in imperialism, White supremacy, and a desire for material gain.
3. Indigenous peoples occupy a liminal space that accounts for both the political and racialized natures of our identities.
4. Indigenous peoples have a desire to obtain and forge tribal sovereignty, tribal autonomy, self-determination, and self-identification.
5. The concepts of culture, knowledge, and power take on new meaning when examined through an Indigenous lens.
6. Governmental policies and educational policies toward Indigenous peoples are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation.
7. Tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, and visions for the future are central to understanding the lived realities of Indigenous peoples, but they also illustrate the differences and adaptability among individuals and groups.
8. Stories are not separate from theory; they make up theory and are, therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being.

9. Theory and practice are connected in deep and explicit ways such that scholars must work towards social change.

Native Feminist Theory

Confederated Salish and Kootenai scholar Dr. Luana Ross refers to feminism as the "F" word because of the stigma it carries in Native circles, as people often associate it with whitestream feminism that erases Indigenous identity (Arvin, Tuck, Morrill, 2013). Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill (2013) define Native Feminist Theories as a theory that seeks to understand the intersectionality of settler colonialism, heteropatriarchy, and heteropaternalism, while focusing on issues of gender, sexuality, race, Indigeneity, and nation. Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill (2013) chose to identify Native Feminist theory as a theory, rather than Native feminism or feminist, to indicate a framework available to anyone and not a label or an identity for those who identify as Indigenous. Unlike feminist movements among white women, people of color, and other marginalized groups whose movements parallel and seek equity within the nation-state, Indigenous frameworks seek sovereignty and independence from the nation-state (Arvin, Tuck, Morrill, 2013). Arvin, Tuck, Morrill (2013) argue that, at times, other branches of feminism treat colonialism as a historical event rather than an ongoing structure, some ignore it completely, and others perpetuate settler-colonialism. To utilize Native feminist theory correctly, settler-colonialism those using the theory must center colonialism to expose its deeply embedded structure (Arvin, Tuck, Morrill, 2013). They continue by saying everyone in western nations lives within a setter-colonial structure; thus, everyone benefits from a Native feminist theory that disrupts and dismantles the oppressive structure (Arvin, Tuck, Morrill, 2013). Used correctly, without connections to whitestream feminism which presents real problems for Indigenous peoples, Native Feminist theory can decolonize fields that study issues, such as gendered violence, therefore it cannot afford to remain another "F" word in Native Nations.

Decolonizing Frameworks

Indigenous activists and scholars define decolonization as a process that centers Indigenous ways of knowing and teaching to disrupt and dethrone settler colonial structures which hold power over Indigenous land, communities, knowledge, ways of life, and history, as a method of achieving complete sovereignty and repatriation (Sium et al., 2012).

Without centering and privileging Indigenous experiences, ways of knowing, and methods of teaching, decolonization does not exist. Sium et al., (2012) explain that decolonization requires theory and action to transform structures that endanger the lives of Indigenous peoples.

Eve and Tuck (2012) explain that decolonization unsettles the innocence of everyone, often causing non-Indigenous (white) people to seek a reprieve from settler guilt. Eve and Tuck (2012) call this settler moves to innocence, which include: (I) settler nativism (e.g., I'm not guilty, because my great-great-great grandmother was a Cherokee Princess), (II) settler adoption fantasies (e.g., desire to become without becoming, being adopted as without experiencing what it is to be), (III) colonial equivocation (e.g., I'm queer, you are Indigenous, we are both oppressed. Therefore we are both colonized.– technically true but intentionally deceptive and vague to avoid settler guilt), (IV) free your mind and the rest will follow (e.g., becoming critically conscious of settler-colonialism, but not taking action to disrupt the structure), and (V) Re-occupation (e.g., being anticapitalistic and wanting to redistribute wealth and land, but remaining pro-colonial). These settler moves to innocence further settler colonialism.

Tuck and Yang (2012) argue that settler moves to innocence occur as a result of the metaphorization of decolonization. We commonly hear things like "decolonize education," or "decolonizing methods" in social justice initiatives aimed at establishing a more equitable society or education systems. Tuck and Yang (2012) point this out, not to discourage these crucial efforts, but to caution them against using a likely incompatible framework or using it in a way that unintentionally minimizes the true goal of decolonization. Sium et al., (2012) explain that decolonization cannot coexist with frameworks which center colonial lenses, as they fragment and marginalize. Tuck and Yang (2012) warn that decolonization is messy, may feel unfriendly, and "is not accountable to settlers, or settler futurity (p. 35)." Sium et al., (2012) conclude that "what knowledge we choose to produce has everything to do with who we are and how we choose to act in the world (p. 8)."

Decolonial Feminist Framework

A decolonial feminist framework understands gendered violence against Indigenous peoples as a product of settler colonial violence. Decolonial feminist framework draw from Native Feminist Theory and Decolonizing Frameworks by critiquing whitestream understanding and use of topics such as feminism and decolonization, which erase the lived experiences of BIPOC, and rejects the use of western lenses to understand gendered violence (Mack and Na'puti, 2019). Whitestream feminism

focuses only on asymmetrical power imbalances and fails to decenter whiteness and address settlers use of gendered violence as a weapon of conquest. In opposition, decolonial feminist frameworks centers Indigenous ways of knowing (Mack and Na'puti, 2019). Decolonial feminist scholar ask white folks to orient themselves as witnesses and "resisters with humility and respect (Mack and Na'puti, 2019, p. 7)," because their positionality as settler prevents them from fully understanding and articulating the thoughts, feelings, and lived realities of BIPOC folks. Decolonial feminist scholars share this framework with hesitation and ask that white folks respect their boundaries by not co-opting the framework for non-Indigenous, western movement to end sexual violence (Mack and Na'puti, 2019).

The Rose that Grew from Concrete: From Damage-Centered Research to Desire-Based Frameworks, Refusal, and Thrivance

Historically and presently, social science researchers, particularly of the white variety, use damage-centered methods in their research which focus on pain and loss. Those using damage-centered research tend to focus on what a community lacks to explain why they are damaged or broken (Tuck, 2009). These researchers often operate under the theory of change by using historical exploitation and colonization to explain contemporary issues in Indigenous communities and attain reparations. While focusing on solutions for contemporary issues seems inherently positive, the researcher focusing on the brokenness endangers those they research by singularly defining that community by its brokenness (Tuck, 2009). Tuck (2009) explains that though the researchers using damage-centered research use historical context to explain contemporary issues, they often do so in passing or at the beginning of their work, and the significance of the context becomes minimized by their fetishization of pain and suffering. "Without the context of racism and colonization, all we're left with is the damage, and this makes our stories vulnerable to pathologizing analyses (Tuck, 2009, p. 7)." Tuck and Yang (2014) explains that "pain narratives are always incomplete… they lament the concrete jungles and miss the roses and the tobacco from concrete (p. 231)," arguing that they lack hope. Referencing bell hooks' (1990) "examination of the symbolic violence of the academy (p. 249)," Tuck and Yang (2014) argues that the subaltern can speak but only from a place of pain, which damage-based research then colonize those stories by taking authority over and retelling the subaltern's Truth from their perspective. Tuck (2009, 2010, Tuck and Yang, 2014) proposes desire-based research as the antidote for damage-centered research.

Tuck (2009, Tuck and Yang, 2014) argues that the poisonous damage-centered frameworks deployed in academia positions the other as damaged victims and denies them the opportunity to contribute wisdom and hope gained from tragedy, thus providing an incomplete story. In contrast, desire-based frameworks utilize the painful elements of their reality and the context of those realities, wisdom gained through a life of experience, hope, and visions of their future to situate analyses. Using desire-based methods emphasizes the complexities and wholeness of communities by demonstrating that though they experience pain, the pain does not define them (Tuck, 2009, Tuck and Yang, 2014). Desire-based research relies heavily on concepts of survivance. Tuck (2009) uses Gerald Vizenor's definition of survivance, which states,

> Survivance, in my use of the word, means a native sense of presence, the motion of sovereignty and the will to resist dominance. Survivance is not just survival but also resistance, not heroic or tragic, but the tease of tradition, and my sense of survivance outwits dominance and victimry (p. 422).

Unlike damage-centered research, which does not accept Indigenous sovereignty, desire-based research distinguishes sovereignty as a central component of Indigenous personhood. Tuck (2009) also explains that desire closely aligns with the realities and complexities of personhood. Tuck (2009) draws on the concept of complex personhood, which acknowledges and accepts that people are complicated, allowing space for differences as an effort to sustain collective balance among Indigenous Nations and individuals.

Tuck and Yang (2014), define three axioms of social science research that illuminate the need for Indigenous peoples and researchers to Refuse research, the first being damage-centered research. These axioms, as defined by Tuck and Yang (2014), include:

> (I) The subaltern can speak, but is only invited to speak her/our pain [i.e., damage-centered research]; (II) there are some forms of knowledge that the academy doesn't deserve [i.e., the researcher may appropriate or unethically use the knowledge gained]; and (III) research may not be the intervention that is needed [i.e., research is not always useful or appropriate, research in the western academy eclipse all other forms of knowing, etc.] (p. 224).

Though I focus on the first, to understand our role in refusal, I thought it important to include all axioms. Concepts of Refusal in research used by Tuck and Yang (2014) come predominantly from the works of Kahnawake scholar Audra Simpson. Tuck and Yang (2014) explain that Simpson identifies three dimensions of refusal: (I) the interviewee sets boundaries by refusing to reveal details

that may become public, (II) the researcher understands and limits what they share about their accounts, and knows when to stop questioning (i.e., respecting the interviewee by not disclosing hints or subtleties indicating shared knowledge between the interviewee and the interviewer if the interviewee set limits and expressed unwillingness to expand on a topic), (III) together the interviewee and interviewer created the third dimension through their refusal of settler colonial or western academic logic and their insistence of sovereignty. Simpson (Tuck and Yang, 2014) explains that refusal contrasts settler colonial logic, which exasperates and resents the interviewee's boundaries.

Tuck and Yang (2014) highlight Simpson's emphasis that refusals generate and expand the conversation rather than subtract because refusal does not just mean no. The concept of refusal allows the interviewee to redirect or shift the conversation to unacknowledged or unquestioned topics, "furthering sovereignty or countering misrepresentations of Native people as anthropological objects (Yang and Tuck, 2014, p. 263)." Refusal also critically analyses the self-defined ethics of researchers and the subjective nature of the IRB process, and defends against violence in the name of "good science." Simpson defines refusal as "anticolonial and rooted in the desire for possibilities outside of colonial logics, not as a reactive stance (Tuck and Yang, 2014, p. 264)." Tuck and Yang (2014) argue that refusal operates within desire-based methodologies. Centering desire works as an effective tool of collaboration with and by Indigenous peoples that disrupts the colonial mindsets and truly repositions the other as intellectual contributors rather than anthropological subjects (Tuck, 2009, Tuck and Yang, 2014).

As mentioned above, the theorized concept of desire, as well as many others, find its roots in Vizenor's theory of survivance. Though acknowledged as important to Native history and survival, some scholars critique the theory as limited in its ability to represent modern people. Registered Descendent of the Blackfeet Nation and anthropologist Dr. Dianne Baumann (2019) proposes instead that we push beyond survivance to thrivance. Dr. Baumann (2019) explains that thrivance shifts the focus from the survival statement "we are still here" to "we are productive, vibrant, and contributors to today's world (p. 19)." Thrivance also highlights the value of healing to achieve positive self-identity (Baumann, 2019). By definition, thrivance validates Tuck's concepts of desire by accentuating hope, wisdom, healing, and positive visions of the future that survivance failed to address.

Shifting the Narrative in Anthropology

The common foundation of the theories deployed throughout this research focuses on disrupting oppressive colonial systems and centering the lived realities and knowledge of Indigenous peoples as a means of liberation from settler society. Atalay et al., (2014) explain that for the past two decades, a growing divide separates those within the field who wish to address inequalities and diversify perspectives, those who fight tooth and nail to uphold imperi(c)al methods, and those who wish to turn their cheek and dig in peace. Unfortunately, often those who wish to address inequities and diversify perspectives fall short of their goal because they 1. operate within the margins of the discipline, 2. free their mind and expect the rest to follow, and 3. fail to understand the deeply complex nature of Indigeneity and the desires/needs of Indigenous peoples; thus they continue to operate within an oppressive structure that thrives on extraction-consumption relationships while contributing to settler colonial agendas–just the same as those who vehemently oppose transforming the system and those sitting complacent (Atalay et al., 2014; Brayboy et al., 2015; Tuck and Yang, 2012). As it stands, Indigenous people overwhelmingly view academia and archaeology as "irrelevant, hostile, and unwelcoming to Native people (Brayboy et al., 2015, p. 155). As a result, Indigenous scholars call for a complete transformation of the academy and archaeology, rather than a facelift or an activist niche (Atalay et a., 2014). Through radical transformation, the academy and archaeology then become tools of service with, by, and for Indigenous communities, rather than weapons for settler societies that perpetuate violence against and disenfranchise Native peoples.

*From this point forward, I direct my words primarily to my fellow white colleagues. I acknowledge that I do not speak from a position of authority, but as someone working under the guidance of Indigenous voices and as someone who recognizes that it is not the duty of the oppressed to kill the oppressor and save the man. I also acknowledge that I am working through my own colonial deconstruction, and I will not always get *it* right.

Education

To achieve radical transformation within academia, non-Indigenous scholars and educators must (I) educate themselves on their position as settlers within a settler colonial society and institution, (II) educate themselves on the historical and contemporary lived realities of Indigenous students within a settler colonial society and institution, and (III) expand traditional teaching and

research models to incorporate alternative knowledge systems and ways of doing. As discussed throughout the theories provided, unpacking our position as settlers within a settler society only initiates the process of dismantling systems of oppression. Colonial deconstruction helps us understand our role in the violence perpetuated against Indigenous peoples, but without following through and acting on what we unpack, our newly gained awareness benefits no one (Emdin, 2016; Tuck and Yang, 2012; Freire, 2005). Only through the incorporation of all three points defined above can non-Indigenous educators in the field of anthropology truly serve Indigenous communities.

Unpacking Our Whiteness and Position as Settler

White educators account for nearly 75 percent of all full-time faculty at public universities (Fig.7) in the United States, whereas Indigenous and Alaskan Native scholars account for less than one percent (NCES, 2022). These statistics imply that 75 percent of university faculty directly benefit from unearned white privilege and position as settlers in a settler society. Though they may seem one and the same, I separate white privilege and settler privilege intentionally.

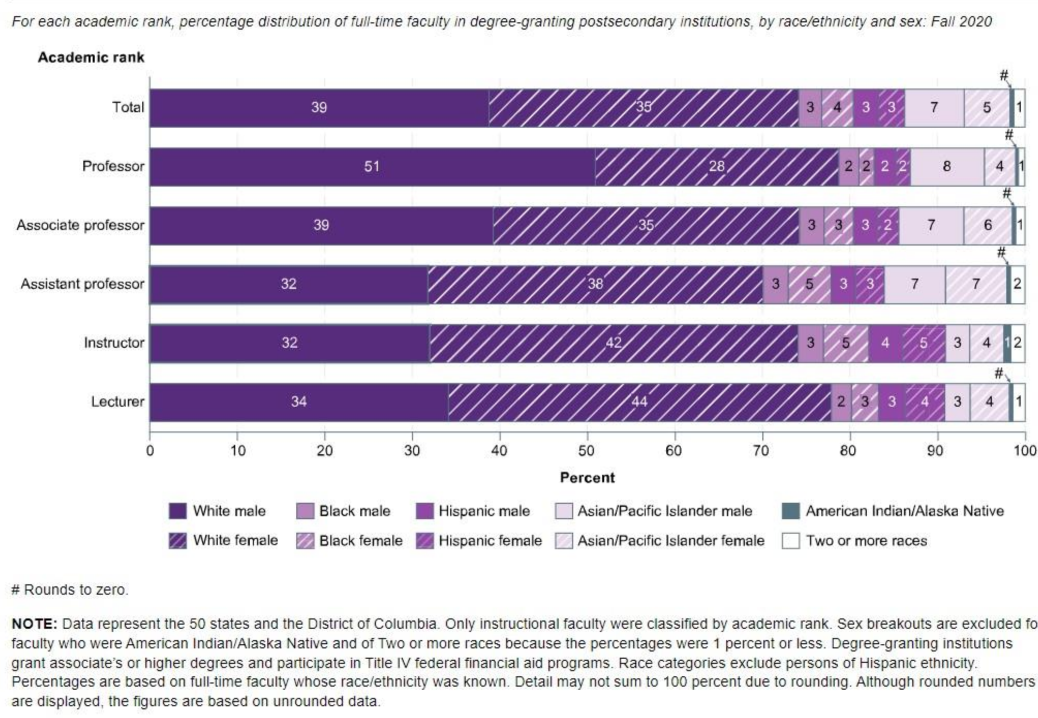

Figure 7 Post Secondary Faculty Demographics in the United States by race/ethnicity and sex (National Center for Education Statistics, 2022).

White privilege, a term frequently heard, describes privileges ascribed to white communities simply for being white. Peggy McIntosh (1988) explains that society understands and learns that racism disadvantages BIPOC, but rarely, perhaps intentionally, learn that their whiteness "put them at an advantage (para. 2)." White privilege does not imply that white communities cannot struggle in life, but rather, their struggles do not coincide with their skin tone. Dina Gilio-Whitaker (2018a), enrolled member of the Colville Confederated Tribes and scholar, explains, white privilege focuses on racism as systemic and hierarchical by centering race but tends to operate within a Black and white binary that limits effectiveness for other racialized groups, such as Indigenous peoples.

Settler privilege, however, accounts for racism unique to Indigenous peoples. Settler privilege addresses the privileges that white people and immigrants, excluding descendants of enslaved people forced to settle in the United States, obtained through the genocide of Indigenous peoples and land theft (Gilio-Whitaker, 2018a). Gilio-Whitaker (2018a) explains that anyone without ancestral connection or "people with ambiguous 'Native ancestry,' (para.4)" fall into settler or immigrant status. Gilio-Whitaker (2018a) provides the following list, including hyperlinks for those wanting to know more, to help people understand their unearned settler privilege and to what degree they benefit (para. 7):

1. I can live anywhere in the US without being disturbed that people of my race or ethnic group were not systematically killed or displaced so that I could live there.
2. I don't have to worry that images, symbols, or names of people of my ethnicity will be used as sports mascots, Halloween costumes, or marketing logos, and that I will be told that when they are that I am being honored, even when I say I don't feel honored.
3. I am not burdened that people not of my ethnicity will appropriate the spirituality and religion specific to my community and justify it with arguments that everybody has a constitutional right to practice whatever religion they choose.
4. I am not concerned about my group's history being accurately represented in my children's education, or represented at all.

5. I don't have to worry that I will be perceived as an authentic member of my ethnic group based on a sufficient amount of "blood," as verified by a government-issued document.

6. I can see myself and my ethnic group represented in a wide variety of media and popular culture that aren't predominantly stereotypes.

7. I am usually represented in statistical findings in studies and reports.

8. I am never confronted with comments that express surprise that my group is still existent.

9. I am never confronted with comments that imply that my group deserved to be wiped out because they were all killing each other already anyway before being invaded by outsiders.

10. I don't have to hear references about my group described as a "plight."

11. I never have to defend against the desecration or digging up of burials of my ancestors for capitalist development.

12. I can be assured that the American legal system, and respect that it is based on a different set of assumptions about the world than other religions.

13. I am not subject to a legal system that is based on a concept of cultural and religious inferiority of my group.

14. I don't see myself spoken of as a "savage" or other derisive term in any of the US's founding documents.

15. I never have to worry that my legal existence or that of my group can be terminated at any time by the US government without my consent.

16. I have no ancestors who were considered "wards of the state" even though they committed no crime.

17. I have no ancestors that were hunted for bounties paid for by any governmental agency.

As Gilio-Whitaker (2018b) explains in her follow up article, beneficiaries of settler privilege often become defensive when confronted about their unearned privilege, which she defines as settler fragility. Their defensiveness stems from their lack of understanding that racism and settler

colonialism is structural, systemic, and a bioproduct of white, religious, and cultural supremacy, instead interpreting the issues as a judgment of or attack on individual character–"the good-bad binary (para. 1)." This fragility prevents open discourse for understanding, effectively creating a cycle of settler complicity. As a result, settler colonialism remains deeply embedded and operates discreetly in every facet of our society- including the very foundation of our legal system. Deep seated ideas of Manifest Destiny and *this land is your land, this land is my land* both erase and justify the genocide and land dispossession (Gilio-Whitaker, 2018b). The need to escape settler complicity drives what Tuck and Yang (2012) identified as settler moves to innocence. Gilio-Whitaker (2018b) concludes that settler moves to innocence come from settlers' perception of the good-bad binary and their need to distance themselves from association with colonial injustices and genocide. Identifying settler colonialism as a structure, however, does not exonerate individual responsibility. Gilio-Whitaker (2018b) asserts that we must begin facing our complicity by asking ourselves, "whose land am I on" and "what processes have granted and/or denied us privilege in it (para. 10)?" After identifying this information, we must accept our responsibility to the land and its original occupants to act as accomplices in disrupting settler-colonial systems (Gilio-Whitaker, 2018b).

When unpacking individual whiteness, white faculty must work to understand and address their unconscious biases and racism. Amahle Ntshinga (2022), a South African entrepreneur, activist, and edutainer, simplifies racism using a standard bell chart (Fig. 8). Ntshinga (2022), explains that racism operates on a scale, rather than an is-is not binary. Though she admits that her chart oversimplifies the many variants of racism, it provides a base for understanding where you might fall. Using the bell curve, Ntshinga (2022) demonstrates that most white people exist somewhere between non-racist and covert-racist. Those in the non-racist categories include "colorblind" and "kindhearted uninformed minds," and those in covert racist categories include gas lighters and quiet racists. Outliers include "well-read + too comfy" and loud racists. Extreme outliers include violent racists and extreme anti-racists, whom Ntshinga (2022) labels "more of this, please."

Gas lighters believe racism does not exist and may say things such as, "not everything is about race." Though convinced racism does not exist, gas lighters hold racist beliefs and stereotype BIPOC. Quiet racists present themselves as non-racist or progressive but reveal their racism when with their inner circle or when convenient (i.e., the weaponization of white woman tears) (Ntshinga, 2022). Colorblind racists believe "they do not see race" and that taking race out of discussions will absolve racism. White people use colorblind bias, not out of hate, but as a scapegoat to remain comfortable in their privilege and to avoid the continuous work of becoming anti-racist (Andersen, Taylor, Logio, 2017). Ntshinga (2022) identifies "kindhearted uninformed minds" as those unaware

of racism or made uncomfortable by racism and suffering from white guilt; however, their fragility and hesitancy to self-educate inhibit antiracist growth. When non-racists and covert racists interact in private, non-racists do not condemn the racist behaviors of gas lighters or quiet racists (Ntshinga, 2022).

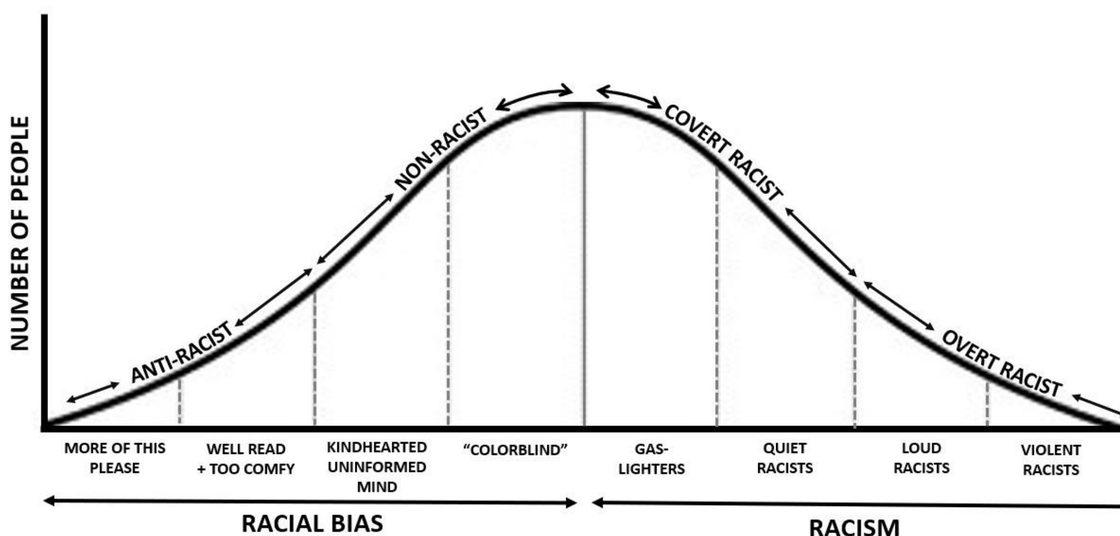

Figure 8 Replication of Ntshinga's (2022) racism bell curve.

Those identified as loud racists openly demonstrate their racism (i.e., racial slurs, flying confederate flags, etc.). "Well-read + too comfy," however, appear as anti-racist as possible on paper (i.e., self-educate, identify their biases, support BIPOC-owned businesses, call out racists, etc.), but center themselves, speak for or over BIPOC, and sometimes become too comfortable in BIPOC spaces (Ntshinga, 2022). Violent racists include those who enact violence or commit hate crimes against racialized groups. Ntshinga (2022) identifies extreme anti-racists ("more of this, please") as those who use their privilege to disrupt the system without centering themselves or acting as white saviors (i.e., Jane Elliot). These individuals self-educate to unlearn their racial biases and often only discuss racism to call out other white people's racism or racial biases. Understanding that racism and biases operate on a scale demonstrates the dire need for white faculty to unpack their position in and perceptions of society.

A study by Gleditsch and Berg (2017) revealed that though university faculty believe they treat all students equally, they commonly hold racial biases, indicating a gap between perception and

reality. The study identified Social Science faculty to hold the least biases, suggesting a better grasp of race relations among those faculty, but racial biases still existed (Gleditsch and Berg, 2017). Not surprising since the demographics of faculty do not compare or represent the demographics of students or stakeholders.

To better serve and work with Indigenous communities, white scholars must first identify and understand how their racial biases and position in society propel them forward while forcing others down. Once white scholars understand their position, they can then begin educating themselves on the lived realities of their Indigenous students.

(II) Educating Ourselves on the Lived Realities of Native Students

In *Decolonizing Methodologies* (2012), Smith states, "Systemic change requires capability, leadership, support, time, courage, reflexivity, determination and compassion (p. xiii)." However, very few white faculty truly understand the lived realities of their Native students, as they view their struggles from a western lens that values independence. As demonstrated in the last section, white educators make up roughly 75 percent of full-time faculty in public universities. As a result, students of color do not see themselves represented in university faculty, leaving them feeling unseen, unwelcome, and sometimes unsafe (Brayboy et al., 2015). Brayboy et al., (2015) argue "Despite frequent rhetoric touting commitment to diversity, many postsecondary leaders lack general knowledge of Native people's rich, complex history and modern-day sociocultural needs and desires (p. 155)" making many universities ill-equipped to support and serve their Indigenous populations.

Data provided by institutions such as the U.S. Department of Education, the National Center for Education Statistics, and the U.S. Census Bureau (PNPI, 2021), show that American Indian and Alaskan Natives account for less than one percent of undergraduate and graduate students in the United States. Due to small sample sizes, Indigenous populations often become noted as asterisks in educational studies or left out of conversations completely. The limited data available, however, does indicate issues of access and retention in higher education for these students (Fig.9) (PNPI, 2021). Per capita, Indigenous students represent the lowest enrollment rates of any racialized group in post-secondary institutions. Only 24 percent of young Indigenous adults (ages 18-24 years old) enroll in higher education compared to the national average of 41 percent of the overall population (ages 18-24 years old) (PNPI, 2021). Data also reveals a steady decline in Indigenous enrollment since 2016. Of

the students enrolling, 22 percent fewer Indigenous students graduate from 4-year institutions within 6 years, compared to the national average (PNPI, 2021). Data indicates that 20 percent of Indigenous peoples hold bachelor's degrees, and 12 percent hold an associate degree. As of 2017, only 21 percent of Indigenous children, compared to 52 percent of white children, under 18 years old, lived with at least one parent holding a bachelor's degree (PNPI, 2021). Those over 25 years of age with an associate degree or higher account for 25 percent of the Native population– 17 percent lower than the national average. Indigenous students and scholars (Albert, 2022, AICF, 2021, Bryant, 2021, PNPI, 2021, Minthorn, 2020, Brayboy et al., 2015) pose a myriad of reasons for below-average rates of student enrollment and retention, including education debt, attendance costs, familial responsibility, academia's non-inclusive environment, and student invisibility–none of which indicate student failure but rather institutional failures.

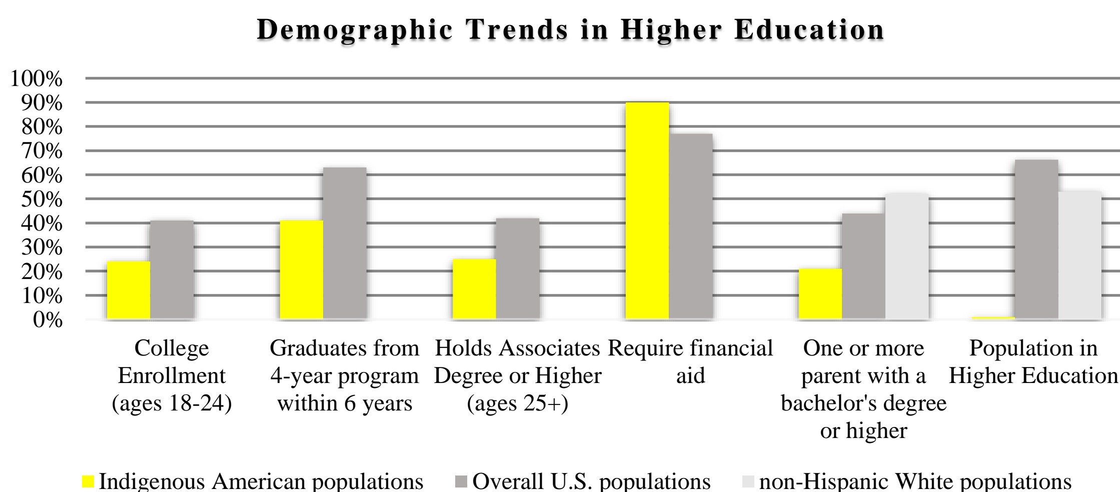

Figure 9 Demographic Trends in Higher Education (PNPI, 2021).

United States treaty agreements legally guarantee Indigenous students access to equitable education. However, Native students consistently rank lowest in mainstream achievement measures (Brayboy, 2015). Education debt, a term coined by Gloria Ladson-Billings (2006) to describe the decades-long limiting of opportunities and resources (i.e., after-school programs, AP courses, college prep, etc.) afforded to students of color, causes achievement gaps among Indigenous students (Brayboy et al., 2015). Scholars argue that social, economic, and location create "challenges for delivery, access, and quality of services (Brayboy et al., 2015, p. 154)." Others suggest that the subjective nature of standardized testing and test questions creates disadvantages for Indigenous

students. Brayboy et al., (2015) note that though these factors contribute to education debt, factors such as "historic, legal, and institutional factors should not be overlooked as they amplify, or, at minimum, sustain the education debt experienced by Native communities (p. 154)." As a result, the education debt created by negligent colonial systems leaves Indigenous students woefully underprepared for higher education, contributing to low retention rates.

Angelique Albert, member of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes and CEO of Native Forward, explains that other studies reveal that college attendance costs greatly contribute to student retention rates, far more than college preparedness. Studies compiled by PNPI (2021) show that 90 percent of Indigenous students qualify for financial assistance due to their economic position but take out student loans at a lower rate than the national average to avoid debt. A recent deep-dive study into the financial realities of Indigenous students found that 72 percent of Indigenous students reported insufficient funds for monthly expenses in the last 6 months, over 50 percent experience food insecurity, and 16 percent reported homelessness (Albert, 2022). Further examination into the cause of their financial distress found that in addition to attendance costs, more than 50 percent of participants act as the primary source of income for their household, and more than two-thirds contribute to their household income while attending college (Albert, 2022). Often these students must choose between attendance costs or placing a roof over their heads and food in their stomachs.

Unlike western households, which value independence, Indigenous households value community and communal responsibility (Albert, 2022). As discussed in the previous paragraph, community responsibility includes financial responsibility, but this also includes cultural obligations. These cultural obligations may lead to student absences for varying amounts of time or during times deemed unacceptable by non-Indigenous instructors. For instance, many Indigenous communities hold ceremonies with strict timelines that may cause prolonged absences, or students may need to return home on short notice for emergencies (Minthorn, 2020). Few western educators understand or offer leniency for these cultural obligations or unexpected emergencies, due to their cultural differences (Brayboy et al., 2015). Students leaving close communities to enter an environment that values independence also creates feelings of loneliness and isolation. These students also report difficulties navigating college systems alone and feel they lack support from faculty, especially those identifying as first-generation college students (AICF, 2019). AICF (2019) argues that Indigenous students feel invisible outside of their communities, "a modern form of racism used against Native Americans (p. 4)," which also contributes to the completion crisis that many Indigenous students face.

Native students report struggling and feeling invisible in classroom settings, in other ways non-Indigenous instructors may not consider, as well. Beyond the general lack of Indigenous representation in curriculum, "Competing worldviews and conceptions of legitimate knowledge may lead to fundamental epistemological, ontological, and axiological conflicts between Euro-Western and Indigenous ways of thinking and can impact how Indigenous students experience college (Brayboy et al., 2015, p.159)." These competing views can lead to feelings of frustration with course material and discomfort during classroom discussions (Brayboy et al., 2015). Indigenous students also describe accounts of racism and microaggression from faculty and administration, students, in the curriculum, and in discussions (Brayboy et al., 2015). Cody Artis, of the Dine Nation and law student at the University of Idaho, states (Baumann et al., 2021, p.116),

> I'm very fortunate to have a professor who is Native, and I'm very fortunate that he's mentoring me. And because of that, my grades have skyrocketed. I think it was solely because I had support and I had these people that were nudging me along and creating these environments for my success. But, when I see my other relatives, other people of color, they do not have that, and they're still in the lower 25th percentile. A lot of them even want to quit. They're like: "This institution's not for me. This law school isn't for me, or the College of Law is not for me." It's just kind of heartbreaking. We're not creating an environment that's open and that's inclusive or including them.

Though Artis feels support from his professor, he recalls hostility towards BIPOC from some non-Indigenous faculty and students. Dory Goldberg, also of the Dine Nation and law student at the University of Idaho, recounts a situation involving a non-Indigenous student stating, "In fall semester, during Columbus Day, there was a classmate who remarked to one of my other fellow classmates that he should be wearing a loincloth. I was just so appalled by that because they just still don't get [how egregious this is] (Baumann et at., 2021, p. 118)." Goldberg noted other incidents in classrooms involving non-Indigenous students who argued that Indigenous people should get over historical injustices and move on. Goldberg felt a lack of administration intervention regarding these acts of racism, which added to her growing displeasure for a university situated on Nez Perce ancestral land (Baumann et at., 2021). Cultural factors can compound these feelings of frustration as well. Many Indigenous students come from families directly impacted by abuse sustained from government-sanctioned boarding schools, making their elders opposed to western schools. As a result, some students struggle with entering a traditional style system against the will of their elders (Clark, 2022). All conditions which non-Indigenous educators fail to recognize without understanding the complex realities of their students.

Without faculty understanding their position ***and*** their students' realities, "postsecondary leaders cannot call for changes to initiatives, programs, services, attitudes, or offerings that would improve student outcomes (Brayboy, 2015, p. 155)." Robin Zape-tah-hol-ah Minthorn (2020), a citizen of the Kiowa tribe of Oklahoma and a descendant of the Umatilla/Nez Perce/Apache and Assiniboine Nations, and University of Washington professor, explains that universities and faculty must understand these realities and allow accommodations for Indigenous students trying to balance school, home, and cultural obligations, out of respect for these students' sociocultural needs and make students feel visible. Students of color seeing themselves represented among faculty begins with educators creating spaces that promote student success (Brayboy et al., 2015). As Paulo Freire (2005) and others explain, once educators understand their students' realities, they must act on their newfound understanding, as change does not occur without action.

<u>(III) Braiding Knowledges</u>

Taking action as an educator can manifest in many ways, but the overall goal is to create an equitable space where all students feel comfortable and can succeed. With careful consideration, for fear of white co-optation and misuse, I echo Indigenous scholars' push for multivocality, collaboration, and braiding Indigenous knowledge into our current education model (Stevens, 2021, Atalay, 2019, Anthony-Stevens, 2017, Brayboy et al., 2015, Smith, 2012, Tuck, 2009). To avoid appropriation, white educators must first understand and remove harmful colonial practices and cultivate alliances with Indigenous communities to create equitable environments that make Indigenous students and communities visible. In this section, I examine strategies from Indigenous scholars, and allies, and provide observations from my own experiences participating as a non-Indigenous student in classrooms implementing Indigenous methods of knowledge. I argue that through multivocality and non-Indigenous/Indigenous collaboration, we can work *with* Indigenous communities to bust stereotypes and combat violence perpetuated against Native communities, such as the MMIWG crisis. Acting as resources and advocates with, rather than for, Native Americas during times of crisis is a way to give back to their communities.

For non-Indigenous educators to avoid coopting and misusing Indigenous pedagogies, they must understand and actively resist their paternalistic tendencies and practices stemming from white supremacy (Smith, 2012). These tendencies include speaking over or for Indigenous communities or speaking too much in Indigenous spaces, gatekeeping whom they consider experts, and viewing themselves as experts on Indigenous topics (Smith, 2012). This also includes how they disseminate

knowledge and lead classes, and the material they choose to disperse among their students. These tendencies largely stem from western teachings and systems which position those with degrees as experts, rather than those with lived experiences (Ranco, 2006). Educators must challenge these white supremacy tendencies, habits, and ideas upheld in university settings.

To begin transforming anthropology in higher education, educators must incorporate Indigenous voices into their classrooms and challenge power dynamics (Anthony-Stevens, 2017). While not an Indigenous person, Dr. Vanessa Anthony-Stevens, a skilled advocate for and with Indigenous peoples, graceful demonstrates through her work and publications how to challenge colonial structures as an ally, proving it can be done. Anthony-Stevens (2017) reminds us that “while non-Indigenous allies will not, and should not, be the authors of Indigenous education sovereignty, allies do and can strategically help (p. 96).” Educators can incorporate Indigenous voices into course materials through various means, including some alternative methods (Kovach, 2009). Delivery can and should include books and articles written by Indigenous peoples, but some Indigenous scholars also encourage non-Indigenous educators to incorporate mixed media, such as videoed interviews, storytelling, and Tribal websites. These alternative forms of knowledge dissemination might provide students with the human aspect they might otherwise miss in formal articles, allowing deeper insight into topics (AICF, 2019). Instructors can also adjust how they lecture to challenge the traditional colonial model that upholds power dynamics and hierarchies (Smith, 2012). By simply choosing to hold discussion-based classes, rather than lecturing, which some Indigenous cultures view as arrogant and rude, educators create more equitable environments with greater student engagement that challenge power dynamics.

Instructors must also challenge western ideas of *who* holds valuable knowledge and Truth (Smith, 2012). Often those in the academy only view individuals who produce scholarly, peer-reviewed articles as knowledge producers. These academics view *others’* knowledge as biased insiders’ perspectives but fail to view them as producers of objective Truth, even when discussing topics directly related to the *other* (Smith, 2012). As a result, these instructors limit perspectives and demonstrate that institutions of higher education only view Indigenous people that do the academic dance as producers of valuable knowledge (Stevens, 2021). As such, educators should incorporate non-traditional means of knowledge, such as podcasts, music, and social media. Many Indigenous creators use their platforms to publicize their historical and contemporary realities from their points of view, something non-Indigenous instructors cannot accomplish (Baldy, 2016).

Incorporating Indigenous voice allows Indigenous students to feel seen and non-Indigenous students the opportunity to view a topic from a non-western perspective and utilize critical thinking skills (Brayboy et al., 2015). These simple adjustments can radically alter the environment of a classroom but do require instructors to rethink and unlearn mainstream standards of knowledge production and dissemination.

Other more time-consuming but meaningful efforts include collaborative work with local Indigenous Nations. Collaborative work with Indigenous Nations requires instructors to build relationships with local communities. These relationships take "vulnerability, risk, and humility (p. 89)" and establish relevancy for the challenging process of collaboration (Anthony-Stevens, 2017). Through relationship building, non-Indigenous educators also learn how to step up and when to step aside (Anthony-Stevens, 2017). Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) explain that collaborating with Indigenous communities, centering their desires (Tuck, 2009), and following their lead, is 'the key to overcoming historical imbalances (p. 20)" in collaborative work focused on education. By non-Indigenous instructors stepping back, Indigenous communities maintain sovereignty over the knowledge disseminated about their communities and realties. Cutcha Risling Baldy (2016), of the Hoopa Valley Tribe with ties to the Yurok and Karuk peoples, and American Indian studies scholar, quoting Elizabeth Cook-Lynn (2001), states, 'the emergence of the Indigenous voice, the right to speak for oneself and one's people, 'is as fundamental as food and decent housing' (p. 107)". These relationships, in turn, create opportunities to provide students with a richer college experience that promotes greater critical consciousness among non-Indigenous students while improving equitable environments, support, and visibility for Indigenous students (Kincheloe, 2008).

During both my undergraduate and graduate careers, I had the privilege to study under three educators who worked diligently to provide their students, myself included, with experiences such as those listed above. I observed and participated in the following methods utilized in their classes. Though I cannot speak to how Indigenous students felt in these classrooms, I can share what I learned as a non-Indigenous, white student and how those experiences provided me with the tools to expand my perspectives and critical consciousness, making me a better researcher, archaeologist, and member of society.

My first introduction to reflexivity, positionality, and the importance of centering Indigenous perspectives came from a non-Indigenous, white instructor teaching Anthropology 329: North American Indians. During the first class, the professor boldly and humbly positioned themselves before the class and reflected on their role as a white instructor for a class about Indigenous

Americans. Aiding Indigenous efforts to *reright*[6] the script, this professor chose only to use articles, books, and documentaries written and produced by Indigenous individuals. Throughout the semester, I gained new perspectives on topics I thought I knew about and learned about historical events wiped from white-stream textbooks, as well as how erasure contributes to contemporary issues and ongoing violence in Native communities. The lesson learned from this class highlighted the significance of acknowledging the lens through which we view society and the impact of examining the same topics from multiple perspectives.

Classes I took under Indigenous professors Dr. Dianne Baumann and Dr. Philip Stevens, however, demonstrated the use and benefits of teaching methods outside the realm of western models and lenses. Most classes I participated in, from kindergarten through graduate school, utilized "drill and kill" pedagogies, which require students to "memorize and recite content isolated from application (Stevens, 2021, p. 2)." As demonstrated by Dr. Steven's (2021) work, this method does not work for Native students. Dr. Stevens (2021), enrolled San Carlos Apache and education scholar, found that his students learned better through applied, active learning. A 2019 study by the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences shows that non-Indigenous students in university settings also benefit and test better on course content when taught in active learning environments rather than "drill and kill" lecture-style classrooms (Deslauriers et al., 2019). Dr. Dianne Bauman utilizes multivocality and mixed media for course material, facilitates discussion-based classes which encourage an honest and open dialog, and rather than reciting content, Baumann's exams allow students to present what they gained through a series of open-ended questions. Though an enrolled Registered Descendent of the Blackfeet Nation, when teaching classes on Tribal Nations, Baumann recognizes that Native Nations are not homogenous, positions herself as an outsider, and only uses content written and produced by the Indigenous community being discussed. On more traditional style assignments, such as research papers, Baumann promotes the use of sources not typically utilized in the collegiate-level setting (i.e., decolonizing research methods, articles from lesser-known journals, storytelling, social media, etc.), thus braiding Indigenous knowledge with scientific knowledge (Atalay, 2016). The use of such sources forces students to demonstrate critical thinking skills and allows them to interact with material from alternative perspectives or material produced by scholars that often become overshadowed by dominant figures in higher education (Baldy, 2016, Smith, 2012).

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[6] Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) writes that Indigenous peoples' struggle for self-determination comes from misrepresentation or omission of Indigenous perspective from theory and written accounts because of white supremacy in academia. "Rerighting" is Indigenous peoples' effort to tell their stories from their perspective.

While Dr. Steven's 2021 article focuses on his methods for teaching math to Apache students, he extends these methods in his collegiate-level classrooms as well. Participating in Dr. Steven's classrooms, I found that he utilizes methods that promote student discussion of material over lecture-based classes, his exams require students to demonstrate how the readings apply to real-life scenarios through open-ended questions, and his final "show your smarts" State of the Arts project (Fig.10) allows students the freedom to express their understanding of the class through a variety of means (i.e., art, poetry, podcasts, a research paper, etc.). Dr. Stevens, director of the American Indian Studies program at the University of Idaho, also frequently brings in guest lecturers from local Indigenous Nations (i.e., Confederated Tribes of the Colville, Schitsu'umsh (Coeur d'Alene), Nimiipu (Nez Perce), etc.) to teach students about their Tribal Nations (i.e., Tribal Elders Series), federal law (i.e., Sovereignty and Policy course), and contemporary issues experienced in their communities (i.e., Contemporary Issues course). Stevens also facilitates trips to events held by local Nations, such as the Water Potato Days held by the Schitsu'umsh, the Water Rights Law Convention by the Schitsu'umsh and the University of Idaho School of Law, and trips to historical sites led by local elders.

Figure 10 Examples of State of the Arts projects presented in Dr. Stevens' classes (Berube, 2022, Berube, 2020, Berube, 2019). Each included an "artist statement" which described the components of each piece and how they correspond with aspects of the class.

So how do these methods and forms of teaching help with busting stereotypes and the MMIWG crisis? These professors' efforts and relationships with local Indigenous communities create classroom spaces that not only make Indigenous students and communities feel comfortable and visible, which promotes Indigenous student success, but it exposes non-Indigenous people to Indigenous perspectives of historical events and contemporary issues in Native communities. As a

bonus, research indicates that active learning improves student success for students with learning disabilities, such as ADHD, which affects roughly 20 percent of undergraduates (Pfeifer et al., 2023). These interactions cultivate critical consciousness among non-Indigenous students, which allows them to see issues from a broader worldview and reduces the Dead Indian narrative among those exposed. Broader worldviews also make non-Indigenous people cognizant of historical inaccuracies taught in public school and their own biases that perpetuate harm, in turn reducing stereotypes. Dunbar- Ortiz and Gilio-Whitaker (2017) explain that stereotypes uphold coloniality which promoted violence against Native women as a means of conquest and continues today. While this will not stop the MMIWG crisis, the reduction of stereotypes perpetrated by non-Indigenous members of society shows potential for reducing violence against women. These professors effectively demonstrate advocacy and activism with Indigenous communities through education.

Activist and Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR) in Archaeology

Dr. Sonya Atalay (2012) explains that Ojibwe oral histories and teachings speak of a time when Anishinabek, as well as non-Anishinabek people, reach two paths and must choose between the two. Scorched grass lines the first path, denoting monetary success but inevitable collapse. The lush second path, however, signifies a future of lasting peace achieved through compassion. Atalay (2012) asserts that choosing the lush path requires braiding Indigenous knowledge and traditional practices with western principles to promote sustainable, long-term practices and cooperation. Ojibwe spiritual leaders declare that humanity now stands before the paths and must choose (Atalay, 2012). Atalay (2012), an Anishinabe woman and archaeologist, utilizes this Ojibwe teaching as the theoretical approach to her use of Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR), which effectively braids knowledge systems. Atalay (2012) argues that the principles of CBPR done “with, by, and for (p. x)” Indigenous communities contribute to their “goals, aims, hopes, and curiosities (Atalay, 2006, p.284)” and “efforts to regain and strengthen their connections to their cultural heritage (Atalay, 2012, p. x).” Atalay (2012) hopefully deems CBPR as the sustainable archaeology of the future.

Historical archaeologists note an increasing use of archaeology as a tool of civic engagement and social justice over the past few decades (Atalay, 2019, Atalay, 2014, Atalay, 2012, Little and Shackel, 2007, Colwell-Chanthaphonh, 2007). Atalay (2012) argues that a catalyst for change came from the Red Power Movement, with the publication of Deloria’s *Custer Died For Your Sins* which directly called out anthropologists. The internal force in academia propelling the shift, however, came from the increase in Indigenous scholars studying research methods; Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s highly

cited 1999 publication of *Decolonizing Methodologies* being a powerful example (Atalay, 2012). As a result, some archaeologists began confronting past injustices, rejecting harmful practices, and involving local communities in research (Little and Shackel, 2007). Atalay (2019) explains that the shift toward CBPR by and with Indigenous communities ensures that "archaeology foregrounds the knowledge and experiences of community partners to guide the process of archaeological research, ensuring it is grassroots and ground-up, with communities as [equal] partners rather than as people whose heritage is simply the object of study (p. 515)." CBPR forefronts equity and mutual learning, rather than past one-sided practices of extraction (Atalay, 2012). As we know, victors construct and manipulate history, creating a white-washed narrative with "neat boundaries of good versus evil, us versus them (Colwell-Chanthaphonh, 2007, p. 37)" that uphold settler-colonialism.

Braiding knowledge in archaeology reveals the complexities and consequences of past events making public archaeology a powerful tool for confronting colonial structures and aiding in social justice efforts (Colwell-Chanthaphonh, 2007).

With these ideas in mind, Fondebrider, a forensic anthropologist in Argentina, founded the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team (EAAF) to help address Argentina's "femicide" crisis, a crisis similar to U.S. and Canadas MMIWG crisis (Sterritt, 2015). Fondebrider works with a team of sixty scientists and archaeologists to exhume, examine, identify, and return victims to their families. The team uses a newly implemented national DNA database to identify the individuals recovered. Fondebrider asserts that victims' family members, stakeholders, human rights groups, and a government dedicated to fighting the human rights crisis plays a key role in his team's success (Sterritt, 2015). Practices such as those Fondebrider uses could be the key to addressing the MMIWG crisis in the United States. While government misuse of DNA (i.e., Havasupai Tribe v. the Arizona Board of Regents) remains a point of distrust among Indigenous communities in the U.S., Native Nations, particularly family members of victims, support the use of DNA for identifying their loved ones (Colwell-Chanthaphonh, 2007).

Unlike universities, which are uniquely positioned to address past and present harmful practices and enact change in archaeology on a micro-level, private-sector archaeology presents a few more challenges (Atalay, 2014). Private-sector Cultural Resource Management (CRM) firms perform much of the mundane archaeology in the United States and operate under federally mandated regulations. These jobs sometimes include development (i.e., pipelines) survey work required by the United States Army Corp of Engineers (USACE) based on the area of potential effect (APE) in proximity to jurisdictional waterways. If the proposed development crosses a federal waterway, USACE requires the completion of a cultural survey within a specified distance of the waterway to

meet the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA) requirements (Sandweiss, 2022). USACE requires CRM firms to follow USACE Appendix C guidelines for how to deal with historic properties. However, Native Nations argue that USACE Appendix C guidelines do not comply with Section 106 of the NHPA, making USACE guidelines illegal (Sandweiss, 2022). Responding to a survey conducted by USACE in June 2022, Daniel Sandweiss, president of the Society for American Archaeology (SAA), states that the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP), which oversees the implementation of Section 106, must approve all regulation alternatives, such as Appendix C. However, the ACHP never approved Appendix C, which USACE implemented in 1990 (Sandweiss, 2022). Sandweiss (2022) adds, "Throughout its history, Appendix C has impeded and worked against successful and meaningful consultation with tribal nations, rather than facilitated them."

The Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) at the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation highlights the importance of archaeologists utilizing community-driven, collaborative-based efforts. In 2016, USACE signed off on Energy Transfer's proposed pipeline, "DAPL," which would transect treaty land and run under Lake Oahe, after non-native contracted groups performed cultural and environmental surveys (Braun, 2019). USACE's decision sparked public outrage because it challenged land ownership and assumed resolution for unresolved treaty agreements, as well as threatened cultural sites and drinking water (Braun, 2019). The Standing Rock Sioux Reservation also challenged CRM assertions that DAPL would not impact any sacred sites, citing testimony from Tim Mentz, the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer for Standing Rock, who noted multiple sacred sites within and around the proposed pipeline right of way (ROW). In his initial testimony, Mentz (Braun, 2019) stated,

> Unfortunately, when any type of development or project destroys a sacred stone ring or feature today, it inadvertently destroys the power of any sacred bundle connected to that place and ultimately severs the tie between the Oyate and the landforms where our spiritual power resides, this is an intangible adverse effect. There is no "fix" in mitigation for these types of sites (para 17).

Mentz later stated that he found other culturally significant sites along and within the ROW, including cairns and burials. Just days after Mentz's testimony, DAPL crews bulldozed the area, intensifying anti-pipeline protests. USACE, law enforcement, and archaeologists from the State Historical Society visited the disturbed area but stated no findings of human remains. Their lack of findings generated two scenarios among those invested in DAPL. One side proposed that survey crews conducted a thorough investigation and Mentz lied to prevent DAPL.

Others suggested archaeologists performed lazy or potentially corrupt cultural surveys that overlooked Mentz's findings, allowing their demise. Colwell (2016) offered another scenario in the gray area, but many had already chosen a side.

Colwell-Chanthaphonh (2016) explained that after USACE deliberated with stakeholders and visited the sites, they admitted they were unaware of some sites and their significance. Upon further inspection, USACE found that the sites in question were near the disturbed area, as Mentz described. Luckily, most narrowly escaped being destroyed. Colwell-Chanthaphonh (2016) explains that due to nonexistent communication from Transfer Energy with the Standing Rock community and very little tribal survey, other sites were likely destroyed during the construction of DAPL. Colwell-Chanthaphonh (2016) attributes oversite by archaeologists to the lack of experience and knowledge necessary to identify traditional cultural properties (para. 12). Sadly, disregard for Indigenous knowledge is a common occurrence in development projects like DAPL (Colwell-Chanthaphonh, 2016).

Though CRM firms may not be corrupt from a legal standpoint, rather the legal blame falling on federal regulation, I argue this lack of communication with tribes and oversite from CRM firms is unethical by both the Society for American Archaeology and the American Anthropological Association standards. By ignoring our code of ethics–whose standards we are obligated to uphold–and following the orders of for-profit industries, rather than working for the people, these archaeologists place profit over people. By placing income over Indians these archaeologists feed into the dehumanization of Indigenous communities by the settler society. Adhering to our ethical obligation requires us to work with Indigenous communities to prevent harm to and the dehumanization of stakeholders by placing people above profits. If the government mandated the use of methods such as CBPR, which foregrounds stakeholder knowledge to guide archaeologists, DAPL might have looked much different.

Recently, following the 2022 Appendix C survey and a listening session, USACE announced efforts to rescind Appendix C, instead relying on ACHP's 106 regulations. USACE stated they intend to work closely with Tribal Nations and ACHP throughout the process. During the same White House debriefing (2022), in which the Biden-Harris Administration announced USACE efforts, they also announced Department of the Interior (DOI) and ACHP efforts to publish new guidelines that require greater incorporation of Indigenous collaboration and knowledge during the Section 106 review process. These long overdue efforts are a direct result of the Biden Administration appointing stakeholders into positions of power. In 2021, Biden appointed Deb Haaland, a member of the Pueblo of Laguna, as U.S. Secretary of the Interior, and Jamie Pinkham, a Nimiipu tribal member, as

Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army for Civil Works (Rott, 2020, Massie, 2021). While some dream of decolonizing archaeology, a push for regulations that mandate CBPR remains the best option since colonial powers oversee and create archaeological regulations, making it impossible to decolonize (Atalay, 2014). Atalay (2019) remains hopeful that with enough pressure and time, government-mandated CBPR will become a reality. These efforts to incorporate Indigenous knowledge and rescind Appendix C make me hopeful that the field is headed in that direction.

Conclusion

The MMIWG crisis remains a pervasive human rights crisis in the United States that receives little attention or aid. Scholars directly link the ongoing violence to the historical weaponization of gendered violence against Indigenous women as a means of land seizure and control by colonial forces. Though some believe we exist in a post-colonial society, Indigenous activists assert that colonization continues to plague Native communities and presents itself in many forms, such as the MMIWG crisis. This study utilized Indigenous perspectives to examine the complex realities, racist historical underpinnings, and contemporary catalysts of the MMIWG crisis. The study revealed that gendered violence arose as a weapon of settler colonialism and Christianity, but anthropologists played a hand in the MMIWG crisis through their creation and ongoing contributions to Dead Indian Culture, mainstream white-washed histories, and settler-colonial Indigenous erasure.

As someone enduring the lifetime-long trauma of sexual violence, hearing about the MMIWG crisis for the first time shook me to my core. I remember thinking, “how is this not a bigger deal?” and “how can I help?” So I asked one of my Indigenous advisors if I could help and how? It was in that meeting that I received one of the most impactful responses anyone has ever given me– “Yes, as long as you don’t just show up with white woman tears; those don’t help us.” This statement stirred in me the question, “what is our role as white anthropologists and archaeologists in the MMIWG crisis, how do we aid in efforts to *reright* the past, and can we help without white tears?” This question ultimately became the research question for my thesis.

Though non-Indigenous white scholars oversaturate the discipline, through heavy reliance on Indigenous knowledge and perspectives, I found that we can and must use modern anthropology and archaeology, with conditions, as an avenue for interrupting settler violence against Indigenous women and girls. These conditions include the deconstruction of colonial mindsets, understanding Indigenous students and communities lived realities, cultivating alliances, community collaboration, centering Indigenous knowledge and perspectives, and confronting colonial structures of oppression.

Interrupting settler violence takes place in both the classroom, research, and the field. By creating spaces and presenting information that makes Indigenous peoples visible and reveals hidden Truths, anthropologists expose non-Indigenous peoples to broader worldviews and perspectives, which cultivate critical consciousness and reduce stereotypes that dehumanize Indigenous women. While reducing stereotypes will not stop the MMIWG crisis, the rehumanization of Indigenous women shows potential for mitigating and reducing violence against women perpetrated by non-Indigenous members of society.

Future Directions

Future directions for research on anthropology's involvement in the MMIWG crisis must include further research into the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Persons (MMIP) crisis, which encapsulates gendered violence perpetrated against men, trans people, two-spirits, and those experiencing homelessness. As Sara Deer (2015) notes, statistics largely exclude these populations when examining gendered violence as a colonial tool of conquest.

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